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HISTORY

OF

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

By JAMES CRAIGIE ROBERTSON, M.A.,

CANON OF CANTERBURY,
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v. 4

VOLUME IV. (A.D. 1303—1517.)

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HISTORY

OF

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

Volume IV.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

The progress of this book has been slow, and on completing the present volume, I find myself at an age which forbids me to enter on a subject so large and so difficult as the history of the Reformation.

I must therefore now take my leave of the reader, with hearty thankfulness that I have been allowed to carry on my work so far, and that it has been found useful as an introduction to the knowledge of ecclesiastical history.

J. C. R.

Precincts, Canterbury, February, 1873.

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LIST OF POPES, SOVEREIGNS, &c.

(It is to be understood that ordinarily the end of each Pontificate or reign took place in the same year which is given as the date of the next succession.)

Popes.

A.D.		A.D.
1303.	Benedict XI.	1304
1305.	Clement V.	1314
1316.	John XXII.	
	[Nicolas V. *antip.* 1328-9.]	
1334.	Benedict XII.	
1342.	Clement VI.	
1352.	Innocent VI.	
1362.	Urban V.	
1370.	Gregory XI.	

A.D.	*Line of Rome.*	A.D.	A.D.	*Line of Avignon.*	A.D.	A.D.	*Line of the Council of Pisa.*	A.D.
1378.	Urban VI.		1378.	Clement VII.		1409.	Alexander V.	
1389.	Boniface IX.		1394.	Benedict XIII.		1410.	John XXIII.	
1404.	Innocent VII.			deposed	1417		deposed	1415
1406.	Gregory XII.			died	1424			
	(resigned)	1415						

A.D.		A.D.
1417.	Martin V.	
1431.	Eugenius IV.	
	[Felix V. *antip.* 1439	1449]
1447.	Nicolas V.	
1455.	Calixtus III.	
1458.	Pius II.	
1464.	Paul II.	
1471.	Sixtus IV.	
1484.	Innocent VIII.	
1492.	Alexander VI.	
1503.	Pius III. (Sept. 22–Oct. 18)	
	Julius II.	
1513.	Leo X.	1521

Eastern Emperors.

1282.	Andronicus II.	
1332.	Andronicus III.	
1341.	John I. Palæologus	1391
	John Cantacuzene (abdicated)	1355
1391.	Manuel	
1425.	John Palæologus II.	
1448.	Constantine XII.	1453

Emperors and Kings of the Romans.

Election.	Coronation as Emperor.		
1298.		Albert I.	
1308.	1312.	Henry VII.	1313
1314 *	1328 †	Louis IV.	1347
		Frederick of Austria [withdrew]	1325
1346 ‡	1355.	Charles IV.	
		[Günther of Schwarzburg, 1349]	
1378.		Wenceslaus [deposed]	
1400.		Rupert	
1410.	1433.	Sigismund	1437
1438.		Albert II.	1439
1440.	1452 §	Frederick III.	
1493.	(See p. 600.)	Maximilian I.	1519

* Rival Elections.

† Crowned by an antipope.

‡ Elected during the life-time of his predecessor, and in opposition to him.

§ This was the last Roman coronation of an Emperor.

Kings of France.

A.D. A.D.
1285. Philip IV. (the Fair)
1314. Louis X. (Hutin)
1316. Philip V. (the Long)
1322. Charles IV.
1328. Philip VI. (of Valois)
1350. John
1364. Charles V. (the Wise)

A.D. A.D.
1380. Charles VI.
1422. Charles VII.
1461. Louis XI.
1483. Charles VIII.
1498. Louis XI.
1515. Francis I. 1547

Kings of England.

1272. Edward I.
1307. Edward II.
1327. Edward III.
1377. Richard II.
1399. Henry IV.
1413. Henry V.

1422. Henry VI.
1462 Edward IV.
1483. Edward V.
Richard II.
1485. Henry VII.
1509. Henry VIII.

Kings of Scotland.

1306. Robert I.
1329. David II.
[1331. Edward Baliol .. 1342]
1371. Robert II.
1390. Robert III.

1424. James I.
1437. James II.
1460. James III.
1488. James IV.
1513. James V. 1542

Kings of Aragon.

1291. James II.
1327. Alfonso IV.
1336. Peter IV.
1387. John I.
1395. Martin 1410
1412. Ferdinand

1416. Alfonso V.
1458. John II.
1479. Ferdinand [united Aragon with Castille and Leon by marriage].

Kings of Castille.

1295. Ferdinand IV.
1312. Alfonso XI.
1350. Peter (the Cruel)
1368. Henry II. (the Magnificent)

1379. John I.
1390. Henry III.
1406. John II.
1454. Henry IV.

Castille and Aragon.

1479 {Ferdinand V. 1516
Isabella 1504
[1504. Philip in Castille to 1506]

1516. Charles I. [Emperor Charles V.] abdicated 1556

Kings of Hungary.

1300. Charobert
1312. Louis I.
1382. Mary
1392. Sigismund
1437. Albert (emperor) 1439
1440. Ladislaus IV. (King of Poland) 1444

1453. Ladislaus V. (King of Bohemia) 1457
1458. Matthias I.
1490. Ladislaus VI. (King of Bohemia)
1516. Louis II. (K. of Bohemia) 1526

Kings of Bohemia.

1305. Wenceslaus V.
1306. Henry
1310. John
1346. Charles I. (Emperor Charles IV.)
1378. Wenceslaus VI. (emperor, deposed 1400)
1419. Sigismund (emperor) .. 1437

1438. Albert (emperor) 1439
1440. Ladislaus I. (King of Hungary) 1457
1458. George Podibrad
1471. Ladislaus II. (King of Hungary)
1516. Louis (King of Hungary) 1526

KINGS OF NAPLES.

A.D. A.D.
1285. Charles II.
1309. Robert
1343. Joanna I.
1382. Charles III.
1387. Ladislaus
1414. Joanna II.

A.D. A.D.
1435. Alfonso I. (King of Aragon and Sicily)
1458. Ferdinand I.
1494. Alfonso II. (abdicated)
1495. Ferdinand II.
1496. Frederick III. (dethroned) 1501

SULTANS OF THE TURKS.

1299. Othman
1326. Orkan
1360. Amurath I.
1389. Bajazet I. (dethroned)
1402. Solyman I.
1410. Musa

1413. Mahomet I.
1421. Amurath II.
1451. Mahomet II.
1481. Bajazet II.
1512. Selim I. 1520

ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.

1294. Robert Winchelsey
1313. Walter Reynolds 1327
1328. Simon Mepham
1333. John Stratford 1348
1349. Thomas Bradwardine
1349. Simon Islip
1366. Simon Langham (resigned)
1368. William Whittlesey 1374
1375. Simon Sudbury

1381. William Courtenay 1396
1397. Thomas Arundel
1414. Henry Chicheley
1443. John Stafford
1452. John Kemp
1454. Thomas Bourchier
1486. John Morton 1500
1501. Henry Deane
1503. William Warham 1532

ARCHBISHOPS OF MENTZ.

1289. Gerard II. of Eppenstein .. 1305
1306. Peter of Aichspalt 1320
1321. Matthias, Count of Bucheck
[1328–37. Baldwin, abp. of Treves, administrator.]
1328. Henry III., Count of Virneburg (deposed)
1346. Gerlach, Count of Nassau
1371. John I., Count of Luxemburg
1373. Louis, Margrave of Meissen (translated)
1381. Adolphus I., Count of Nassau
1390. Conrad II. of Weinsperg .. 1396
1397. John II., Count of Nassau

1419. Conrad, Rhinegrave of Dauhn
1434. Theodoric I. of Erbach
1459. Theodoric II. [Diether] of Isenburg (deposed)
1461. Adolphus II., Count of Nassau
1475. Theodoric II. (restored)
1482. Albert I., Duke of Saxony (administrator) 1482
1484. Bertold, Count of Hennenberg
1504. James of Liebenstein
1508. Uriel of Gemmingen
1514. Albert II., Margrave of Brandenburg 1545

HISTORY

OF

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

BOOK VII.

FROM THE DEATH OF POPE BONIFACE VIII. TO THE END OF THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE, A.D. 1303-1418.

CHAPTER I.

BENEDICT XI. AND CLEMENT V.

A.D. 1303-1313.

The state of affairs at the death of Boniface VIII. was such as might well fill the chiefs of the Roman Church with anxiety. The late pope had provoked the most powerful sovereign in Christendom, had uttered sentences of excommunication and deposition against him, and had fallen a victim to his enmity. Philip had been supported in the contest by the prelates and clergy, by the nobles and the commonalty of the realm; and, while such were the relations between the Roman see and France, Boniface had also seriously offended the rulers of some other countries. Was, then, his policy to be carried out by his successor at all the fearful risks which beset it, or was the papacy to endure submissively the indignities which had been inflicted on it?

In the conclave which met at Perugia for the election of a pope, the influence of the Orsini family was predominant. On the 23rd of November—eleven days after the death of Boniface—the choice of the cardinals fell on Nicolas Bocassini, bishop of Ostia, who took the name of Benedict, and was at first reckoned as the tenth of that name, but was eventually styled the eleventh.[a]

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[a] Schröckh. xxxi. 6. Benedict X. (A.D. 1058) had been an antipope.

He was a native of Treviso, and was of very humble origin;[b] he had been general of the Dominican order; had been promoted to the cardinalate by Boniface, who employed him on important missions to England and other countries;[c] and he had been one of the few who stood faithfully by his patron throughout the outrages of Anagni. But if Benedict's principles agreed with those of Boniface, his character was mild and conciliatory, and his policy was sincerely directed to the work of reconciling the spiritual with the temporal power.[d]

In congratulating Benedict on his election, Philip the Fair expressed a hope that he would redress the wrongs which his predecessor had committed against France.[e] But it was needless to urge such a request; the pope, without waiting to be entreated, hastened to recall the lost sheep to the fold,[f] by releasing the king from his excommunication. He annulled all acts which might be to the prejudice of the French crown or nation, and revoked all sentences which had been incurred by neglect of Boniface's citations to Rome, or by forbidding obedience to those citations.[g] He repealed or suspended various decrees of the late pope, on the ground that they had been made without the advice of the cardinals.[h] He restored to the French chapters their rights of election; to the universities their privileges of teaching, and of conferring degrees; and he ratified all appointments which had been made since the time of Boniface's inhibitions.[i] The bull *Clericis laicos* was so far mitigated as to allow the payment of all voluntary subsidies by the clergy to the sovereign, and the tithe of benefices was granted to Philip for two years.[k] The Colonnas were restored to their position, and to so much of their property as had not been bestowed on others, although the rebuilding of Palestrina was forbidden unless the pope's permission should be obtained; and the cardinals of the family were reinstated in their dignity, although they did not as yet recover

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[b] G. Villani, viii. 66 (Murat. xiii.). It is related that when his mother (who is said to have got her living by washing and mending the *tunicellæ* of the Dominicans—Henr. Hervord. 221) visited him in a silk dress, he refused to acknowledge her until she put on the humbler attire in which he had been accustomed to see her. Antonin. iii. 263.

[c] Ferret. Vicent. in Murat. ix. 100.

[d] G. Villani, viii. 66.

[e] Dupuy, Preuves, 205-6.

[f] "Numquid igitur te, etiam si nolles, non cogemus intrare? numquid tantam ovem quanta tu es, sic nobilem præcipuam et præclaram, relinquemus, quin impositam nostris humeris reducamus?" Dupuy, iii. 207 (April 2, 1304.) Cf. Walsingh. i. 106; Mansi in Raynald. iv. 376.

[g] Dupuy, 208, 229-230 (Apr. 2; May 13). Baillet says that the letter in Dupuy, 209, goes far to confute the answer of the cardinals to the estates, in June, 1302 (see vol. iii. p. 532) in which it is attempted to gloss over Boniface's assumption of the patronage of benefices. 244.

[h] Rayn. 1304. 12.

[i] Dupuy, Preuves, 209, 229. (Apr. 13-6).

[k] Ib. 208.

the full exercise of its privileges.[m] Even the actors in the outrage of Anagni were forgiven, with exception of those who had actually plundered the papal treasures, and of Nogaret, whose case was reserved for the pope's special judgment.[n]

But these concessions were insufficient to satisfy the enmity of Philip against the memory of his antagonist. With the royal sanction a libellous life of the late pope was circulated, describing him, under the name of *Maleface*, as a wicked sorcerer, whose end had been attended by terrible prodigies;[o] and a petition was contrived, in which the French people were made to entreat that the king would take measures for getting him declared a heretic, as having notoriously died in heresy and in mortal sin, without sign of repentance. By such means only (the petitioners were made to say) could the independence of the kingdom be asserted.[p] An emissary of the king, Peter of Peredo, prior of Chesa, had been employed during the last days of Boniface's life in endeavouring to stir up the Roman clergy against him. With this object he now put forth a long list of points in which he represented Boniface as having encroached on the rights of the clergy by acts which he contrasted with the alleged system of earlier popes;[q] and it was urged that a general council should be assembled at Lyons, or some other convenient and neutral place. To this proposal Benedict gave no answer.[r]

Rome was again distracted by the factions of its cardinals and nobles, which were complicated and embittered by the influence of the French king; and the pope, unsupported by any family

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[m] Dupuy, 227-9. Cf. Bern. Guidonis in Murat. III. ii. 673; Annal. Altah. 1304-5; Ad. Murimuth. 5. The view here given is much the same as that of Bp. Hefele, who points out some mistakes of text and interpretation by which the understanding of Benedict's decree has been affected (vi. 315-7). Baluze gives a letter (by whom written does not appear) exhorting Benedict to deal severely with the Colonnas, especially Sciarra—"Breviter videtur mihi quod reponere Columpnenses in urbe et circumposita regione est ponere ignem et sanguinem inter fideles ecclesiæ et Columpnenses eosdem." (Acta, No. vii.) The Colonnas, in a memoir to the king, deny that the pope is absolute. He cannot do all things "de plenitudine potestatis," but is limited by the law of God; and the cardinals are set to resist him in case of need, even as St. Paul withstood St. Peter to the face (Ib. 225-7). The Colonnas were not fully reinstated in their property until after Benedict's death; but the senate and people of Rome soon after restored all. (Baillet, 250-1.) It would seem that the two cardinals were not allowed to wear the purple, and consequently were excluded from ecclesiastical functions, so that they could not take part in the next conclave (Hefele, vi. 317), and that this disability was removed by Clement V. at his first promotion of cardinals. See below, p. 9.

[n] Bened. in Rayn. 1304. 9.

[o] Martin, iv. 452.

[p] Dupuy, Preuves, 214-9.

[q] Ib. 210-4; Baillet, 233-8. Under each head, after stating the older practice, he draws the contrast—"Bonifacius autem prædictus non sic, sed prorsus aliter." In many respects this was grossly unjust, as the assumptions and corruptions ascribed to Boniface were of much earlier origin.

[r] Dup. 211; Hefele, vi. 348.

connexions,[s] found himself unable to hold his ground. It was believed that he intended to seek a refuge in Lombardy; but when, on the approach of the heats of summer, he announced an intention of going to Assisi, it was at first opposed by the cardinals, although through the influence of Matthew Orsini, the most important member of the college,[t] he was able to carry out his design, and reached Perugia. In various directions Benedict found it necessary to assert his authority. He had rebuked Frederick of Trinacria for presuming to reckon the years of his reign from the time when he assumed the crown, instead of dating from the papal acknowledgment of him as king.[u] He had endeavoured to pacify the exasperated factions of Florence, where about this time the great poet, who has invested the squabbles of Whites and Blacks with an interest not their own, attempted, with some fellow exiles, to surprise the city, and was condemned to banishment, without hope of return.[x] But Benedict's legate was driven to flight, and the pope avenged the indignity by an anathema against the Florentines.[y]

It was, however, on the side of France that difficulties were most to be feared. The bitterness with which the persecution of Boniface's memory was urged on compelled Benedict, unless he would submit to the utter degradation of the papacy, to depart from that policy of conciliation which best accorded with his desires. He refused William of Nogaret's petition for provisional absolution,[z] and declined to treat with him as an ambassador from the king;[a] and on the 9th of June he issued a bull, by which, with much strength of denunciation, Nogaret, with fourteen others who had been especially concerned in the seizure of Boniface and the plunder of his treasures, together with all their abettors, was declared excommunicate, and was cited to appear for judgment on the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul.[b] But two days before that term Benedict died after a short illness, produced by eating largely of figs which had been brought to

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[s] Ferret. Vicent. 1012.

[t] Ferret. Vicent. 1012. This writer always speaks of Matthew as an artful man.

[u] Rayn. 1303. 49.

[x] A.D. 1301, Murat. Annal. VIII. i. 22; Sismondi, iii. 177-8. But Balbo places the attempt in 1302 ('Vita di Dante,' i. 233-6, ed. Turin, 1839). See vol. iii. 106. See St. Antoninus on Dante's errors, especially as to the condition of heathen sages, &c., iii. 306.

[y] Sismondi, iii. 205.

[z] W. Nang. contin. 57; Baillet, 252. "L'absolution *ad cautelam* ou *ad majorem cautelam* est celle que l'on prend pour plus grande précaution, et sans reconnaître la validité de la censure, et seulement en attendant le jugement définitif." André, 'Dict. de Droit canonique,' i. 60 (ed. Migne).

[a] Baillet, 252.

[b] Dupuy, Preuves, 232.

him as a present, and in which it was commonly suspected that poison had been administered by some enemy.[c]

For many months after the death of Benedict the cardinals were unable to agree in the choice of a successor.[d] The nineteen members of whom the college then consisted were divided between a French and an Italian party—the Italians headed by Matthew Orsini, who was supported by Francis Gaetani, a nephew of Boniface VIII.; while the chiefs of the French party were Napoleon Orsini and Nicolas Ubertini, bishop of Ostia, but more commonly styled the cardinal of Prato,[e] an able and subtle Dominican, who was the confidential agent of King Philip.[f] At length the citizens of Perugia became impatient of the delay, and threatened to force an election by shutting up the cardinals in conclave, and stinting their allowance of provisions; but before this threat was carried into act, a compromise was settled on terms which the cardinal of Prato had proposed to Gaetani—that the Italians should name three candidates from beyond the Alps, and that from these three the French cardinals should select a pope.[g] This arrangement was accepted by the Italians in the belief that the power of limiting the election to three candidates would secure the triumph of their party; but the cardinal of Prato, according to the story which has been commonly believed, pursued a deeper policy. Knowing the men who

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[c] The figs were brought to him as a present from the abbess of St. Petronilla at Perugia, and it is said that the bearer was a young man disguised as a female servant of the convent (G. Villani, viii. 80; Antonin. iii. 263; see Murat. Annal. VIII. i. 22). Villani says that some of the cardinals were suspected. Philip of France, Nogaret, the Colonnas, Musciatto dei Francesi, &c., are named by others. (See Ferret. Vicent. 1013, who, however, says nothing of the present from St. Petronilla's, but states that two of the pope's *pincernæ* were bribed; Sismondi, Hist. des Fr. ix. 147-8). Ricobaldo says that Benedict was killed by a diamond hidden in one of the figs. (Murat. ix. 254). Theodoric of Niem, a century later, tells us that the pope, at the instance of the Dominicans, had resolved to deprive the Augustinian eremites of their scapularies as too much resembling the Dominican dress; and that, in consequence of the prayers of the Augustinians, he died in the same manner as Arius (Eccard. i. 1471). As to the charge against the Franciscan Bernard Deliciosi in connexion with the pope's death, see below, p. 70. Miracles were believed to be done at the pope's grave (C. Zantfliet in Martene, Coll. Ampl. v. 149; Ciacon. ii. 347), and it is said that he was canonized by Benedict XIII. (Alb. Butler, July 7). The Bollandists, however, hold that his right to a place in the calendar cannot be proved. Jul. 7, p. 452; Jul. 15, p. 4.

[d] Although shut up in conclave, "sibi tamen fraudulenter ministrari victualia procurantes," they put off the election a year. Girard. de Fracheto contin. in Bouq. xxi. 24.

[e] "Della terra di Prato," G. Villani, viii. 69. See Ciacon. ii. 318. St. Antoninus, who belonged to the same order with Cardinal Nicolas, describes him as "vir sagax, scripturarum peritissimus, et in agibilibus mundi experientissimus, qui et noverat secreta tractata." Cf. Hefele, vi. 360.

[f] G. Villani, viii. 80; Antoninus, iii. 270, Schröckh, xxxi. 16. Philip had also employed Cardinal Peter Colonna as an agent in bribery. Ferret. Vicent. 1014.

[g] G. Vill. viii. 80; Antonin. l. c.

were most likely to be put forward, he trusted that the French, by having the final choice in their hands, would be able to gain over the most formidable of their opponents.[h] Of the three who were nominated by the Italians, he fixed on Bertrand d'Agoust or Du Got,[i] archbishop of Bordeaux, a Gascon of noble family, who had been a thorough partisan of Boniface, had been indebted to that pope for the metropolitan see of Bordeaux, and had attended his synod of November, 1302.[k] The archbishop was a subject of the king of England, and therefore owed no immediate allegiance to the French crown; he had made himself obnoxious to Philip, and had more especially offended the king's brother, Charles of Valois.[m] Yet this was the man in whom Nicolas of Prato, reckoning on his notorious vanity and ambition, saw a fit instrument for bringing the papacy into subserviency to France. Between the nomination of the three and the final choice of a pope there was to be an interval of forty days. Within eleven days a courier despatched by Cardinal Nicolas arrived at Paris; and it is said that within six days more the king held a secret interview with the archbishop of Bordeaux in the forest of St. Jean d'Angely.[n] In consideration of receiving the papacy, the archbishop submitted to six conditions, of which five were expressed at the time, while the sixth was to be reserved until the occasion should come for the performance of it. Each party swore to the other on the holy Eucharist, and the future pope gave his brother and his two nephews as hostages for his good faith. He bound himself (1) to reconcile the king perfectly with the Church; (2) Philip and his agents were to be readmitted to communion; (3) the king was to be allowed the tithe of the ecclesiastical income of France for five years, towards the expenses of the Flemish war; (4) the memory of Pope Boniface was to be undone and annulled;[o] (5) the Colonnas were to be restored to the cardinalate, and certain friends of the king were to be promoted to the same dignity.[p] As to the sixth condition, attempts have been made to gather it by conjectures from the sequel of the history—that it related

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[h] Planck, v. 171.

[i] "*D'Agoust*, ou *De Goth*, selon la manière des Anglois, qui étoient alors les maîtres de la Guienne." (Baillet, 262.) On the other hand, M. Henri Martin says, "*Du Goth*, par corruption *D'Agout*" (iv. 459); and M. Rabanis calls him Du Got. The name was derived from Le Got, a village near Bordeaux. Reumont, ii. 720.

[k] G. Vill. l. c.; Bern. Guidonis, in Baluz. Vitæ Pap. Aven. i. 61; not. ib. 616.

[m] Antonin. l. c.

[n] G. Vill. l. c.; Antonin. l. c.

[o] "Disfare ed annullare." G. Vill. l. c.

[p] G. Vill. l. c.; Antonin. iii. 269.

to the empire,[q] to the order of the Templars,[r] or to the settlement of the papal court in France.[s]

But this story, which in itself appears suspicious from the fulness of detail with which transactions so mysterious are related, has of late been contradicted in almost every point;[t] and, more especially, a document has been discovered which proves that at the time of the alleged interview in the forest of St. Jean d'Angely, the archbishop was engaged in a visitation which must have prevented his meeting the king there or elsewhere.[u] It would seem, therefore, that the negotiations between the king and the archbishop were carried on through the agency of other persons; and the particular conditions which are said to have been imposed by Philip may have been inferred from the pope's later conduct.[x] That he had thoroughly bound himself to Philip's interest is, however, unquestionable. On the 5th of June, 1305, Bertrand du Got was elected to the papal chair, and each of the rival parties among the cardinals supposed him to be its own.[y]

But soon after the election the Italian cardinals, who had requested the new pope to consult the interests of the church by repairing to Italy, were surprised at receiving from him a summons to attend his coronation, not at Rome, but at Lyons.[z] Matthew Orsini, the senior of the college, is said to have told the cardinal of Prato that, since he had succeeded in bringing the papal court beyond the mountains, it would be long before it would return; "for," he added, "I know the character of the Gascons."[a]

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[q] Baillet, 265.

[r] Milman, v. 127.

[s] Murat. Anal. VIII. i. 27; Planck, v. 176.

[t] See Rabanis, 'Clement V. et Philippe le Bel,' Paris, 1858. M. Rabanis maintains for instance, that Bertrand du Got was never on bad terms with Philip; that the cardinal of Prato was not devoted to the king, &c. Bp. Hefele (vi. 360-1) and Mr. von Reumont (ii. 719) generally agree with this writer. Ferretto says that Bertrand was "Philippo gratissimus eo quod a juventute familiaris extitisset" (Murat. ix. 1015). On the other hand, H. Rebdorf says that the cardinals chose Bertrand because he had observed Boniface's processes against Philip strictly (Freher, i. 418); but he knows nothing of the alleged intrigues. Cf. Annal. Lubicenses, A.D. 1304, in Pertz, xvi.; Dino Compagni, 517.

[u] See M. Rabanis's book. He had before published the record of Bertrand's visitation (Bordeaux, 1850; see Martin, iv. 160). Villani's story had already been questioned, as by Mansi, in his notes on Rayn. iv. 390-1, and on Nat. Alex. xv. 83. Some of the old biographers speak of Clement as having been on a visitation when the tidings of his election reached him. Baluz. i. 1, 55.

[x] Planck, v. 175; Martin, l. c. Schwab points out that there are indications of a secret understanding in Baluz. i. 62, 63, 81. 'J. Gerson,' 5.

[y] G. Vill. l. c.; Antonin. l. c. For documents of the election, see Mansi, xxv. 123-8; Rayn. 1305. 6. M. Rabanis points out, in contradiction to Villani, that he was elected by scrutiny, which gave him a majority of 15 against 10. On the motives which might have influenced the cardinals in his favour, see Hefele, vi. 361-7.

[z] G. Vill. viii. 81; Ferret. Vicent. 1015; Rayn. 1305. 7.

[a] G. Vill. l. c.; Antonin. iii. 269.

Nov. 11.

On St. Martin's day the coronation of the new pope, who had taken the name of Clement V., was solemnized. The king of England had excused himself from the ceremony, on account of his war with the Scots; but Philip of France and King James of Majorca were present, and as the pope rode from the church of St. Just towards his lodgings, the king of France held his horse's reins for part of the way. But as the procession was passing near an old and ruinous wall, on which many spectators were crowded together, the wall gave way. The pope was thrown from his horse, and his crown was rolled in the mud; the duke of Brittany, who was leading the horse, was killed; and many other persons, among whom was Clement's own brother, perished.[b] The accident was regarded as ominous of evil to come.

Another near relative of Clement was soon after slain in an affray which arose out of a disreputable amour, and, in consequence of the exasperated feeling of the citizens, the pope thought it well to withdraw from Lyons to Bordeaux. As an instance of the manner in which the resources of cathedrals and monasteries were drained by the expense of entertaining him and his train on this journey, it is recorded that, after his departure from Bourges, the archbishop, Giles Colonna, found himself obliged to seek the means of subsistence in the daily payments which were allowed to members of his chapter for attendance at the offices of the cathedral.[c] During five years Clement sojourned in various parts of France, until at length he fixed his residence at Avignon, a city held under the imperial kingdom of Arles by the count of Provence, who, as king of Naples, was also a vassal of the papal see.[d] But, although nominally beyond the French territory, the popes at Avignon were under the influence of the kings of France, and the seventy years' captivity in Babylon (as it was styled by the Italians) greatly affected the character of the papacy. Among the popes of this time were some whose characters are entitled to great respect; but the corruption of the court grew to a degree before unknown, its exactions raised the indignation of all western Christendom,[e] and its moral tone became grossly scandalous. Clement himself openly entertained as his mistress

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[b] Vita I. Clem. V. cc. 1-2; Vita VI. 97; Will. Nang. contin. 58; Ptol. Luc. in Baluz. c. 23. Gir. de Fracheto, cont. in Bouq. xxi. 26.

[c] W. Nang. contin. 59; Baluz. i. 578; Bouq. xxi. 615.

[d] The adjoining territory of the Venaissin had been ceded to the popes by Philip III. in 1273. See Gibbon, vi. 358; Reumont, ii. 725-9.

[e] Vita I. Clem. V. cc. 3, 5.

Brunisenda de Foix, the wife of Count Talleyrand of Perigord, and lavished on her insatiable rapacity the treasures which he wrung out from the subjects of his spiritual dominion.[f] Simony was practised without limit and without shame,[g] and some payments which had formerly been made to the bishops, such as the first fruits of English benefices, were now seized by the popes themselves.[h] Ecclesiastical discipline was neglected, and the sight of the corruptions of Avignon swelled the numbers of the sectaries who regarded the church as apostate;[i] while in the meantime the ancient capital of western Christendom was left to neglect and decay.[k] But, whereas the Italians denounce the corruption of the papal court as an effect of its settlement in France,[m] French writers represent the luxury and vices of Avignon as imported from Italy, to the destruction of the virtuous simplicity which they suppose to have formerly characterised their own countrymen.[n] In truth the state of things which had been bad at Rome became worse at Avignon; but it is in vain that either nation would endeavour to throw the blame of this on the other.

From the very beginning of his pontificate Clement showed his subserviency to the author of his promotion. He granted to Philip the tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues of France for five years, under the name of a crusade; he restored the king and all his abettors in the late struggle to the communion of the Church; at his request he reinstated the cardinals of the Colonna family in all the privileges of their office;[o] he created ten new cardinals, who were all Frenchmen, or devoted to the French interest;[p] he withdrew all that was offensive in Boniface's bulls, the *Clericis laicos* and the *Unam sanctam*.[q] At the

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[f] G. Villani, ix. 58; Antonin. iii. 287.

[g] Ibid.

[h] Schröckh, xxxi. 21.

[i] Giannone, iv. 63. See the terrible invective of Dante, Inferno, xix. 82, seqq. Petrarch's testimony will be mentioned hereafter.

[k] In the beginning of this time, however, the Lateran church was rebuilt after having been burnt in 1308. (Rayn. 1308. 10-11; Gregorov. vi. 12.) Such was the enthusiasm for the work that women dragged waggons (quadrigas) laden with stone for it "non permittentes quod animalia eam violarent"—(Ptol. Luc. 31; Cf., Ricobald. in Murat. ix. 255). Clement contributed largely. Antonin. 276.

[m] See *e.g.* Flav. Blond. Hist. p. 339 and others quoted by Baluze, Præf. in VV. Pap. Aven.

[n] De Ruina Ecclesiae (otherwise 'De Corrupto Eccl. Statu,' commonly ascribed to Nicolas de Clemangis), c. 42, ed. Von d. Hardt; Baluz. præf. in Vit. Pap. Avenion. Baluze denies that the residence at Avignon was an exile, forasmuch as wherever the pope is, there is the apostolic see. Consequently Avignon could not be as Babylon.

[o] Baluz. ii. 63; Bern. Guid. 56; Annal. Altah. A.D. 1305. See above, p. 3.

[p] Dec. 15, 1305. (Ptol. Luc. 24; Antonin. iii. 269). Some of the older cardinals had returned to Rome. Hemingburgh, ii. 241.

[q] Feb. 1, 1306. Dupuy, 287-8. See Baillet, 270.

same time he began to display his own character by using his new power for purposes of revenge on persons who had formerly offended him, and by scandalous promotions of his near relations to dignities for which they were notoriously unfit. "The whole court," says St. Antoninus of Florence, "was governed by Gascons and Frenchmen." [r]

During the vacancy of the papal chair, William of Nogaret had repeatedly presented himself before the official of the bishop of Paris, and had protested against the sentence which the late pope Benedict had uttered against him, as having been based on false grounds.[s] He claimed for himself the character of a champion of the Church against the evil practices of Boniface; he declared that Boniface's misfortunes were the result of his obstinacy, and tendered a list of sixty articles against his memory. He charged him with the most abominable and monstrous crimes, with having obtained his office irregularly, with having been an enemy of the French Church and kingdom;[t] and he quoted against him the saying as to his having entered like a fox, reigned like a lion, and died like a dog.[u] As to his own behaviour at Anagni, he asserted that he had been obliged to use force, because the pope could not be dealt with by gentler means; that he had protected Boniface and the papal treasures, had saved his life and that of his nephew Peter Gaetani; that in consideration of his exertions, which had cost him much reproach, he had received the pope's thanks and absolution after Boniface had been set at liberty. And he professed a wish to be heard in his own justification before a council.[x]

Philip was not disposed to let the memory of Boniface rest. Immediately after the coronation of Clement he had desired him to listen to charges against his predecessor; and, although the pope was able to defer the matter for a time, Philip persisted in his design.[y] In 1307 he invited Clement, who was then at Bordeaux, to Poitiers[z]—ostensibly with a view to a crusade under Charles of Valois, who, by marrying the heiress of the Courtenays, had acquired pretensions to the throne of Constantinople. It was said that the reigning Greek emperor, Andronicus, was too weak to hold his ground against the

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[r] iii. 269. Cf. Bern. Guid. 58-9; Ptol. Luc. 39.

[s] Dupuy, 237-8, 269-73.

[t] Ib. 238, 251.

[u] Ib. 249. (See vol. iii. p. 542.)

[x] Dupuy, 246-8, 250-1, 259.

[y] Ib. 298, 368; Hefele, vi. 370.

[z] The pope's stay at Poitiers is said to have lasted about sixteen months, Gir. de Fracheto, in Bouq. xxi. 28.

advancing Turkish arms; that it was therefore expedient to set him aside, and to oppose to the infidels a strong Christian power, with Charles as its head. The pope entered into this scheme, wrote letters in favour of it, granted ecclesiastical tenths, and in other ways showed himself willing to favour the interest of the French princes. Of a vast debt which Charles of Naples had contracted to the papal treasury, two-thirds were forgiven, and the remainder was to be transferred to the proposed crusade;[a] the crown of Hungary was awarded to the Neapolitan king's grandson, Charobert, and proceedings were begun for the canonization of his second son Louis, who had died in 1297 as archbishop of Toulouse.[b] All who had been Philip's instruments in his contest with Boniface were allowed to go unpunished; even William of Nogaret was absolved, on condition that he should join the next crusade to the Holy Land, and that in the meantime he should make pilgrimages to the shrine of St. James at Compostella, and to certain other places of devotion.[c]

But still Philip urged on the case against Boniface, requiring that he should be condemned as a heretic, and that his bones should be disinterred and burnt.[d] Clement felt that by such a course the credit of the papacy would be grievously impaired; that if Boniface had not been a rightful pope, his appointments to the cardinalate must be void, and consequently Clement's own election, by cardinals of whom a large proportion owed their dignity to Boniface, would be annulled; and, as was natural, the cardinals whose position was affected were allied with the pope in opposition to Philip's wishes.[e] Finding that, although treated with a great show of respect at Poitiers, he was virtually a prisoner, Clement attempted to escape in disguise, carrying with him a part of his treasures; but the attempt was unsuccessful.[f] At length, however, it was suggested by the

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[a] See Ptol. Luc. in Baluz. i. 18, and note, p. 606; also i. 158; Rayn. 1306. 2; 1307. 2-6, 23-4, &c.; Milman, v. 132.

[b] For this younger St. Louis of the royal family of France, see the Acta SS. Aug. 19, p. 775, seqq.; Jordan. in Murat. Antiq. Ital., iv. 1023-7. He was only in his 24th year at the time of his death—having obtained dispensations as to the age for ordination as priest and bishop. He was canonized by John XXII. in 1317.

[c] Rayn, 1307. 11; Milm. v. 133. There are many documents relating to Nogaret in Menard, Hist de Nismes, Preuves, 126, seqq. From Philip's having named him as an executor in 1311, and having substituted another in 1314, it is inferred that he died in the interval. Hist. de Langued. iv. 118. See also note xi. in that volume.

[d] G. Vill. viii. 91. (Raynaldus says that Boniface's body was by divine providence kept uncorrupt for three centuries, 1307. 10.)

[e] G. Vill. l. c.; Antonin. iii. 271.

[f] Vita, I. 5.

cardinal of Prato that the question should be reserved for the consideration of a general council, which Clement intended to assemble at Vienne, a city beyond the bounds of the French king's territory. The pope eagerly caught at the suggestion; and Philip, who had often pressed for such a council, found himself now debarred from opposing it, however distasteful to him.[g]

But during the conferences at Poitiers another subject was brought forward, which held out at once to Clement a hope of rescuing the memory of Boniface and the credit of his see, and to the king the prospect of replenishing his exhausted treasury. For, notwithstanding the unexampled severity of his taxation, and the absence of all splendour in his court, Philip was continually in difficulties as to money, chiefly on account of his unsuccessful wars with the Flemings.[h] In order to supply his needs he had more than once expelled the Jews and the Lombards from his dominions, and had confiscated their property; and he had practised a succession of infamous tricks on the coinage, so as to provoke his subjects to discontent, which in 1306 broke out into insurrection.[i] Philip, finding himself insecure in his own palace, took refuge in the house of the Templars at Paris, which was more strongly fortified; and having appeased the multitude which besieged him there by concessions, he afterwards hanged nearly thirty of their leaders.[k] The society to which he had then been indebted for shelter and deliverance was now to feel his enmity.[m]

The great military orders of the Temple and the Hospital, while they grew in importance and in power, had incurred much

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[g] G. Vill. iii. 91; Antonin. l. c. Bp. Hefele, however, seems to be right in saying (vi. 372) that the distinct scheme of the council was of somewhat later date.

[h] Sism. ix. 156.

[i] G. Vill. viii, 66, seqq.; Vita Clem. I. col. 5; W. Nang. cont. 59; Bern. Guid. 83; Sism. ix. 177; Martin, iv. 464. See Raynouard, xxi. seqq.

> "Là si vedrà il duol che sopra Senna
> Induce, falseggiando la moneta,
> Quei che morrà di colpo di cotenna."
> Dante, *Parad.* xix. 118-120.

The insurgents are said to have been chiefly poor people, whose rents had been tripled in consequence of the king's operations on the coinage. Joh. a Sto. Victore, in Bouq. xxi. 647.

[k] W. Nang. cont. l. c.; Ptol. Luc. 26.

[m] Among the works on the suppression of the Templars may be named, the 'Procès des Templiers,' ed. Michelet, (Docum. Inéd. sur l'Hist. de France) 2 vols. 4to, Paris, 1841-51; Dupuy, 'Hist. de l Ordre milit. des Templiers,' Brussels, 1751; Raynouard, 'Monumens Historiques relatifs à la Condemnation des Chevaliers du Temple,' Paris, 1813: Maillard de Chambures, 'Règle et Statuts secrets des Templiers,' Paris, 1840; v. Hammer, 'Mysterium Baphometis revelatum' (in 'Fundgruben des Orients,' vi. 1-120) Vienna, 1818; v. Nell, 'Baphomet, Actenstücke zur Ehrenrettung eines christlichen Ordens' Vienna, 1820; Ménard, 'Hist. de Nismes,' Paris, 1750, t. i. Preuves, No. 136; Havemann, 'Gesch. des Ausgangs des Tempelherrenordens,' Stuttg. 1846. Against the memory of the Templars have been arrayed in France, through the influence of their various interests, royalist, legist, and ecclesiastical writers. See Sismondi, ix. 201-5; Martin, iv. 167.

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enmity by their assumptions, and had not escaped serious imputations. Although the Templars at their outset had received no special exemptions (for to such privileges their great patron, Bernard of Clairvaux, was opposed),[n] they had gradually acquired much of this kind.[o] Their lands were free from tithes. They were untouched by interdicts uttered against any place where they might be. A bull of Alexander III., granted as a reward for their adhesion to him against the rival claimant of the papacy, had made them independent of all but the papal authority, and allowed them to have a body of clergy of their own.[p] But Alexander himself found it necessary, at the Lateran Council of 1179,[q] to censure them, in common with the Hospitallers, for having greatly exceeded their privileges; and about thirty years later, Innocent III. reproved them as undutiful to the holy see, as insubordinate to all other ecclesiastical authority, as interfering with the discipline of the church, and as having fallen into many vices, so that they used the show of religion in order to blind the world to their voluptuousness.[r] At a later time, they had opposed Frederick II. in his expedition to the Holy Land, and it was said that they had offered to betray him to the Soldan—an offer which the more generous infidel made known to the object of the intended treachery.[s] Since the loss of Palestine, both orders had established themselves in the island of Cyprus, and many of the Templars had returned to settle on the estates which their order possessed in Western Europe.[t]

The order of the Temple now consisted of about 15,000 members, the most formidable and renowned soldiery in the world; and the whole number of persons attached to it may probably have amounted to not less than 100,000. About half of them were Frenchmen, and the preponderance of that nation was shown by the fact that all the grand-masters of the order had been French.[u] They had vast wealth, which it was supposed that they held themselves bound to increase by unlawful as well as by lawful means;[x] and, strong and powerful as they already were, it may have been not unnatural to suspect them of intending, after the example already given by the Teutonic Knights on the

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[n] Wilcke, ii. 184-5.

[o] See a summary in Dupuy, 104.

[p] See this bull, "Omne datum optimum," in Rymer, i. 27; or in Migne, Patrol. cc. 919.

[q] c 9.

[r] Ep. x. 121 (Patrol. ccxv.); cf. xii. 45 (ib. ccxvi. 56).

[s] See vol. iii. p. 394.

[t] For their quarrels with the king of Cyprus, see letters of Boniface VIII. in Dupuy, 176-8.

[u] Sism. ix. 231.

[x] See Havemann, c. 3.

Baltic, to establish a sovereignty of their own.[y] They were animated by a spirit of exclusive devotion to the brotherhood, and of contempt for all men beyond it. When Clement had projected an union with the Hospitallers, the master of the Temple, James de Molay, had declined the proposal on grounds which, although partly reasonable, showed a scornful assumption of superiority to the order which made the less rigid profession.[z] Towards the bishops, from whose authority they were exempt, towards the sovereigns of the countries within which their vast estates were situated, their behaviour was disrespectful and defiant.[a] The unpopularity caused by their pride [b] was increased by the mystery and closeness which they affected in all that concerned the order; and out of this not unnaturally arose dark suspicions against them. During the latter part of their career in the Holy Land they had become familiar with the infidels, whom they had at first opposed with unrelenting hatred;[c] and it was supposed that both their religion and their morals had been infected by their Oriental associations.[d] In their ordinary habits it is said that they were lax and luxurious, so that "to drink like a Templar" was a proverb.[e]

When Gregory IX., in 1238, had reproved the Hospitallers for having allied themselves with the Greek Vatatzes against the Latin emperor of Constantinople, he had taken occasion to speak of imputations of unchastity and heresy which were cast on them.[f] It was not until a later time that any accusations of heresy were brought against the Templars; but now strange and shocking reports of this kind were circulated, and, instead of the charge of familiarity with women, there were suspicions of unnatural vices, which were less abhorred in the east than in the west.[g] It would seem that the loss of the Holy Land

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[y] Maillard de Chambures, 64; Michelet, iii. 134.

[z] Baluz. Vitæ Pap. ii. 180-5; Dupuy, 179, seqq. A like proposal had been made by the Council of Salzburg in 1297. Hefele, vi. 235; Havem. 354.

[a] The grand-master admitted that they had been too rigid in asserting their privileges against bishops. Procès, i. 35.

[b] Their pride and oppressive character are owned by a member of the order. Proc. ii. 9.

[c] A Templar deposed that William of Beaujeu, when master, "habebat magnam amicitiam cum soldano et Sarracenis, quia aliter non potuissent ipse vel ordo terra ultra mare remansisse" (Proc. ii. 215.) See too the depositions of William Kilros, a chaplain of the order, in Wilkins, ii. 377.

[d] A Dominican witness says that a certain master, as a condition of deliverance from a soldans' prison, bound himself to introduce errors into the order. Proc. ii. 195-6.

[e] Havemann needlessly tries to explain this away (356). Raynouard says that the proverb is not found until after the destruction of the order (p. 8.)

[f] Raynald. 1238. 32.

[g] One witness of the order expresses his disbelief that such things were practised, "quia poterant habere mu-

had told unfavourably on their character. Having been deprived of their proper occupation, they may naturally have yielded to the temptations which arise out of idleness; perhaps, too, the spirit which commonly led the people of these days to judge by visible appearances may at once have led the Templars to doubt the power of the God whose champions had been forced to give way to unbelievers, and had disposed the generality of men to accept tales and suspicions against the order, to whose sins it was natural to ascribe the loss of that sacred territory which it had been their especial duty to defend.[h] And it is probable that even before their withdrawal from Palestine they may have taken up oriental superstitions as to the virtue of charms and magical practices.[i]

Philip the Fair had at one time endeavoured to establish a connexion with the order, probably in the hope of becoming master of its treasures; but his suit had been rejected. In the contest with Boniface, the Templars, notwithstanding the allegiance which most of them owed to the crown of France, had inclined to side with the pope;[k] and when Benedict XI. had granted Philip the tenths of spiritual property in France, the Templars had firmly stood on their exemption.[m] The king had been largely in their debt for money advanced to pay the dowry of his sister, the queen of England;[n] and his acquaintance with their resources had been extended by his late sojourn in the headquarters of the order at Paris—a large enclosure, covered with buildings sufficient to contain a vast number of dependents, and strong enough to hold out against a more formidable siege than that which he had there experienced.[o] And to the motives

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lieres pulchras et bene comptas, et frequenter eas habebant, cum essent divites et potentes, &c." (Procès, i. 326). Many witnesses say that great scandals had arisen against the order; one, that he was ashamed when people pointed at him and said "Ecce Templarium!" Ib. 618.

[h] Michelet, iii. 129; Milm. v. 138.

[i] Milm. v. 137. Von Hammer, in his 'Mysterium Baphometis revelatum' (see p. 12), and in his 'Mémoire sur deux Coffrets Gnostiques' (Paris, 1832) produces evidence of Gnostic abominations &c., but entirely fails to bring them home to the Templars. The *coffrets*, formerly in the Blacas collection, may now be seen in the British Museum; and I am informed by a high authority that they are certainly not older than the 15th century (*i.e.* that they date from after the ruin of the order). See Wilcke, ii. 290-301, against v. Hammer.

[k] Chron. Ast. in Murat. xi. 193; Milm. v. 140.

[m] Havem. 186.

[n] Th. de la Moor, Vit. Edw. II., in Camden, 'Anglica, Normannica,' &c. 593, where it is said that Philip hated the master on account of his importunity in demanding repayment.

[o] See Géraud's 'Paris sous Philippe le Bel,' with the maps (Doc. Inéd. sur l'Hist. de France, 1837). Henry III. of England, when visiting St. Louis in 1254, preferred the Temple to the king's palace as a lodging, on account of the greater room which it afforded for his train. Matth. Paris, 899.

of cupidity and jealousy[p] may have been added the influence of a Dominican confessor over the king's mind; for the Dominicans, who had at one time been closely allied with the Templars, had since become their bitterest enemies.[q]

The circumstances which led Philip to attack the Templars are variously reported. The story most generally received is, that one Squin of Floyrac or Florian, a native of Beziers, who had been prior of Montfaucon, having been imprisoned at Paris[r] for heresy and vicious life, became acquainted in prison with a Florentine named Noffo Dei,[s] an apostate from the order; and that these wretches conspired to seek their deliverance by giving information of enormities alleged to be committed by the Templars.[t] Squin of Florian refused to tell the important secrets of which he professed to be master to any one but the king; and Philip heard the tale with eager delight.[u] It appears that he spoke of the matter to the pope as early as the time of Clement's coronation at Lyons;[x] but nothing was done until later. The pope summoned the Masters and other chief dignitaries of the two great military orders from Cyprus, in order to a consultation as to the best means of carrying out an intended crusade.[y] The master of the Hospitallers, Fulk de Villaret, was able to excuse himself, on the ground that he and his brethren were engaged in the siege of Rhodes;[z] but the master of the Templars, James de Molay, a knight of Franche-Comté, who had been forty-two years in the order,[a] obeyed the summons, and appeared in France with such a display of pomp and of wealth as naturally tended to increase the envy and the mistrust with which his brotherhood was already regarded.[b] By Philip, to one of whose sons he had been godfather some years before,[c] he was received with great honour, and the pope, in accordance with the invitation which had been given, con-

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[p] "Totum tamen dicitur falso confictum ex avaritia." Antonin. iii. 274; cf. G. Vill. viii. 92.

[q] Michelet, iii. 136-7. The Asti chronicler says that Nogaret was "auctor pro posse ruinae ordinis," because the Templars had caused his father to be burnt as a heretic. 193.

[r] See the Hist. Langued. iv. 138; Procès, i. 36; Hefele, vi. 377.

[s] "Noffo Dei nostri Fiorentino." (G. Villani, viii. 92.) One of these men was afterwards hanged, and the other came to a violent end. Ib.

[t] Vita VI. Clem. p. 99; G. Vill. l. c.; Antonin. iii. 272; Havem. 193; Wilcke, ii. 261.

[u] Vita VI. Clem., p. 100.

[x] See the bulls "Faciens misericordiam" and "Regnans in Cœlis." Procès, i. 2; Mansi, xxv. 370; Baluz. ii. 75.

[y] There is a letter of J. de Molay on this subject in Dupuy, 182-5; and Raynaldus gives many letters relating to the Crusade.

[z] W. Nang. cont. 60; Vita I. Clem. p. 6. Rhodes fell into their hands on the festival of the Assumption, 1310. Bern. Guid. 72.

[a] Proc. ii. 305; Maillard, 89.

[b] Raynouard, 17.

[c] This was against the statutes of the Templars. See Wilcke, i. 229, 277.

sulted him as to the proposed crusade.[d] But the Templars soon became aware that rumours of an unfriendly kind were current, and themselves requested the pope to investigate the truth of the suspicions which had been cast on them. The result of this inquiry was favourable to the order;[e] but Philip held firmly to his purpose. On the 14th of September, 1307 (the Festival of the Exaltation of the Cross), orders were issued to his officers in all quarters, desiring them to prepare a force sufficient for the execution of certain instructions which were not to be opened until the 12th of October; and by these instructions they were charged to arrest all the Templars at one and the same time—a measure similar to those which the king had already employed towards the Jews and the foreign merchants. At the dawn of the following day[f] the orders were carried out without any difficulty; for the Templars, unsuspecting and unprepared, made no attempt at resistance. So closely was the king's secret concealed, that, on the 12th of October, James de Molay had, at his request, been one of those who carried the wife of the king's brother Charles to the grave;[g] and within a few hours the master and his brethren were arrested and conveyed to prison by a force under the command of William of Nogaret. The king took possession of the Temple, and throughout the kingdom the property of the order was placed under seal by his officers.[h]

Oct. 13.

Philip lost no time in following up the arrest of the Templars. Next day the canons of the cathedral and the masters of the theological faculty in the university were assembled in the chapter-house of Nôtre Dame. The question was proposed to them whether the king might of his own authority proceed against a religious order;[i] and, although the answer was not immediately given, it was foreseen and acted on—that the secular judge was not entitled to take cognisance of heresy, unless in cases remitted to him by the church; but that he might properly arrest suspected persons, and might keep them for ecclesiastical judgment.[k] On the following day, which was Sunday, the pulpits were filled with friars, who were charged to denounce the alleged crimes of the Templars; and some of the king's ministers addressed assembled crowds on the same subject.[m] Within a week from the time of the arrest, Philip set

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[d] Vertot, i. 477.

[e] Clement, letter of May 21, 1307, in Baluz. ii. 75; Giesel. VI. iii. 5; Havem. 200.

[f] W. Nang. cont. 60.

[g] Gir. de Frach. in Bouq. xxi. 29.

[h] W. Nang. cont. 60; Antonin. 362-3.

[i] Vita I. Clem. 9.

[k] Ib. 12.

[m] Ib. 9-10; W. Nang. cont. 60. Ray-

on foot an inquiry under his confessor, William Imbert, who also Oct. 19. held the office of grand inquisitor,[n] and, as a Dominican, was hostile to the Templars. The Master and others of the order were examined, and it is said that De Molay admitted the truth of almost all the charges.[o] In other parts of France also the investigation was carried on at the same time under the general superintendence of Imbert.[p]

By taking it on himself to direct an inquiry into such charges against a body which was especially connected with the Roman see, the king gave great umbrage to the pope, who wrote to him in strong terms of remonstrance, desiring that the prisoners should be made over to two cardinals and reserved for his own judgment, suspending the powers of inquisitors and of bishops over them, and ordering that their property should be kept inviolate for the benefit of the Holy Land. At the same time the pope declared his willingness to co-operate with Philip by desiring other sovereigns to arrest the Templars within their dominions.[q] To these demands Philip, after some delay, professed to yield; and by this concession he was able to overcome Clement's opposition.[r]

As in the case of Boniface, the king resolved to get up a national demonstration of concurrence in his policy; and with this view the estates of the realm were convoked at Tours in May, 1308. From such an assembly the Templars could expect no favour. They were (for reasons which have been already explained) hated by the nobles and by the clergy; and the commons were prepossessed against them by the tales which had lately been circulated. To deal with the assembled estates was an easy task for the subtlety of Nogaret (to whom the eight chief barons of Languedoc had entrusted their proxies) and of Plasian; and the meeting resulted in a memorial by which the king was entreated to go on with the process against the Templars, even although the ecclesiastical power should refuse to support him.[s]

While the French estates were sitting at Tours, the murder of May 1, 1308. Albert of Austria, by causing a vacancy in the empire, suggested to Philip a new object of ambition, for the attainment of which he desired to secure the pope's assistance,

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nouard remarks on the democratic tendency of attempting to gain the popular mind by such means instead of bringing the matter before a lawful assembly. xxxv.

[n] See the Procès, ii. 277, seqq.; Dupuy, append. li.-lii.

[o] Proc. ii. 305-6; W. Nang. cont. 60; Joh. S. Victor. 22.

[p] Martin, iv. 474.

[q] Dupuy, ii. 97-100; Vita I. Clem. 10; Baluz. ii. 75-6; Ptol. Luc. in Murat. xi. 1229; Boutaric, 132.

[r] Baluz. 1. 12-13; Hefele, vi. 380.

[s] Vita I. Clem. p. 12; Raynouard, 41-2; Hefele, vi. 381.

and found it necessary to deal tenderly with him.[t] Repairing from Tours to Poitiers, he laid before Clement the memorial of the estates, and offered to produce convincing evidence as to the guilt of the Templars. Seventy-two members of the order, carefully selected under the king's directions, were examined in the pope's presence, where they confessed the truth of the charges against them; and some days later, they heard their confessions read, and expressed their adhesion to them as true.[u]

The master and other dignitaries of the order were on their way to Poitiers, when it was found that they were too ill to travel beyond Chinon;[v] and there they were examined by three cardinals. It is said that De Molay confessed the charge of denying the Saviour in the ceremony of reception, and that he then referred the cardinals for further evidence to a serving brother of the order who attended on him.[x] The avowals of his companions reached still further;[y] but, in consideration of their professions of penitence, the cardinals were authorized by the pope to absolve them from the sins which they had acknowledged, and they commended them to the king's mercy.[z]

The pope professed to be convinced by the evidence which had been produced, and issued a number of documents in accordance with Philip's wishes. The powers of the bishops were restored, so that each might take cognisance of the matter within his own diocese; and until the meeting of the intended general council, the king was to retain the custody of the accused, in the name of the Church, and was to maintain them out of their property, which was allowed to remain in his hands.[a]

On the 12th of August appeared a bull, which begins with the words *Faciens misericordiam.* In this the pope, after having mentioned the reports which were current against the order, with the avowals which had been made by some members of it, both in his own presence and elsewhere, and having declared that King Philip acted in the matter not from rapacity, but from zeal for the orthodox faith—appoints commissioners to inquire into the case of the Templars in each province of France, and authorizes them to call in, if necessary, the aid

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[t] See hereafter, p. 40.

[u] Proc. i. 4; Ptol. Luc. c. 30; Vita I. Clem. 13; Havem. 218.

[v] This seems to have been merely an excuse for keeping them out of the pope's presence. Raynouard, 47; Hefele, vi. 389.

[x] Baluz. Vit. Pap. Aven. ii. 121-2; Clem. in Proc. i. 4; Havem. 219, 342.

[y] Clem. in Proc. i. 5.

[z] Clem. l. c. 5; cf. Baluz. ii. 134.

[a] Vita I. Clem. 6, 13; Ptol. Luc. c. 31; W. Nang. cont. 61; Dupuy, append. lvi. Hefele, vi. 384-6.

of the secular arm.[b] By another document of the same date[c] he orders that all property belonging to the Templars shall be given up, and threatens severe penalties against all persons, however eminent, who should venture to detain any part of it.[d]

Another bull, which is known by the title of *Regnans in cœlis*,[e] bears the same date with the *Faciens misericordiam*, and has much in common with it. By this bull the archbishop of Narbonne, the bishop of Mende (William Durantis, nephew and successor of the famous canonist and ritualist whose name he bore), the bishops of Bayeux and Limoges, and other ecclesiastics, were commissioned to investigate the matter of the Templars, with a view to the intended general council; and a list of 127 questions was annexed, embodying the charges already mentioned, with others of a like odious character. The inquiries of the commissioners were to concern themselves with the order generally, while the cases of individuals were left to the ordinary judges of such offences.[f] Their first sitting was on the 7th of August, 1309. The confessions formerly made were put in evidence, but an opportunity of disclaiming them was allowed; and, although the archbishop of Narbonne and other members of the commission often absented themselves, as if ashamed of their work, the examination was in general conducted with mildness.[g]

On the 26th of November, the Master De Molay was brought before the commissioners, and was asked whether he would defend the order. He answered that it was confirmed and privileged by the apostolic see, and contrasted the hasty character of the proceedings against it with the long delay of thirty-two years which had taken place before the deposition of the emperor Frederick II. For himself, he professed that he had neither the wisdom nor the skill necessary for the defence of the order; but that he must deserve contempt and infamy if he should fail to do what he could for a body to which he owed so much. He spoke of himself as a prisoner, with but four *deniers* in the world, but said that he wished to have assistance and counsel, in order that the truth might be known as to the order.[h] The commissioners offered him time and other facilities, but told him that in cases of heresy the proceedings must be simple and straightforward, and that the arts of advocates were inadmiss-

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[b] Mansi, xxv. 401. The copy sent to England is in Rymer, ii. 55.

[c] "Ad omnium fere notitiam." Mansi, xxv. 406.

[d] See other documents on this part of the subject in Baluz. ii. 97, seqq.

[e] Mansi, xxv. 369, seqq.

[f] Proc. i. 25; Giesel. II. iii. 11.

[g] Havem. 345.

[h] Proc. i. 33.

able.[i] They then read to him the pope's bull, in which his own confession before the cardinals at Chinon was mentioned. On hearing this he crossed himself twice, and made other demonstrations of the utmost astonishment and indignation. "If," he said, "the commissioners were persons of another sort, they would hear something of a different kind from him." To this they replied that they were not to be challenged to the ordeal of battle; whereupon the old knight rejoined that he had not thought of such things, but only wished that in this case the same rule might be observed which was observed by the Turks and Saracens—that false accusers should have their heads cut off or should be cleft down the middle of their bodies.[k] He then, observing William of Plasian, who had attended the session uninvited, desired leave to speak with him. The old man's confidence was won by Plasian's professing to love him as a brother knight, and affecting to caution him against imprudence in the management of his cause;[m] and the examination was adjourned until the next day but one. When the master was again brought forward, the effects of Plasian's insidious counsels were evident. He declared that as an unlearned and poor man, he would not undertake the defence of the order; but, as it appeared from the bull that Clement had reserved to himself the judgment of the chief officers, he desired that he might be carried before the pope with as little delay as might be.[n] On being told by the commissioners that their business was to deal with the order, and not with individuals, he asked leave to state three facts in favour of the brotherhood—that he knew of no order in which the divine services were better performed or with greater splendour of ornaments; none in which almsgiving was more liberal; no religious order, and no kind of persons, who more readily shed their blood for the Christian faith, or were more dreaded by its enemies.[o]

The commissioners remarked that unless the foundation of faith were sound, all these things were unavailing; to which De Molay assented, and in proof of his own orthodoxy, stated his belief in the chief articles of the Christian creed.[p] Nogaret, who was present, asked some questions as to the stories which were current against the order, but the master replied that he had never heard of them. He begged Nogaret and the

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[i] Ib.

[k] Ib. 34. Havemann remarks that the grand-master's anger was evidently real; that either the cardinals had wrung out by torture something which was untrue, or his confession had been tampered with. 347.

[m] Ib. 34-5; Havem. 231.

[n] Ib. 42-3.

[o] Ib. 45.

[p] Ib. 41.

commissioners that he might be allowed to enjoy the offices of religion with the services of his chaplains, and they promised to see to the matter.[q]

Of the other knights who were examined, some said that they would defend the order;[r] some that they were willing to do so, if they might have their liberty and their property restored to them, but that in their captive and destitute condition the question was a mockery;[s] some, apparently in the belief that the order was doomed, and tempted by the hope of making good terms for themselves, declined to stand up for it;[t] one expressed a belief that by administering the holy Eucharist to those who gave evidence on opposite sides, a Divine judgment might be obtained for the manifestation of the truth.[u] On the 28th of March, 1310, about 550 knights from all parts of France, who had professed themselves willing to undertake the defence of the order, were assembled in the orchard[x] of the bishop's palace at Paris.[y] The charges were read over in Latin by a notary, but when he was proceeding to re-state them in French, a cry arose that this was needless, that they did not care to hear in the vulgar tongue such a mass of charges, too vile and abominable to be mentioned.[z] When asked whether they would defend the order, they said that were ready to do so if permitted by their superiors.[a] They were desired to name six, eight, or ten persons as proxies; and Peter of Boulogne, a priest, was appointed with others, although they said that they could not act without the master's sanction.

After the meeting in the bishop's orchard, the commissioners visited the various houses in which the Templars were confined. In the course of these visits it became evident that a great part of the confessions to the disadvantage of the order had been wrung out by torture, by hunger, or by the other hardships of their long imprisonment.[b] The torments which had been applied are described by some of the sufferers, and, among them, by one who had been racked by the original accuser, Squin of Florian.[c] He professes himself willing to endure death in any form, but unable to withstand the protracted agony of the torture—by

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[q] Proc. 45.

[r] Ib. 57, 61, &c. Some in a Romance document make exception of the *ostal* of the king and the pope. i. 141.

[s] Ib. 81-2.

[t] Ib. 58, &c.; Milm. v. 202. Thus one says "Quod nolebat litigare cum dominis papa et rege Francorum;" and adheres to his evidence in all points except as to sodomy, which he says he had confessed through fear of further torture. Proc. i. 41

[u] Ib. 69.

[x] "Viridarium."

[y] Proc. i. 99.

[z] Ib. 100. Compare their strong denunciations of the charges, ib. 115.

[a] Ib. 101.

[b] Proc. *passim;* W. Naug. cont. 60.

[c] Proc. i. 36.

which some of the knights declare that they might have been wrought to confess anything whatever, even the guilt of having put the Saviour to death.[d] They entreat that no layman, or other person who might be likely to disturb them, may be allowed to be present at the examinations, and protest that, when their terrors and temptations are considered, it was not wonderful that some should lie, but rather that any should venture to speak the truth.[e] They complain bitterly of the rigorous treatment which they met with; that they were miserably lodged, loaded with chains, and scantily fed; that they were deprived of the ministrations of religion; that their brethren who had died in prison had been excluded from the last sacraments and from Christian burial; that they themselves, in addition to other heavy charges, were even compelled to pay, out of the wretched pittance which was allowed them, a fee for unloosing and refastening their chains, and a toll for their passage across the Seine[f] on every day of their examination. They represent that they cannot act in behalf of the order without the master's leave; they urge that, as being nearly all unlearned men, they may be allowed the assistance of advocates, and entreat that so much of the order's property may be granted to them as would suffice for the costs of their defence.[g]

A.D. 1310.

In the meantime Philip had set another engine in motion for the accomplishment of his purpose. By exerting a strong pressure on the pope, he had contrived that Philip de Marigny, a young brother of his favourite counsellor, Enguerrand de Marigny, should be promoted to the archbishoprick of Sens.[h] The new archbishop received his pall at Easter, 1310, and on the 10th of May he opened at Paris a provincial council, before which a number of Templars, who had retracted their confessions, were brought to trial as relapsed heretics. Some of them yielded, and were allowed to escape altogether, or with slight punishment; others were put to penance, or were sentenced to imprisonment for life; but those who adhered to their retractation were condemned to be made over to the secular arm, such of them as belonged to the clerical order being previously degraded.[i]

While the commissioners were engaged in their investiga-

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[d] Ib. 36, 40-1, 75; Ménard, Preuves, 183.

[e] Proc. i. 166. See Sism. ix. 206.

[f] Proc. i. 151.

[g] Ib. 100, 126-7, &c.

[h] Raynouard, 92: Michelet, iii. 172.

[i] W. Nang. cont. 63. Burning had been threatened in the pope's name as the punishment of any who should be obstinate. There is some mystery as to the letter of Philip Vouet and John de Janville in which the threat is conveyed. (Procès. i. 71-2.) The fate of the Templars is thus described by John of St. Victor, one of Clement's biographers: (1) Some put off the habit, were absolved, and set free; (2) those who retracted their confession were burnt; (3) those who refused to

tions, they were informed of the summary processes by which the archbishop of Sens was sentencing men to death, and the four chosen defenders of the order put in an appeal to them, lest the knights who had offered to defend it should be dealt with in like manner; but they answered that they had no power to interfere, as the archbishop was independent of them by virtue of the pope's late decree, which had restored to the French prelates their ordinary jurisdiction in such matters. They sent, however, a message to the council, requesting that it would delay its proceedings, as the report of these had so terrified the witnesses before the commission as to render them incapable of giving evidence calmly; but their envoys were not allowed to see the archbishop, and they made no further attempt to interpose.[k]

On the 12th of May, fifty-four Templars were, by the sentence of the council, conveyed to a field near the convent of St. Antony, where a stake had been prepared for each.[m] It was announced that any one who would confess should be set at liberty, and the unhappy knights were beset by the importunities of their kindred and friends, entreating them to save themselves by accepting this offer. But although deeply affected by the feelings which are natural in such a case, not one of the whole number flinched. They endured the slow kindling of the faggots, and the gradual progress of the flames which were to consume their bodies; and with their last breath they attested their orthodoxy by invoking the Saviour, the blessed Virgin, and the saints.[n] The courage and constancy of these brave men impressed the popular mind deeply and widely;[o] but it soon became manifest that their fate had struck terror into the hearts of many among their brethren. On the following day, a Templar named Aimeri de Villars was brought before the commissioners, and appeared as if beside himself from terror and excitement. With vehement gestures, beating his breast, tossing his arms in the air, and imprecating on himself the most frightful curses unless his words were true, he declared that the charges against the order were all false, although under extremity of torture he had before admitted some of them; but that the sight of the victims as they were dragged in carts to the

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confess were kept in prison; (4) penitents who confessed were forgiven, and set free. Bouq. xxi. 655, 658; Baluz. Vitae Pap. Aven. i. 22.

[k] Proc. i. 259, 274.

[m] Raynouard gives the names of forty-six (110-11), and shows that the treatment of these men as relapsed heretics was condemned by high authorities at the time. 106-7.

[n] Vita 1. Clem. 17; G. Vill. viii. 92; Antonin. 274; c. Zantfliet, in Martene, Coll. Ampl. v. 159-160. The continuer of William of Nangis makes the number of these sufferers fifty-nine. p. 63.

[o] W. Nang. contin. 63; Gir. Frach. contin. 31.

place of execution on the preceding day had so terrified him that, rather than endure the fire, he was ready to own whatever might be imputed to him, even if it were said that he had slain the Saviour.[p]

The commissioners, in disgust at the cruelties which had been committed, and in despair of obtaining trustworthy evidence so long as the impression of the terror should be fresh, adjourned their sittings from the 19th to the 30th of May, and afterwards for a longer time; and when they met again, in the middle of October, the effect of the late proceedings was plainly shown. Many knights, who had professed their readiness to defend the order, now renounced the defence, lest they should make themselves liable to the doom of relapsed heretics from the archbishop of Sens and his suffragans.[q] Of the four chosen representatives, Philip of Boulogne had disappeared; another had become disqualified through having been degraded from his orders by the council; and the remaining two declared that after the loss of their colleagues they were no longer equal to the task.[r] From this time the evidence before the commissioners was more in accordance with the wishes of the prosecutors than before; it seemed as if the fate of the order were hopeless, and as if its members were bent only on trying, by whatever means, to secure their individual safety.[s] Between August 1309 and the end of May 1311, 231 witnesses were examined; and, at length, the commissioners sent off the report of the evidence to the pope without pronouncing any judgment of their own on it.[t] In the meantime both councils and commissioners in other parts of France had been engaged on the affair of the Templars. The only council of which a record has been preserved is one of the province of Reims, which met at Senlis; and by its sentence the body of a dead Templar was dug up and burnt, while nine members of the order perished at the stake, steadfastly declaring their innocence of the crimes imputed to them.[u]

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[p] Proc. i. 275-6.

[q] Proc. i. 282; Havem. 351.

[r] Proc. i. 286-7.

[s] Milm. v. 181. M. Michelet, in his preface to vol. ii. of the 'Procès,' says that the denials are "almost all identical," and that the confessions are "all different, varied by special circumstances which give them a peculiar character of veracity." On the other hand, Dean Milman says, "I confess that my impressions of the fact is different; though I am unwilling to set my opinion on this point against that of the writer.' (v. 185; cf. Havem. 313.) Having read the evidence with the knowledge that it had been thus variously appreciated, I have no hesitation in siding with the dean of St. Paul's. It is remarkable that when any new circumstance appears in the evidence of a witness, it is commonly repeated by a number of others.

[t] Proc. ii. 270-1.

[u] Bern. Guidon 72; W. Nang. cont. 63. For the proceedings of the Nismes commissioners, see Ménard, i. Preuves, 167, seqq.

We may now proceed to examine the charges which were brought against the order of the Temple, with the evidence which was drawn forth by the inquiry.

The ceremonies of initiation are described with an amount of variety which proves that they must have differed according to places, times, and other circumstances; but the avowals of those who confessed may be thus summed up as to their general substance.[x] The candidate, on bended knees, requested that he might be admitted into the society of the order, and might be allowed to share in its bread and water and clothing. He was told, by way of answer, that what he asked was a great thing. He was warned that he must prepare himself to endure hardships; that he must not judge of the order by the splendid appearance and equipments of the knights; but that he might have to walk instead of riding, to be hungry when he might wish to eat, to thirst when he might wish to drink, to go when he might wish to stay, to watch when he might wish to sleep, to give up his liberty for absolute obedience and servitude. If he still persevered in the desire to be admitted, he was then questioned as to his freedom from impediments, such as debts or secret ailments; he was required to profess his Christian faith, and in some cases to kiss the cross;[y] he took the monastic vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, and swore to observe the statutes of the order; after which an instruction in his duties as a member of it was addressed to him. Then, according to the confessions of many Templars, the new knight was led into some small chapel or other secret place; a cross, either plain or with an image of the Saviour on it, was produced; and he was required (in some cases thrice)[z] to deny God and to spit on the cross—perhaps also to trample on it. He was next required to kiss the receiver on various parts of his body—sometimes in the most obscene and degrading manner. In some instances, it was said, the new member was told that unnatural lust was permitted in the order; sometimes an idol was produced, a cord was passed round its head, and this (or, at least, a cord which was supposed to bear some mysterious meaning) was very commonly worn by the Templars. In some instances these offensive ceremonies were not required until some days after the more legitimate form of reception.[a]

With regard to the alleged abominations of the initiation,

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[x] For the order prescribed by the statutes, see Maillard de Chambures, 332, seqq, 488; comp. Havem. 105-6.

[y] *E. g.* Proc. i. 567.

[z] *E. g.* Proc. i. 205.

[a] Proc. i. 444-5. One witness speaks of an interval of about two months (ii. 205).

there is first the question of fact; and, as to such of the circumstances as may be accepted for facts, there remains the question as to the interpretation of them. A late ingenious writer supposes the whole to be symbolical—that the applicant for admission was represented as sunk in the depths of sin and apostasy, and from this state the order was supposed to raise him.[b] But of this theory there is no proof, nor has the supposed symbolism any real analogy with the Festival of Fools and other such things, with which the writer in question would compare it. Rather we may perhaps suppose that the ceremonies were imposed—injudiciously and blameably indeed, but without necessarily involving any evil meaning—as a test of the obedience which had just been professed;[c] in order to typify, by the denial of that which had been acknowledged as holiest,[d] by compliance with degrading and disgusting requirements, the entire and unreserved submission which the new member of the order had become bound to yield to the commands of his superiors.[e] That this intention was not explained would seem to have been of the very essence of the system: the Templars were left to interpret it for themselves; they were forbidden to communicate with each other as to the mode of reception, and many of them may have failed to understand a meaning which may nevertheless have been really intended. In many cases no such ceremonies were enforced at all;[f] many Templars asserted that they had never heard of them until after the arrest of the order;[g] and men who deposed that they themselves had been obliged to

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[b] Michelet, iii. 125.

[c] Thus one deposes that it was said to him, "Tu jurasti obedire omnibus præceptoribus tuis et præceptis quæ tibi fierent; ego volo probare si servabis quod jurasti; unde præcipio tibi quod abneges Deum." And, on his expressing, horror, it was added that many things were said with the mouth to which the heart did not consent. Proc. ii. 200; cf. 260.

[d] See Proc. i. 342. The denial of the Saviour seems to be established, according to Gieseler, who, however, thinks that it may have been derived from some Saracen spell, and that the Templars submitted to this in the hope of making all right with the Church afterwards. II. iii. 14-7.

[e] One witness supposes that these things were required, "ad hoc, ut esset eis magis subjectus, et in majorem confusionem suam, si vellet erigere se contra superiorem suum." (Proc. i. 361; cf. ib. 516). One was required on the first day to kiss a picture of the crucifixion and a crucifix; but a week after, two servitors made him spit on these and deny God. On his threatening to tell the receiver, they say that if he do they will kill him (ib. i. 561). Another says that he believed it to be a sin to spit on the cross, but that he did it because of his oath (i. 215; cf. i. 622, ii. 5). In England, John of Stoke, a chaplain, deposed that he was received without any improprieties, but that some time after a master questioned him as to the circumstances, and then said, "We shall soon see whether you are obedient;" whereupon a crucifix was brought, and the master said that he who was there represented was not God, but was put to death for claiming to be the Son of God:—"Ego ipse fui in loco ubi natus fuit et crucifixus." John was then compelled by threats to deny the Saviour. Wilkins, ii. 387-8.

[f] *E.g.* ii. 83.

[g] See Proc. ii. 88. These seem to have been from Saintonge, Perigord, and that district.

submit to them deposed also that in later receptions, which they had witnessed or in which they had themselves acted the part of receivers, the offensive forms were not required.[h] The witnesses all declared that they had been horrified at hearing these proposed—that they would rather have been on their way to the galleys, in the depths of the earth, even in purgatory itself, than be put to such a trial,[i] and that they had earnestly endeavoured to escape it. In some cases resistance had been successful in obtaining an exemption from the ceremonies, either wholly or in part;[k] but more commonly the novices were told that they were bound to submit, in virtue of the obedience which they had sworn, and because these were points established in the order:[m] while, for the satisfaction of their scruples, they were assured that the denial of the Saviour was merely a form, a jest, an imitation of St. Peter's denials; that it was to be made with the mouth only, not with the heart, and was not contrary to Christian religion, or dangerous to the soul.[n] All declared that their denials had been made with the mouth alone, and some professed to have uttered a like declaration at the time when they were received. All declared that their spitting had not been on the crucifix or cross, but near it,[o] and some had been told by their receivers that the mere pretence of spitting was enough.[p]

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[h] See Proc. i. 268, 292, 379, 416-7. Wilcke supposes that there were various degrees in the order, each having an initiation of its own (i. 349). But of this there seems to be no proof.

[i] *E.g.* i. 324, 332, 334; ii. 179. One declares that he would rather have been at Rome (*ib.* 330). Another says, "et orripilavit, id est, eriguere pilli sui." (*ib.* 242.)

[k] *E.g.* i. 250, 386, 404, 417, 426, 576, 579, 587; ii. 257-8.

[m] Ib. i. 302, 312, 334, 358, 501, &c. It is deposed that one receiver wept at the necessity of enforcing the denial; and that afterwards, on being asked why such things were done, he said that he knew no other ground than custom (568-9). The denials, &c., were commonly said to have been introduced by a master who had been a captive among the Saracens—*five hundred* (!) years ago, as one witness had been told (*ib.* 258).

[n] Dupuy, 211-2; Proc., i. 321, 325, 462, 464, 496-7, 504, 519; ii. 110, 260, 355-6, 362, 576. Godfrey de Thoton was told that, if he would comply with what was required, it should afterwards be explained to him, but in case of refusal, he would be placed "in tali loco quod non videret pedes suos." Proc. i. 222-3. Cf. ii. 307.

[o] In some cases they were merely required to spit on the ground, there being no cross there. Proc. i. 609, 615, 912; ii. 232.

[p] *E.g.* Proc. i. 253, 366, 480, 483, 519. One deposes that, after he had complied, the receiver "incepit subridere, quasi dispiciendo ipsum testem, ut sibi visum fuit." (*ib.* 53). To another the receiver said, "Vade fatue, confitearis" (*ib* 590). To one witness a plain cross was shown, and he was asked whether he believed "quod in dicta cruce erat propheta." He answered, "No, because there is no image," and was then required to spit. (i. 549). Another was told that he ought not to believe in Him who was represented by the crucifix, "sed in Deum qui erat in paradiso" (*ib.* 332). This might have grown out of a caution against the vulgar excess of regard for images, as another Templar was told that the crucifix was but "frustum ligni, et Deus noster erat in cœlis" (*ib.* 215); but another witness goes further, and states that he was told that he should not believe on Him who was represented by the crucifix, "qui fuerat falsus propheta, et quod negaret eum" (*ib.* 552; cf. ii. 51). One knight, on being required to deny "lo propheta," said he did not know who was meant, but that, if it were the devil, he

Although they were usually told that they must make no confession except to the clergy of the order,[q] they had invariably carried their tale of the initiation to some other confessor, who had listened to it with astonishment and horror, and had enjoined some penances by way of expiation.[r] Sometimes the receivers themselves, while requiring submission, told the candidates that they might confess to whomsoever they would.[s] In one case the confessor suggested that the denial of the Saviour had been required in order to test the novice's spirit, and that, if he had stedfastly refused, he would have been considered fit to be sent earlier to the Holy Land, and to encounter the dangers of intercourse and captivity among the infidels.[t] All the witnesses agreed in testifying that, after their admission, no attempt had been made to confirm them in apostasy;[u] that the order adored the cross on Good Friday and on the festivals of its Invention and Exaltation;[v] and that they considered their brethren in general to be true Christian believers, although some of them suspected that those who had enforced such ceremonies at the reception could not be sound in the faith.[x]

With regard to the kissing which was said to be a part of the rite of admission to the order, and to have been the subject of much ridicule from their rivals of the Hospital,[y] it appears that the clerical members were usually excused from it; that a formal appearance of kissing the receiver between the shoulders, or in some such place, was considered to be enough; and that when objections were taken to any further kissing, it was never enforced.[z]

The most disgusting of the accusations against the order might be supposed to have grown out of a charge which was given to the new members that each should share his bed with

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denied him with all his works (i. 417) Another says that, being asked to deny "lo propheta," he did not understand who was meant, and, being young, complied; but that he felt remorse because he was told that the Jews styled the Saviour so (ii. 168); another, that, the name used being *Jesus*, he was told that it was a prophet named Joshua, but that he must not ask (ii. 230). One professes to have been told by his uncle, who had witnessed his reception, that Christ was not crucified for our sins, but for His own (ii. 242). One was told that he ought not to believe in Christ, because He was a false prophet, but only "in Deum superiorem" (ii. 384). John of Stoke, a chaplain of the order, who was examined in England, made a like declaration. Wilkins, ii. 387-8.

[q] *E. g.* Proc. 295.

[r] *E. g.* Proc. i. 210.

[s] *E. g.* Proc. i. 525, 555.

[t] Proc. i. 590; cf. i. 405.

[u] Ib. i. 208, 584.

[v] Ib. i. 555; iii. 463, 467.

[x] Ib. i. 309, 313, 318, 340.

[y] Proc. ii. 153.

[z] *E g.* i. 298, 306, 342, 358, 483, 622; ii. 45, 79. Some witnesses swore that, instead of kissing the receiver, they had been kissed by him "in fine spinæ dorsi" (i. 552; ii. 37); or that the receiver gave them the choice (i. 456). Ralph de Gisi is said, while admitting new members, to have shown in his countenance his disgust at the objectionable ceremonies. i. 569.

a brother, if required[a]—a charge of which the true sense was, that they should be ready to give up their own convenience for that of others.[b] Some witnesses, indeed, deposed that they were expressly authorised to indulge in unnatural lusts.[c] But, even if this were true, the real intention might have been, not to sanction such abominations, but (as has been already suggested with regard to the denials) to try the spirit of the new members by the shock of an apparent contrast with the vows of religion and purity which had just been taken;[d] and it is certain that acts of the kind in question were denounced in the institutes of the order as deadly sins,[e] that they were regarded with abhorrence, and that, in the very rare instances which were detected,[f] they were visited with severe punishment, such as lifelong imprisonment in chains, or expulsion from the order.[g]

The tales as to the use of idols by the Templars are very indistinct and perplexing. Some witnesses deposed that an idol had been produced at their reception, but could give no satisfactory account of it. They had been too much disturbed in mind to look at it; one said that at the sight of it he had run away in terror.[h] And the descriptions of its appearance were very various: that it had one head, and that it had three;[i] that it had two feet in front and two behind;[k] that it was a bare human skull, that it was black, that it was gilt and silvered, that it had a long white beard, and that its eyes were glowing carbuncles;[m] that it was the head of St. Peter or of St. Blaise,[n] of one of St. Ursula's virgin companions,[o] of a master who had apostatised to Islam and had introduced the guilty customs into the order,[p]—or of a cat.[q] Some declared that they had often

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[a] Proc. i. 568; ii. 317, 332, 346, 389; Havem. 369.

[b] The Rule directed that they should sleep separately, "nisi permagna causa vel necessitas evenerit,' c. 71. (Patrol., clxvi. 872).

[c] Menard, i. 174-5; Proc. i. 249, 287, 372, 375, 544, 627, &c.

[d] Thus many say that the charge was given to them, but that they did not believe it to be seriously meant, or to be acted on, *e.g.* i. 396.

[e] "Lequel est si ort et si puant, et si orrible, que il ne doist estre nomes." Règle, c. 122, in Maillard, 390; cf. 456; Proc. i. 196, 382; ii. 215, 460. One witness, at his reception, sixty-two years before the trial, had been warned against such things. Proc. i. 7.

[f] As to this, the confessions are utterly contradictory to what von Hammer says as to frequency. Myster. Baphom. 70.

[g] Maillard, 456; Proc. ii. 223; Havem. 139.

[h] Proc. i. 399, 400; ii 193, 367.

[i] Menard, i. 171, where the Templars are said to have relied on the idol for wealth, and for the fruitfulness of the earth.

[k] Proc. ii. 210.

[m] Dupuy, Append., 207, &c. See Havem. 360.

[n] Proc. ii. 240.

[o] Proc. i. 502.

[p] Chron. de Melsa, ii. 249.

[q] V. Hammer's remark on this may be taken as a specimen of his argument:—"Sub *cato* de quo mentio fit, *canem* ideo intelligendum esse credimus, quia nullibi catus, sed ubique canis conspicitur." (Myster. Baphom. 71.) John de Bollencourt had heard, but not until after his arrest, that a cat appeared at the chapters (Proc. i. 378). Another had heard that a cat appeared in battles beyond the sea, but he did not believe it. *Ib.* 251.

seen an idol—to which the name of Baphomet[r] (a corruption of Mahomet)[s] was given—produced for adoration at chapters of the order at Montpellier,[t] and even at Paris.[u] But there is no evidence as to actual use elsewhere, nor, although the suddenness of the arrest would have put it out of the power of the Templars to conceal their idols, if they had possessed any, was any such object discovered in any of their houses.[v] Perhaps, therefore, the charge of idolatry may have had no other foundation than the use of reliquaries made in the form of a human head, to which credulity annexed the wild stories[x] which were current.[y]

The practice of wearing a cord round the body was established by the evidence; but the object of it was very variously explained.[z] Although some witnesses deposed that the cord, which was given to them at their initiation, had been previously applied to an idol,[a] the greater number knew nothing of such a contact, and stated that the cord had not been delivered to them on the part of the order, but that they were allowed to procure it for themselves.[b]

On the question at what time and on what occasion the offensive rites had been introduced into the order, no satisfactory or consistent testimony was to be obtained. There were stories

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[r] Dupuy, 216.

[s] The name appears thus in Provençal literature. Raymond of Agiles calls Mahomet *Bahumeth*, and a mosque *bafumeria* (Hist. Hierosol. cc. 6, 26, &c., Patrol. civ.; Herder, Philos. u. Gesch. xv. 293, ed. Stuttg. 1829. See Ducange, s. v. *Bafumeria*). It was stated that in a chapter at Florence one Templar said to the others, "Istud caput vester Deus est et vester Mahumet." (Raynouard, 295. See von Nell, 81; Giesel. II. iii. 6, 13). Nicolai supposed the word to have a Gnostic sense, meaning *baptism of wisdom, βαφή μήτιδος* (or, as he wrote it, *μήτους*); and in this has been followed by Hammer and by Wilcke (i. 153). M. Michelet also inclines to the same fancy. Against Nicolai, see Herder, lit. 287, seqq.

[t] Proc. ii. 210, 279, 363. (This witness says that he adored it "ore et fingendo.") Cf. i. 597; ii. 190; Menard, 211-2; Dupuy, 220 The fullest testimony is that of Bernard de Selgues, at Nismes, who was evidently disposed to go all lengths. Menard, 211.

[u] Proc. ii. 299, 300.

[v] See Proc. ii. 218; Havem. 360; Milm. v. 183. Von Hammer's attempt to controvert this (74) is unavailing. See Nell, 80.

[x] See the tale about a lord of Sidon. Proc. i. 645; ii. 140, 223.

[y] One witness said that the idol which had been used at his reception was publicly displayed with the relics on solemn days. (Proc. i. 502.) James of Troyes knew nothing of idols belonging to the order, but had heard that Brother Ralph of Gisi had a demon of his own, by whose help he grew wise and rich. (Proc. i. 257.) For Ralph of Gisi's own testimony, see *ib.* ii. 394.

[z] One says that it was by St. Bernard's direction—*i.e.*, according to the statutes, which really prescribed no such thing (Proc. ii. 228); another, that it was "in signum castitatis" (*ib.* 231). Gieseler thinks that it may have been originally an oriental charm. (II. iii. 23.) A witness at Elne refers to our Lord's words, "Let your loins be girded about," &c. (Proc. ii. 431.) Robert de Hamilton, "usum cinguli fatetur propter honestatem, et nominat eum cingulum de Nasareth, tactum ad quandam columnam." Wilkins, ii. 366.

[a] Menard, 927; Proc. i. 191, 193, 206-9. But in this last case there is nothing about worshipping the head.

[b] Proc. i. 219, 292, 400. One said that he had thrown away his cord on being told that it had touched a head "ultra mare," ii. 249.

of their having been instituted by a master who had been captive to a soldan;[c] it was said by some that they had been used under the last four masters only;[d] but other witnesses declared that nothing was known on the subject.[e]

The mystery in which the proceedings of the order were shrouded gave occasion for much popular suspicion against it.[f] The receptions and the chapters were held with closed doors, sometimes by night or in the faint light of dawn,[g] and the members were forbidden to talk even among themselves of what took place on these occasions.[h] A witness who did not belong to the order was told by one of the high officers that, at the proceedings of the chapters, there was one point so wonderful and so secret, that if the king of France himself were by chance to witness it, those who held the chapter would be compelled to secure his silence by putting him to death. The same officer had also declared that, in addition to the ordinary book of statutes, the Templars had another, so mysterious that he would not for the whole world allow it to be seen;[i] and other witnesses deposed that the members in general were not allowed to see the rules or the statutes, except by special permission.[k] The suspicion of guilty secrets was supported by the charge that the Templars were bound to confess to no one but the chaplains of their own order. But it appears that although such an injunction was laid on them,[m] it was not strictly observed, and that an exception was

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[c] Proc. ii. 398-400.

[d] Ib. 246.

[e] Ib. i. 392-394. Wilcke supposes the secret doctrines of the order to have been adopted after the time when the bull "Omne datum optimum," A.D. 1162, had allowed it to have its own clergy (i. 344). A witness states that the ancients of the order had a saying, "quod ex quo litterati fuerunt inter eos, ordo non fecerat profectum suum." (Proc. i. 389.) One who had been forty years a preceptor, being examined on his deathbed, admitted the ceremony of the denials, but knew nothing of kisses, except on the mouth, of mutilating the canon, or of the lay absolution. *Ib.* 178-9.

[f] *E.g.* Proc. i. 180, 196-7, 208, 219, 251, 257, 268, 295, 478, 493, 644; ii. 440, 451, &c.

[g] Ib. i. 187, 205, 537; Matth. Paris, 899, ed. 1641.

[h] Menard, i. 172, 180; Règle et Stat. c. 81; Proc. i. 246. Yet some witnesses say that no such secresy was enforced, or that those who had been present on any occasion were at liberty to speak to each other, although not to others. (Menard, 172, 181; Proc. i. 613; ii. 232, 448.) One at Nismes at first said that he had kept the secrets, but had never been charged to do so; next, "quasi trepidando," that he had been so charged under pain of excommunication; and immediately afterwards, "quasi balbutiendo et verba intricate proferendo," that he had never been charged. (Menard, 187.) John de Stoke, a chaplain, suggests as points for reform "quod haberet annum probationis, et quod publice fiat receptio." (Wilkins, ii. 330. See the evidence of Ralph de Barton, ib.)

[i] Proc. i 175.

[k] Proc. i. 181, 388; ii. 139, 145. Havemann says that the French statutes were drawn up as they were needed, between 1247 and 1266; that there was no reason why each Templar should be acquainted with them, except in so far as they related to his own duties, and that they were for the heads of the order only. 103-4, 376-7.

[m] Proc. i. 268.

made as to cases of necessity;[m] and if such exceptions were allowed, the rule cannot fairly be blamed as unreasonable, or as really warranting the suspicions which were not unnaturally founded on it. Another accusation was, that the master and other lay officers took it on themselves to grant absolution. As to this, it is clear from the evidence that the only offences for which absolution was really given by laymen, were breaches of the rules of the order;[n] but the testimony of some witnesses appears to show that this distinction was not always rightly apprehended, and that some Templars may have shared in the popular opinion which supposed it to supersede the necessity of absolution from a priest.[o] With regard to the charge that the priests of the order, in reciting the canon of the mass, omitted the four words on which the consecration of the host was supposed to depend, the greater part of the witnesses declared that they knew nothing of it; and those who admitted that they had heard of it, denied that they had observed any such omission in the performance of the office.[p] The practice of the order as to almsgiving was among the subjects of inquiry; and the result of the answers appears to be that, notwithstanding the grand-master's declaration,[q] the Templars did not enjoy the repu-

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[m] Règle et Stat., p. 361.

[n] See *e.g.* Proc. i. 210, 390-1, 398, 427, 569, 629; ii. 10, 17, 73. One witness had heard that, before the order had its own clergy, the lay preceptors absolved the brethren by papal authority, but says that this had been altered. (Proc. ii. 215.) Thomas Tocci, of Thoroldeby, said that when any one asked forgiveness in the chapter, inquiry was made, whether it were for *peccatum* or for *defalta.* If the latter, penance was imposed by the president; if the former, by a priest, except in cases reserved for the pope. He himself had never believed that a layman could absolve (Wilkins, ii. 385). In another examination, he says that the master absolves from greater sins, and the priest from lesser (386).

[o] Some say that they had found among the simpler brethren a notion that, after the lay absolution, that of a priest was not necessary; and that they had reasoned against this. (Proc. ii. 129, 135.) In some cases, according to English witnesses, the lay officer gave remission of sins, "quantum in me est," and then enjoined a priest to give his absolution, or charged the penitent to apply to a priest. (Wilkins, ii. 367-8-9, &c.) One says, "Quod magnus praeceptor, miles, vel visitator possunt fratres absolvere a septem peccatis mortalibus, si petant misericordiam in capitulo, et pœnitentia eisdem injungitur per dictum praeceptorem et conventum, et de his de quibus absolutus est non oportet ut ulterius confiteatur sacerdoti, nisi per praeceptorem remittatur ad sacerdotem" (*ib.* 372). The witnesses in Ireland deny that the master can absolve (ib. 376-7).

[p] Proc. i. 299, 305, 312, 516, 606, 615. A witness at Aigues Mortes said that he knew nothing as to tampering with the canon, but that some Templars had told him that in communicating they intended to receive "hostiam aliam, non consecratam;" and one of those whom he named avows this as to himself. Menard, 202, 211.

[q] See p. 21. At an earlier time, when answering the proposal of union with the Hospitallers, he had said that the Templars gave alms to all who would receive it thrice a-week; that they continually gave the poor one-tenth of all their bread (according to the direction of their Rule, c. 15, Patrol. clxvi.), and that every two had an allowance of meat which would leave enough to feed two poor men. Baluz. Vitæ Pap. Aven. ii. 182.

tation of liberality; that they exercised hospitality towards persons of wealth and condition rather than charitable bounty to the poor; and that in many places their alms had of late years become less than before.[r]

The charge that they were enjoined to gain acquisitions for the order by wrongful as well as by rightful means, appeared by the evidence to have no other foundation than vague reports.[s] One member deposed that at his reception he was told to practise such arts without scruple, but only against the Saracens;[t] and others declared that they had been charged to avoid all ways of unfair gain.[u]

The circumstance that there was no noviciate, although explained on the ground that the members ought, immediately on their admission, to be ready to proceed to the holy war,[x] excited much suspicion—as if the rites of initiation were such that no one who had witnessed them should have an opportunity of leaving the order;[y] and terrible stories were told of persons, who, after having gone through those rites, never smiled again.[z] It was said that one expressed his grief by causing a signet-ring to be made with an inscription which described him as lost, and that within a year and a half after his reception he pined away.[a] An English witness related that a Templar spoke of himself as having lost his soul by joining the brotherhood.[b] Another said that his grandfather entered the order in full health and in high spirits,[c] taking his hawks and dogs with him; and that three days later he was a dead man.[d] Another knight, who had before been rallied by his friends as to the popular stories of the manner of reception, came out from the ceremony pale and overwhelmed with sorrow; and on being urged to relate the details, as he had promised, he sternly forbade all questioning on the subject.[e] Some professed to have forsaken the order on account of the abominations which were connected with it; others said that they had wished to leave it, but that they and many others were kept in it by fear;[f] but these witnesses

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[r] Proc. i. 253, 305, 315, 572, 641, &c.

[s] *E. g.* Proc. i. 220, 227, 253.

[t] Ib. ii. 239.

[u] Ib. i. 373. One witness says that at the time of entrance he had been in debt, and had given the order all that he had, probably worth 1000 *livres Tournois*, but that they did not pay his creditors. Proc. ii. 239.

[x] Proc. i. 332, 528, 607; ii. 10, &c.

[y] Some were sworn to continue in it, but others were not. Ib. i. 613, 623.

[z] Ib. i. 176.

[a] Ib. 184.

[b] Wilkins, ii. 362.

[c] "Vadens [valens?] sanus, et hilaris."

[d] Wilkins, ii. 360. There are stories of this kind in the fragment of Spanish evidence published by Benavides, 'Fernando IV.,' i. 636.

[e] Proc. i. 454. There is a similar story by the same witness, a Franciscan, ib. 457-8.

[f] Ib. 200, 216, 258, 316, 379, 387.

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appear to have been men of low character, and little entitled to belief. It is indeed impossible to decide as to the value of much of the evidence. The witnesses make confessions to the discredit of the order; they avow that they had done this from a wish to save themselves at its expense, retract their confessions, and yet afterwards retract their retractations.[g] Many of them declare that they had yielded to force or to the fear of tortures, and that by the same means they might have been wrought to confess anything, however false or monstrous.[h] Many had been won by the blandishments which were practised on them, and by the hopes of royal favour which were held out, to give testimony agreeable to Philip's designs;[i] and many —especially in the south of France—when they were pressed with the avowals which had been extracted from the grand-master and others, declared that there was no truth in them.[k]

In other countries, also, inquiries as to the Templars had been carried on, and with results less doubtful than in France.

With England, Clement, notwithstanding his subserviency to the French king, had studied to be on friendly terms. As archbishop of Bordeaux, he had been subject to the English sovereign. As pope, he had released Edward I. from his oath to observe the charters,[m] and had allowed him to levy ecclesitical tenths throughout the British islands for two years; and in consideration of this he had himself been permitted to extort large sums from the English church, notwithstanding strong remonstrances of the parliament.[n] He had countenanced the attempts to subdue Scotland, had suspended the Scottish bishops who were obnoxious to Edward, and had excommunicated Robert Bruce, who, after the execution of Wallace in August, 1305, had become the champion of the national freedom.[o] He had suspended the English primate, Robert Winchilsey, who had offended Edward by acts which have been in part already mentioned;[p] and by these and other compliances he had established a friendly understanding, although he had declined the king's request that Bishop Grossetête of Lincoln, whom the court of Rome could not but regard as an enemy, should receive

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[g] See *e.g.* John de Pollencourt, Proc. i. 369, 378. Raynouard exhibits some of the contradictions in the evidence by printing them in parallel columns, 223-8.

[h] Proc. i. 514, 521; ii. 19, 172, 210; Havem., 313-4.

[i] Raynouard, 45.

[k] Proc. ii. 441, 444, 447, 455-6. See the Elne depositions especially.

[m] Rymer, i. 978-9; Walsingh. i. 110; Pauli, iv. 167.

[n] Rymer, i. 991-3; Pauli, l. c.

[o] Rymer, i. 987; Pauli. iv. 171.

[p] Vol. iii. p. 517; Rymer, i. 983. 986, 989; Walsingh. i. 110; Pauli, iv. 168.

the honour of canonization.[q] At the time when the process against the Templars was begun in France, Edward II., who had just succeeded to the English crown, was about to marry a daughter of Philip, who wrote to bespeak his co-operation against the order:[r] and Clement, by a bull dated on the 22nd of November, 1307, after reciting the confessions which were alleged to have been made by the master and other members, desired him to imprison the Templars of his dominions, and to commit their property to the custody of independent persons, until the charges against them should be investigated.[s]

In compliance with these letters—although Edward had before regarded the Templars with great favour, and was still so little inclined to believe the charges against them, that even at this time he wrote to the kings of Spain, Portugal, and Sicily, desiring that they would not too readily take part against them[t]—all the Templars in the British islands (for Scotland was then under the English dominion) were arrested in January, 1308, with the same suddenness which had before been used against their brethren in France.[u] Councils of the two provinces were held at London and at York respectively, and showed themselves disposed to treat the accused with fairness.[v] The pope had ordered that the witnesses should be examined by torture,—a novelty in English procedure; and the York council ask, with visible repugnance, what should be done if no one capable of applying it should be found in England—whether torturers should be brought from abroad? to which no other answer was given than that it must not be so applied as to maim the victims for life.[x]

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[q] Rymer, i. 1015-6; Pauli, iv. 188. For Grossetête, see vol. iii. p. 431.

[r] See Edward's answer in Rymer, ii. 10.

[s] Rymer, ii. 16. Cf. Edward's letter, ib. 65.

[t] Dupuy, Append. 60, 61; Rymer, ii. 19. The answer to Philip (Rym. ii. 10), is written in a tone of hesitation, and Bp. Hefele refers to Benavides, Mem. de Fernando IV., Madrid, 1860, for two letters in which Edward begs the king of Portugal and the pope to help the Templars (vi. 379). He expresses to the pope his unwillingness to give credit to the charges, Dec. 10. Rymer, ii. 20.

[u] Rymer, ii. 18, 23; Eulog. Histor. iii. 194. Dean Hook suggests that the affair may have been pushed on in consequence of Abp. Winchilsey's return from exile, iii. 446.

[v] Rymer, ii. 88, 90, 91, &c. The York Council (June and July, 1311) is in Wilkins, ii. 395, seqq. Cf. Hemingb. ii. 286, seqq. There are many documents relating to the safe keeping of the Templars in Rymer, ii. 90, 91. 100, 105, &c.

[x] Hemingb. ii. 287; Pauli, iv. 232. This is not within the scope of Mr. Jardine's 'Reading on the Use of Torture in the Criminal Law of England' (Lond., 1837) where it is shown (pp. 8-9), that torture is against Art. 29 of Magna Charta, and against other English laws. It does not appear whether the torture was actually used in the case before us. The pope rebuked Edward for his lenity towards the Templars. Raynouard, 132; Pauli, iv. 233.

Forty knights were examined before the bishop of London,[y] and after these followed a number of other witnesses, who did not belong to the order. The interrogations, which were furnished by the pope, were eighty-seven in number,[z] and to these twenty-four were afterwards added. The evidence (of which some portions have been quoted already) presents the same features with which we have become familiar in that of the French Templars. There are stories of denying the Saviour, of spitting on the cross, of obscene ceremonies and abominable licenses,[a] as connected with the reception; one witness, Stephen of Staplebridge, who is described as a fugitive and apostate from the order, and professed much contrition for his sins, states that there were two ceremonies of reception—a good and a bad—and that he himself had gone through both;[b] he believed that any who should refuse compliance with the objectionable rites were put to death in foreign countries, but was not aware of any such case in England.[c] There is much about idols, brazen heads with either one face or two,[d] a cat,[e] a calf,[f] a black monster with glowing eyes;[g] and one witness, a Franciscan friar, had been told by a "veteran," who had left the order, that there were four principal idols in England.[h] Yet on this point there was no clear testimony from personal knowledge, and it was commonly stated that with very few exceptions the faith of the members was sound.[i] There were tales of the mystery in which the order delighted,[k] and of the terrible effects which an initiation into its secrets had in some cases produced.[m]

The councils both of London and of York were inclined to greater lenity than the French tribunals. Many of the accused were persuaded to forswear all heresy, on which they were absolved, and were placed in monasteries for penance until the expected general council should decide the fate of the order.[n] But for those who persisted in a denial of guilt, severer measures were used. Thus one was shut up for the time "in a most vile

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[y] Wilkins, ii. 334.

[z] Wilkins, ii. 331-2.

[a] Ib. 384.

[b] Ib. 383. Compare John of Stoke, ib. 387-8. It will be seen that this is inconsistent with much of the other evidence. The evidence of Thomas Tocci (386-7) is also remarkable. He says, among other things, that shortly after his entrance into the order, a member of it said to him, "Si sederes super campanile S. Pauli Londoniensis, non posses videre majora infortunia quam tibi contingent antequam moriaris."

[c] Ib. 384.

[d] Ib. 358.

[e] Ib. 359.

[f] Ib. 358-9.

[g] Ib. 362.

[h] Ib. 363.

[i] Ib. 358.

[k] Ib. 359. A Templar is reported to have said to a priest that there were three articles which would never be known, except to God, the devil, and one member of the order. Ib. 361.

[m] See p. 34; also Wilkins, ii. 359.

[n] Wilkins, ii. 314, 390-2; Hemingb. ii. 292; Ad. Murimuth, 14. See Pauli, iv. 232-3.

prison, being bound with double irons;"[o] and the grand preceptor, William de la More, was reserved for the pope's judgment, and died in prison.[p]

In Scotland,[q] only two knights—both of English birth—were arrested. They admitted that the great officers were accustomed to give absolution as if by authority from God, St. Peter, and the pope. One of them said that at his reception he was charged to accept no service from a woman—not so much as water to wash his hands.[r] Many witnesses not belonging to the order were examined, but nothing beyond mere suspicions could be drawn out from them. The abbot of Dunfermline stated that he had never heard of any reception as having taken place in Scotland.[s]

In Ireland, after some Templars had been examined without admitting any of the charges, the evidence came chiefly from Franciscans, who were bitter enemies of the order.[t] One who had been a servitor in it had heard that many Templars had been put into a sack and thrown into the sea; but when questioned as to the story that one was lost at every general chapter, he said that he had himself disproved it by counting them as they went in and as they came out.[u] Another deposed that at the elevation of the host Templars had been known to look down to the ground; and that from this and other circumstances he believed them all and each to be conscious of some guilty secret.[x]

A.D. 1310.

In Italy, although the usual avowals to the discredit of the order were extorted in the papal states and in the southern kingdom, which was under the influence of France, the result of inquiries elsewhere was favourable. The archbishop of Ravenna, as inquisitor for Tuscany and Northern Italy, held two synods for the consideration of the subject, where it was resolved that the guilty members should be punished and that the innocent should be absolved; that those who retracted confessions made under torture should be reckoned as innocent; and that, as the innocent outnumbered the guilty, the order should be allowed to retain its property.[y]

In the Spanish kingdoms the affair took a peculiar course.

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[o] Wilkins, ii. 393.

[p] After having been confined in Canterbury castle, he was made over to Antony Beck, bishop of Durham and patriarch of Jerusalem for custody, and he died in the Tower of London, 1313. (Rymer, ii. 46, 198.)

[q] The commission for Scotland and Ireland is in Rymer, ii. 93-4.

[r] Wilkins, ii. 381.

[s] Ib. 382.

[t] Ib. 373-8.

[u] Ib. 379.

[x] Ib. 379.

[y] Mansi, xxv. 293-6; Milm. v. 494-5; Hefele, vi. 387, 448.

The Templars of Castile and Aragon, warned by the sudden arrest of their brethren in France, shut themselves up in their castles, and offered to do battle for the defence of the order.[z] Some of their fortresses were reduced by the king of Aragon, and were made over by him to papal commissioners. The case of the Aragonese Templars was considered by synods at Tarragona in 1310 and 1312—between which times some of them had been put to torture, but without making any confession. At the second synod they were declared to be innocent of heresy; but as the pope had already dissolved the order, it was decreed that, until he should determine further, they should be allowed to hold houses and income within the dioceses where their property lay, and to live under the inspection of the bishops.[a]

For the kingdoms of Castile and Leon, the inquiry was carried on by a commission which sat at Medina del Campo, and afterwards by a synod at Salamanca, in 1310. The prelates who were present expressed great satisfaction that no crime had been established against the Templars, but referred the decision of the case to the pope, on the ground that an acquittal by him would carry greater weight than one pronounced by an inferior tribunal; but eventually the Templars of Castile were involved in the general fate of the order.[b]

In Germany, the Templars of Metz, Toul, and Verdun denied all the charges.[c] The case of the order was brought before a council at Mentz in 1310, when, to the astonishment of the assembled prelates, Hugh, count of the Rhine and waldgrave,[d] the provincial head of the Templars, appeared with twenty companions, in the full armour and habit of the Temple. On being asked by the archbishop of Mentz, Peter Aichspalter, to explain their business, the count said that he and his brethren protested against the charges of "enormous and more than heathen crimes," which had been brought against them; that the innocence of those who had been burnt elsewhere had been proved by a miracle, their white cloaks and red crosses having been unconsumed by the fire; and he appealed to a future pope and to a general council. The archbishop answered that he would refer the matter to the pope; and in the following year a second council was held, by which it was declared that the

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[z] Mariana, xv. 10 (t. i. 883, ed. 1780); Mansi, xxv. 297.

[a] Mansi, xxv. 515; Hefele, vi. 421-2.

[b] Benavides Mem. de Fernando IV. i. 630, seqq. There is some evidence pp. 635-7. Cf. Hefele, vi. 420.

[c] Dupuy, 213.

[d] "Comes silvestris et Rheni."

Templars were innocent.[e] Yet at Mentz the property of the order was confiscated; and in other parts of Germany there were serious commotions, and some members of the order perished at the stake.[f]

The pope wrote to the king of Cyprus and to the Latin patriarch of Constantinople, urging inquiry into the case of the Templars, and enjoining the use of torture. In reply, Amaury of Cyprus reported that he had not been able to arrest the knights, as they had been warned against a surprise; but that they had waited on him, asserting their innocence, and offering to submit to the papal judgment.[g]

Within a few months after the beginning of Philip's proceedings against the Templars, the empire had been left without a head by the death of Albert of Austria, who, while on his way to suppress an insurrection of the Swiss,[h] was murdered by his nephew John, within sight of the castle of Hapsburg, the original seat of their family.[i] His eldest son, Frederick, became a candidate for the vacant dignity, but found that his hope of gaining the electors was destroyed by their remembrance of Albert's harshness, and of the policy by which he had strengthened the crown.[k] Philip now conceived the

May 1, 1308.

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[e] Mansi, xxv. 298-9. The council of 1310 passed a canon against Templars and Hospitallers for their defiance of ecclesiastical sentences. Ib. 316.

[f] Wilcke, ii. 41.

[g] Dupuy, 192-5; Baluz. Vitæ Pap. Aven. ii. 101.

[h] This expedition has been commonly connected with the story of William Tell, which appears to have vanished at the touch of modern criticism. See 'Edinb. Rev.,' Jan. 1869. Art. v.

[i] W. Naug. contin. 62; Ptol. Luc. xxiv. 37; Ferret. Vicent. 1048-50; Mart. Polon. cont. in Eccard. i. 1135; Böhmer, Reg. 251-2. Albert had refused to give John, who was only nineteen years old, possession of his father's territories, on account of his youth, and John was induced to commit his crime by the fear of being utterly disinherited. He and all his accomplices were outlawed by Henry VII. (Pertz, Leges, ii. 497), and all were, with their connexions—nearly 1000 in number—either put to death or driven to end their days in obscurity and misery. (Joh. Vitodur. in Eccard, i. 1770.) One of them, Walter of Eschbach, lived thirty-five years as a shepherd in Würtemberg. (Mailath, i. 96.) John himself sought absolution from the pope, who granted it, but made him over to the new emperor, by whom he was consigned to a convent near Pisa. There is, however, some doubt as to the circumstances of his last days. (See Joh. Victor. in Böhmer. i. 372; Ferret. Vicent. 1093; Matth. Neoburg. in Urstis, ii. 114-5; Mailath, i. 92-7; Barthold, i. 152-3; Coxe, i. 41.) Albert's daughter Agnes, the widowed queen of Hungary, and her stepmother, the empress Elizabeth, built and endowed a Franciscan convent for men and one for women at Königsfelden, near the scene of the murder, with the forfeited property of those who had been concerned in it. (Joh. Victor. 357; Ptol. Luc. xxiv. 37; M. Neoburg. 105.) The spirit of Agnes was shown by her exclamation on seeing sixty-three of the supposed criminals led out to execution—"Now I bathe in May dew!" (a phrase borrowed from St. Elizabeth of Hungary); and it is said that the union of this vindictiveness with the profession and practice of a strictly ascetic religion drew on her the reproach of an aged hermit,—"Lady, God is not served by shedding innocent blood, and by building convents from the plunder of families, but by compassion and forgiveness of injuries!" J. v. Müller, Gesch. der Schweiz. i. 21-5; Coxe, i. 98.

[k] Schmidt, iv. 161; Coxe, i. 99. A

scheme of gaining the empire for a member of his own family—which, in addition to France and Navarre, already possessed the thrones of Naples and Hungary, and through agents at Florence and at Rome swayed the affairs of Central Italy;[l] and (as we have seen)[m] he lost no time in visiting Clement at Poitiers, with a view to secure the pope's interest for his brother, Charles of Valois. It has, indeed, been supposed by some writers that this interest was the object of the secret article which Philip was said to have exacted from Clement before his election[n]. But the pope had reason to dread the vast aggrandisement of French influence which was designed; and although, in compliance with Philip's wishes, he wrote in favour of Charles to the electors, he at the same time took measures underhand to defeat the king's policy.[o] In consideration of his apparent subserviency, not only as to the Templars but as to the empire, he was allowed to leave Poitiers, and Philip was about to visit him at Avignon, in order to press his suit with greater advantage at the head of 6000 cavalry. But Clement, having been informed of this design by a member of the king's council, employed Cardinal Nicolas of Prato (who had been alienated from Philip by his bitterness against the memory of Boniface) to urge the electors that they should choose speedily, and to recommend to them, as the fittest candidate, Duke Henry of Luxemburg, who had lately visited the papal court.[p] The important see of Mentz was at this time occupied by Peter of Achtzpalt[q] (Aichspalt or Aspelt), who having been sent to solicit it for Henry's brother Baldwin, and having recommended himself to the pope by his medical skill,[r] had himself been promoted from the see of Basel to the German primacy, for which Baldwin was considered to be too young;[s] and within two years he had been able to console Baldwin by procuring for him the archbishoprick of Trèves.[t] Through the exertions of Peter Aichspalter, aided by

A.D. 1306.

Mentz annalist (A.D. 1308, in Pertz, xvii.) says of Albert, "De cujus morte nec planctus nec dolor habitus, pro eo quod clerum odivit, nec in eo virtus vel justitia inventa est aliqualis."

[l] G. Vill. viii. 101; Schmidt, iv. 484.

[m] p. 18.

[n] G. Vill. viii. 101; Martin, iv. 482.

[o] D. Compagni in Murat. ix. 524; Antonin. iii. 274-5. There is a letter from a cardinal recommending Charles to the archbishop of Cologne, and dated at Poitiers, in July, 1308, in Baluz. Vit. Pap. Aven. ii. 119.

[p] G. Vill. viii. 101. Bishop Hefele seems to throw doubt on this story, except in so far that the pope was not zealous for the French interest (vi. 383-4). For the parties among the electors, ib. p. 23.

[q] See for the name, Hefele, vi. 383.

[r] He had formerly been physician to Rudolf of Hapsburg, but had since quarrelled with the Austrian family. Herzog, art. *Aichspalt.*

[s] Trithem. Chron. Hirsaug. A.D. 1305, 1307; Barthold, i. 290; Herzog, l.c.

[t] When elected to Trèves, Baldwin was only twenty-two. He held the see

Baldwin, it was now contrived that the election should fall on Nov. 27. Henry—a petty prince who had not at first been thought of as a candidate, but who had been distinguished by the justice and the vigour of his administration within his own small territory, and was renowned as the most accomplished knight in Europe.[u] The archbishop of Mentz and the other electors took, as was usual, the opportunity to secure large privileges or other advantages for themselves and their successors;[x] and the pope, in ratifying the election, exacted from Henry an engagement that he would confirm the grants of former emperors to the church, that he would exterminate heresies and heretics, that he would never intermarry or ally himself with Saracens, heathens, or schismatics, and that he would secure to the Roman church the lands which had been mentioned in former compacts.[y]

Philip—whether or not he knew or suspected that the pope's duplicity had been the cause of his failure as to the empire, was rendered eager to console himself for the disappointment by pursuing his suit against the memory of Boniface, and, although it had been intended that the matter should be reserved for the general council, which had been summoned to meet in October, 1310, Clement was urged to a more speedy trial.[z] He announced an intention of hearing the case in Lent 1310, and summoned Philip and his sons, with Nogaret and Plasian, to appear as accusers.[a] The king and the princes, however, declined to undertake that character in a question of heresy;[b] and thus the task was thrown on Plasian and Nogaret, who had staked their all on the process.

Witnesses were on their way from Italy, under Reginald of Supino, who had been concerned in the attack on the palace of Anagni, when, within three leagues of Avignon, they were

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forty-six years, during which he played an important part in ecclesiastical and political affairs. See Gesta Trevir. in Mart. Coll. Ampl. iv. 377; or Baluz. Miscell. i. 311, seqq.

[u] "Operibus quam opibus memorabilioribus," says one of Clement's biographers (Baluz. i. 86). Cf. Gesta Balduini, in Martene, Coll. Ampl. iv. 387; Albert. Mussat. in Murat. x. 125, 209; Olensl. 22-6; Barthold, i. 285; Böhmer, Reg. 252-7. For the family, see Barth. i. 277.

[x] Schmidt, iv. 486-7. See Böhmer, 376.

[y] Pertz, Leges, ii. 491; Rayn. 1310. 3-7; Clementin. I. ii. tit. 9; Ptol. Luc. 34. For documents connected with the election, see Olensl. Urkunden, vi.-x; Pertz, Leges, ii. 490, seqq.; Baluz. ii. 265, seqq., 272; for the coronation, Rayn. 1309. 9.

[z] See letters in Dupuy, 290, 292, 296, &c.

[a] Dupuy, 36. There is a story that Clement destroyed a bull which Boniface's party had drawn up with the intention of getting the pope to declare his predecessor blameless. W. Nang. cont. 63.

[b] Dupuy, 300-2.

April 25, 1309.

assailed by some of Boniface's partisans, who had been lying in wait for their arrival. Some of the Italians were killed; the rest were scattered, and returned across the Alps; and their leader hints, in a protest which he made at Nismes, that the scheme for thus getting rid of their evidence had not been unknown to Pope Clement.[c] The power and wealth of Boniface's family had provided him with able advocates, when on the 16th of March, 1310, the question came before the pope in his consistory.[d] The French king's civilians were confronted by men learned in the ecclesiastical law, among whom the most conspicuous was Baldred Bisset, a canon of Glasgow,[e] whose name has already come before us in connexion with the question as to the Scottish crown.[f] By each party an attempt was made to deprive its opponents of standing in the court. On the one side, it was said that a man who was dead, and who was charged with heresy, was not entitled to counsel:[g] on the other, that a dead man ought not to be brought to trial, since he had been cited before a higher tribunal; that a pope could not be judged by any man—not even by his own successor, forasmuch as an equal has no power over an equal; or, at least, that he could not be judged by any authority less than a general council.[h] To this it was rejoined that Boniface, being dead, was no longer pope; that the pope represented the whole church, so as to render a general council superfluous;[i] and Clement himself disclaimed the right to try his predecessor. Nogaret objected to some of the cardinals as unfit to be judges, on account of their partiality;[k] while the opposite party asserted that Nogaret himself ought not to be heard on account of his notorious enmity against Boniface, of his acts against that pope, and of the excommunication which he had incurred.[m] Against Plasian too disqualifying circumstances were alleged.[n] Nogaret and his advocate, Bertrand of Roccanegata, replied that he had not incurred excommunication; that, since he had spoken with Boniface before the pope's death, he could not be in an excommunicate state; but the pope said that, although this opinion was held by some lawyers, it could not be admitted.[o] Both

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[c] Dupuy, 288-290. See Milm. v, 206. The pope had beforehand decreed the penalty of anathema against any who should molest witnesses. Rayn. 1310. 18.

[d] Dupuy, 367, seqq.

[e] Ib. 370.

[f] Vol. iii. p. 527.

[g] Dupuy, 392-3.

[h] Ib. 394-5; Ptol. Luc. 37.

[i] Dupuy, 413.

[k] Ib. 388.

[m] Ib. 396, 399-402.

[n] Ib. 397, 399; Ptol. Luc. 37.

[o] Dupuy, 409; Baillet, 296. In the Clementines it is laid down that the pope does not absolve an excommunicate person by intercourse with him, unless it be declared that such is his intention. V. tit. x. c. 1.

Plasian and Nogaret asserted those doctrines of royal, as opposed to ecclesiastical, power which were characteristic of their class—maintaining, among other things, the right of the sovereign to prevent his subjects from going out of the realm, and to take the property of the clergy without their consent.[p] The trial went on for many months.

Evidence, partly obtained by a commission sent to Italy, partly given by witnesses who appeared in person, was brought to prove a long list of accusations.[q] It was said that Boniface had been a blasphemer from his youth upwards;[r] that he had not only disbelieved the chief articles of the Christian faith, but had openly and habitually scoffed at them;[s] that he had neglected the outward duties of religion, and had not confessed for thirty years;[t] that he had been a gamester and a profligate; that even in extreme old age he had indulged in the most odious and abominable forms of dissoluteness; that he had declared the sins of the flesh to be as much a matter of indifference as the act of washing the hands;[u] that he had been seen by night performing pagan sacrifices and incantations, while voices of demons had been heard in the air;[x] that he had worshipped a devil enclosed in a ring, and an idol given to him by a famous sorcerer.[y] And, together with these and other such monstrous tales, was brought up the old history of the irregularities connected with the resignation of Celestine and his own promotion, and of the cruelties which he was said to have exercised on his predecessor, of whose death he was even alleged to have been guilty.[z]

Clement found himself in a great perplexity. Was he to give up the memory of Boniface, and with it the credit of the papacy, the validity of Benedict's election and of his own? or was he to tax Philip with falsehood, fraud, and subornation of perjury in the persecution of the deceased pope? He had already requested the intervention of Charles of Valois, whose hopes of the empire he had lately frustrated.[a] The kings of Castile and of Aragon also remonstrated with Philip against his proceedings;[b] and at length a compromise was agreed on, to which Philip was the more readily brought to consent, because the new emperor's successes in Italy suggested the fear that in him the pope might

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[p] Dupuy, 317, 322-3, &c.; Baillet, 292-8.

[q] Dupuy, 526, seqq. There are several papers of charges, *e.g.* Dupuy, 305, 327, seqq. 347, seqq. 350, seqq.—this last extending to 94 articles. See Hefele's remarks on the charges, vi. 411-5.

[r] Dupuy, 214-5.

[s] Ib. 504, 532, 564, 568, 571-5.

[t] Ib. 329.

[u] Ib. 568-9.

[x] Ib. 537.

[y] Ib. 355, 536, 538.

[z] Ib. 344-5, 528.

[a] Ib. 290.

[b] Schröckh, xxxi. 31.

find another protector.[c] In consideration of being allowed to carry out his designs against the Templars—with whom an attempt had been made to connect Boniface by a story that he was aware of their heresy, but had been bribed to connive at it[d] —the king agreed to forego the fulness of his triumph over the memory of his old antagonist, to leave the judgment of Boniface's case to the pope and cardinals, and never to question their decision.[e] A special bull was issued, by which it was declared that all Boniface's acts against the king and kingdom of France were annulled; they were to be erased from the papal registers, and it was forbidden under penalties that anyone should keep a copy of them.[f] The bulls known as *Unam sanctam* and *Rem non novam* only were excepted, and these were to be understood in a qualified and inoffensive sense. At the same time Philip, after a number of cardinals and others had, at the pope's request, testified to the purity of his zeal, was pronounced to be free from all blame in his proceedings against Boniface,—to be innocent as to the attack on the pope, and as to the plunder of his treasures;[g] and it was declared that neither the existing pope nor his successors should molest the king on account of Boniface. All who had been concerned in the contest with Boniface were forgiven, except the authors of the outrage at Anagni, and even for these some other way of release was to be used.[h] Nogaret himself was absolved *ad cautelam*,[i] on condition that he should perform pilgrimages to Compostella and certain other places, and that in the next crusade—an expedition which was never to be made—he should serve until the pope should authorise his return.[k]

April 27, 1311.

The council of Vienne, after having been deferred from time to time, met on the 16th of October, 1311.[m] The number of bishops and mitred abbots is given by one writer as 114; by others as upwards of 300.[n] The pope, in his discourse at the opening of the proceedings, announced three subjects for con-

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[c] Sism. ix. 251.

[d] Dupuy, 528-9.

[e] Ib. 597; Antonin. 27.

[f] Raynaldus prints many erased documents, 1311. 22, seqq.

[g] Dupuy, 592-602, 603; W. Nang. contin. 64; Hefele, vi. 404-8.

[h] Dupuy, 604-6. Nogaret professed that he had gone to Anagni merely in order to inform Boniface of the charges against him, and with a view to obtaining a general council; that Sciarra Colonna was there without any concert with him! Ib. 528.

[i] This he himself had requested, while denying that he was excommunicate. Ib. 411. See p. 4.

[k] Dupuy, 601-2.

[m] Mansi, xxv. 369, 413-4, 423; Hefele, vi. 460.

[n] Mansi (xxvi. 36) thinks 114 the more likely number, as being given by a contemporary, the continuer of William of Nangis (65). Others suppose the lesser number to be that of the French bishops only. Bp. Hefele gives no opinion, vi. 461.

sideration—the case of the Templars, a crusade, and the reform of the church;[o] and, in addition to these, the question of Boniface's memory was discussed. Three advocates—a civilian, a decretalist, and a theologian—appeared in his behalf, and it is said that two Catalan knights offered to do battle for the deceased pope's memory, but that no one took up their challenge.[p] The question both as to Boniface's character and acts, and as to the French king's opposition to him, was settled on the footing of the compromise which has been already mentioned.[q]

On the subject of reform in the church, the bishops gave in written statements of their views; one of these memoirs, by Durantis, bishop of Mende, displays so much of knowledge and understanding, that it has led some writers to draw from it a presumption in favour of the judgment which he formed as a commissioner in the affair of the Templars.[r]

In this tract the bishop, with a great display of canonical learning, treats the principal subjects which appeared to him to require the council's attention. He urges a thorough reform of the church, from the head downwards.[s] He would have the character of the Roman primacy exactly defined; that the pope should not, in contradiction to the prohibition of Gregory the Great, be styled universal bishop, and that in various ways his pretensions should be limited.[t] If the papacy should be vacant more than three months, the right of election ought to pass from the cardinals to certain other representatives of the church.[u] He proposes that a general council should be assembled once in ten years, and that the power of making general laws should belong to such councils alone.[x] He urges the restoration of the rights of the episcopate in cases where they had been invaded from various quarters, as by the undue preference of cardinals and members of the pope's household above the bishops,[y] and by those grants of dispensations and exemptions to monastic communities which had been found ruinous

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[o] W. Nang. contin. 65.

[p] G. Villani, ix. 22. M. Martin says that the challenge is "plus que douteux." (iv. 499.) Some writers have denied that the affair of Boniface came before the council at all; but see, for the contrary, Hefele, vi. 471.

[q] See p. 45; Dupuy, Hist. des Templiers, 286, 359, seqq.; 365; Rayn. 1312. 15-16; Hefele, vi. 471-3.

[r] See Martin, iv. 494; Milman, v. 222. The tract 'De Modo Generalis Concilii celebrandi' was published, with other pieces of a reforming tendency, at Paris, 1671, and has been since reprinted. The editor makes the mistake of ascribing it to the author of the 'Speculum Juris' and of the 'Rationale Divinorum Officiorum,' whereas it was really written by his nephew, who had succeeded him in the see of Mende. See vol. iii. p. 613.

[s] P. iii. init.

[t] Ib. c. 28, p. 282.

[u] Ib.

[x] Ib. c. 27, p. 281.

[y] P. ii. c. 7.

to discipline, and had often led even the inferior members of such communities to fancy themselves equal to bishops and archbishops.[z] He denounces simony,[a] pluralities,[b] the system of granting monastic and other benefices to cardinals *in commendam*,[c] the employment of bishops and clergy in secular affairs,[d] improper promotions,[e] the pride, luxury, and ignorance of the clergy,[f] the want of decent ornaments and vestures in churches,[g] defects in the performance of the services,[h] and the profanation of Sundays and holydays by giving them up to unseemly merriment.[i] He urges reform among the bishops and clergy,[k] and, while maintaining the immunity of the clergy from secular courts,[m] he would guard against the abuse of this privilege as a protection to unworthy persons. He proposes[n] that the decretal "De clericis conjugatis,"[o] should be revoked, as having been made by Pope Boniface without the concurrence of a general council; that the Western discipline as to the marriage of the clergy should be conformed to that of the Eastern church;[p] and he suggests the revival of those canons by which the offspring of the amours of the clergy were condemned to servitude.[q] But although the question of reform had been thus fully brought forward, the council did little to effect a reformation in the points which had been indicated as faulty.

The subject of a crusade was discussed, but languidly. A grant of tenths for six years was voted for the purpose;[r] money and jewels were contributed, and some knights, among whom were Philip of France, Edward II. of England, and Louis of Navarre, son of the French king,[s] took the cross with a view to the expedition. But nothing came of these acts, and although attempts were made to aid the cause by a report that the books of the Mussulmans themselves foretold a speedy extinction of the false religion,[t] it was more manifest than ever that the period of crusading enthusiasm was over.[u] A chronicler relates that, when some thousands of crusaders, in obe-

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[z] P. i. tit. 5; cf. ii. 28; iii. 33. The bishop seems to have inherited something of his uncle's talent for etymology (see vol. iii. p. 614). *E. g.* "Agnoscat [monachus] nomen suum. *Monos* enim Graece, Latine dicitur *unus*; *achos* Graece, Latine *tristis*: unde *monachus*, id est *unus et tristis*, interpretatur, ut tristis sedeat et officio suo vacet." P. ii. 33, p. 168.

[a] P. ii. tit. 20.

[b] Ib. tit. 2, 21.

[c] P. ii. c. 21, p. 111.

[d] Ib. t. 1.

[e] Ib. t. 18; iii. 27.

[f] P. iii. 34-6, 39, seqq.

[g] Ib. 58.

[h] P. ii. t. 19; iii. 52.

[i] P. iii. 53.

[k] P. iii. 28-9.

[m] P. ii. 3, 70.

[n] P. iii. 29.

[o] VI. Decret. l. iii. tit. 2, c. 1.

[p] P. ii. 4, 46.

[q] P. iii. t. 7.

[r] See the pope's letters for collections in England, &c. Wilkins, ii. 431.

[s] Rayn. 1313. 1-6.

[t] Letter of Edward II. to the King of the Tartars, in Rymer ii. 18. (A.D. 1307).

[u] Baluz. Vitae Pap. Aven. i. 20, 86.

dience to the pope's summons, made their appearance at Avignon, Clement absolved them from their vow, and desired them to return to their homes; "and thus their labours and very great expenses became like a mockery and had no effect."[x]

While the council was engaged in hearing and considering the evidence which had been collected as to the case of the Templars, seven knights presented themselves at one of the sessions; and at a later meeting, two more appeared in like manner, offering to defend the order, and stating that from 1500 to 2000 of their brethren, concealed at Lyons and in its neighbourhood, were ready to support them; but the pope in alarm ordered them to be arrested and imprisoned.[y] In February, 1312, Philip, impatient at the slowness of the council, appeared before the gates of Vienne, at the head of a large force, declaring an intention to "make the cause of Christ triumphant," and demanding the abolition of the order, on the ground that it had been convicted of heresies and crimes. A vast majority of the council, however—all but one Italian bishop and the archbishops of Sens, Rouen, and Reims, who had been concerned in the burnings of the French Templars—desired that the accused should be heard;[z] and Clement in perplexity caught at a suggestion which had been made by Durantis, of Mende, that the order should be abolished, not on grounds of law, but as a measure of expediency for the good of the church. On the 22nd of March he brought the question before his secret consistory, when no objection was raised against the course which he proposed;[a] for the members of the council had been gradually subdued to the papal influence.[b] And at the second general session, on the 3rd of April, when king Philip and three of his sons were present, the abolition of the order was proclaimed, "not," as the pope avowed, "by way of definitive sentence, forasmuch as, according to the inquisitions and processes which have been held, we cannot of right pass such a sentence, but by the way of provision or apostolical ordination;"[c]

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[x] Annal. Altah. A.D. 1311.

[y] Clem. in. Raynouard, 177 (Nov. 11, 1311).

[z] Ptol. Luc. in Baluz. V. Pap. Aven. i. 43.

[a] Baluz. V. Pap. Aven. i. 75, 108; Hefele, vi. 466.

[b] Hemingburgh complains that the council does not deserve to be so styled, because the pope carried everything "ex capite proprio," without allowing discussion. ii. 293.

[c] Clem. in Benavides, ii. 811; Mansi, xxv. 389. The continuer of William of Nangis says, "cum ordo ut ordo non esset adhuc convictus" (65); cf. Walsingh.

thus the very instrument by which the abolition of the order was determined, left the question of its guilt or innocence open, and has left it to perplex later ages, without even such assistance towards the solution of it as might have been derived from a papal judgment. A writer who lived near the time, and who professes to have special authority for his statement, reports Clement as having said that the order could not be destroyed in the way of justice, but that it must be destroyed by the way of expediency, "lest our dear son the king of France should be offended."[d]

The members of the order individually were left to the judgment of provincial synods. For those who should seek and receive absolution, a maintenance was to be provided; and the property of the order in France was made over, for the benefit of the Holy Land, to the Hospitallers,[e] who had achieved the conquest of Rhodes[f] at the very time when the great rival society was in the agonies of ruin. Many members of the dissolved order were received into that of the Hospital,[g] while others sank into humbler conditions of life.[h] But such was the rapacity of Philip, and so effectually did he use the means of extortion which he possessed, that his exactions for the temporary custody of the property, and under other pretexts, are said to have left the Hospitallers for a time rather losers than gainers by the great possessions which were thus transferred to

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i. 128; Hemingb. ii. 293; Rayn. 1312. 4. The bull of March 22 "Vox in excelso audita est" (in Benavides, ii. 835, seqq.) was unknown until discovered in Spain in the end of the 18th century. Another bull, of May 2, which relates chiefly to the property of the order, had been wrongly supposed to be the act of dissolution. See Hefele, vi. 466-8.

[d] Albert. de Rosate, Dictionarium Juris, Venet. 1573, s. v. *Templarii*, quoted by Baluz. Vitæ Pap. Aven. i. 590. An annalist of the time says "Quorum divitiæ et potentia in oculis regis suspectæ magis præsumuntur causasse ordinis condempnationem quam malitia personis objecta." (Annal. Lubic. in Pertz, xvi. 423.) St. Antoninus of Florence is also for the innocence of the order. (iii. 273.) See in behalf of it Dean Milman, v. 199, seqq.; and Havemann. Mr. Hallam is unable to make up his mind. Suppl. Notes, 43-5.

[e] Mansi, xxv. 391; Dupuy, 449. For Philip's consent, see Dupuy, 450; for the act of the parliament of Paris, ib. 462.

[f] Aug. 15, 1310. Vertot, i. 511, seqq.

[g] Murat. ix. 1017; Wilcke, ii. 54. John XXII., in 1519, complains that many ex-Templars dress as laymen, and even marry. He directs that they shall join some one of the approved religious orders. (Dupuy, 511-13.) On the other hand, one Peter Auger, being afraid that the length of his hair may cause him to be taken for a wandering Templar, gets a certificate from Edward II. that he is a "valettus cameræ nostræ," and that he lets his hair grow in consequence of a vow. Rymer, ii. 128.

[h] "Projectu religionis suæ habitu, ministeriis plebeiis ignoti aut artibus illiberalibus se dederunt" (Ferret. Vicent. 1617.) We should hardly have expected to find such a justification for the well-known passage in 'The Rovers:' "No waiter, but a knight Templar. Returning from the crusade, he found his order dissolved, and his person proscribed. He dissembled his rank, and embraced the profession of a waiter." 'Poetry of the Antijacobin,' p. 196, ed. 1828.

them.[l] The property of the Templars was also bestowed on the knights of the Hospital in Germany,[k] England,[m] and other countries;[n] but a different arrangement was made as to Spain, where the lands of the dissolved society were assigned to the sovereigns, with a view to the continual war against the Moors; while some smaller brotherhoods, devoted to the prosecution of that war, grew out of its ruins, and were in part composed of persons who had been among its members.[o]

The grand-master, James de Molay, and three other great dignitaries of the order, had spent six years and a half in prison, when it was at length resolved to bring their case to a final decision. They were produced for trial before a commission, of which the archbishop of Sens was president,[p] were condemned on their old confessions to imprisonment for life, and on March 11, 1314, were brought forward in the presence of two cardinals on a platform which had been erected in the parvis of the cathedral. The cardinal of Albano began to read out their confessions; but suddenly this was interrupted by the grand-master, who denied and repudiated the avowals imputed to him, declaring himself to deserve death for having, from fear of torture and in flattery of the king, made a false confession.[q] The master of Normandy adhered to him in his

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[l] G. Vill. ix. 22; Bern. Guidonis, in Baluz. Vit. Pap. Aven. i. 76; W. Nang. contin. 65; Antonin. iii. 275, 281. See documents in Dupuy, 466, 471, 475. Yet Clement could say in his bull of abolition that Philip did not intend to claim any part of the Temple property, "imo ea in regno suo totaliter dimisit, manum suam exinde totaliter amovendo." (Benavides, ii. 836.) Philip pretended that the Templars had embezzled 200,000 livres of his, which had been deposited in the Temple; and the Hospitallers got nothing until the next reign (Boutaric, 'Philip le Bel,' ii. 45-6; Hefele, vi. 469). Adam of Murimuth says that Philip had hoped to get one of his sons made king of Jerusalem, with all the endowments of the Templars (15). Clement also made the Hospitallers pay him largely (Chron. Ast. 194; Gregorov. vi. 99). Clement had projected a new crusading order (Dupuy, 416-7) and ordered that the property of the Hospitallers, both old and new, should be valued, and that a proportionate number of knights and soldiers should be kept up for the recovery of the Holy Land (Rayn. 1312. 8).

[k] Olensl. 71.

[m] See Rymer, ii. 150, 153, 167-9, 171, 174, 235-6, 487, &c.; Stat. 17 Edw. II. c. 2; Pauli, iv. 236. A cardinal, who had come to England on the business of the Temple property, was resisted by the nobles, who wished to resume the lands given by their ancestors (A. Murimuth, 15-16). Abp. Reynolds, in 1311, and again in 1320, rebukes the Hospitallers for omitting to pay duly the stipends of the ex-Templars. (Wilkins, ii. 447, 500.) That some of these enjoyed the proverbial longevity of annuitants, see Raine, Lives of Abps. of York, i. 375-6.

[n] Bern. Guid. in Baluz. i, 76; Wilcke, ii. c. 10.

[o] See Dupuy, 375-8, 481-7; Baluz. i. 659; Mariana, l. xv. 10, p. 884. Such of the Spanish Templars as should return to obedience to the church were to be maintained in monasteries out of the property which had belonged to the order. Bull of Clement, in Benavides, ii. 856.

[p] With other great officers of the order, they had been originally reserved for the pope's own judgment; but Clement afterwards made them over to the Commission. Hefele, vi. 469, 490.

[q] G. Villani, viii. 92; Antonin. 272; W. Nang. contin. 67.

protest; but the other two brethren, worn out and dispirited by their long imprisonment, had not the courage to join them. The cardinals, at a loss how to act on this unexpected emergency, adjourned the further proceedings until the morrow; but Philip, on being informed of the scene which had taken place, at once, and without consulting the cardinals or any other clerical advisers,[r] gave orders for the execution of the two who had retracted their confessions. On the same day De Molay and the master of Normandy were led forth to death on a little island of the Seine, below the island of the City, to which it has since been joined. Molay requested that his hands might be unbound, and that in his last moments the image of the Blessed Virgin might be held before his eyes; and, as the flames gradually rose around him and his companion,[s] they firmly protested their orthodoxy and the innocence of their order. Philip watched from the bank the death of his victims,[t] whose constancy in suffering produced a deep impression on the people, so that their ashes were carefully collected and were treasured up as relics, while their fate was generally ascribed to the king's insatiable rapacity.[u] It was afterwards currently believed that Molay at the stake summoned the pope and the king, as the authors of his death, to appear before the judgment-seat of Christ within forty days and a year respectively, and that each of them died within the time assigned.[x] This story, however, does not appear at all in contemporary writings; and the earliest versions of it are without those coincidences of time which would at once give it a prophetic character, and furnish a strong presumption of its falsehood.[y] The two knights who had hung back from taking part with the master in the parvis of Nôtre-Dame ended their days in prison.[z]

In Italy the enmities of the Guelf and Ghibelline factions had continued with unabated bitterness. The head of the Guelf party was Robert of Naples, who, on the death of his father, Charles II., had been preferred by the pope, on account of his maturer age and of his abilities, to the son of his elder brother, Charles of Hungary. He had received the crown from the pope's hands at Avignon, which was within his own territory of Provence; and at the same time he had been excused the

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[r] Bern. Guid. l. c. 78; Gir. de Fracheto, 10.

[s] G. Vill. vii. 92.

[t] Antonin. 273.

[u] G. Vill. viii. 92; Antonin. l. c.; W. Nang. cont. 67.

[x] See Raynouard, 211.

[y] Schröckh, xxviii. 254; Milm. v. 236; Murat. Ann. VIII. i. 101. Ferretti tells of an unnamed Templar who, after having been brought from Naples to Avignon, and placed before Clement, cited him and Philip in a similar manner. 1018.

[z] Antonin. l. c.

payment of a very large debt which his grandfather and father had incurred to the Roman see on account of their Sicilian wars.[a]

Since the deposition of Frederick II. at the council of Lyons in 1245, no king of the Romans had received the imperial crown; and Albert as well as Rudolf had been severely rebuked by the great poet of the age for neglecting Rome and Italy.[b] Yet while the empire was thus in a state of abeyance or weakness, the idea of the emperor's power, as an absolute monarch and supreme arbiter, had been raised higher than before through the exertions of the lawyers, who grounded their theories on the old legislation of Justinian, and had never been in greater authority than at this time.[c] For Henry of Luxemburg, his want of territorial power and family connexions made it important that he should be invested with the imperial crown;[d] and in August, 1309, he announced to an assembly at Spires[e] his intention of proceeding into Italy for this purpose.[f] At Lausanne, where many representatives of Italian princes and parties waited on him, in October, 1310, he renewed the oath which his envoys had already taken to the pope;[g] and towards the end of the same month he crossed the Mont Cenis,[h] with a force which did not in all exceed 5000 men. On the Epiphany, 1311—the second anniversary of his coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle—he was crowned at Milan as king of Italy by the archbishop of that city.[i] From a throne erected in a public place

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[a] Ptol. Luc. 33-4; G. Vill. viii. 112; Rayn. 1309. 18, seqq.; Giannone, iv. 1. This debt has been already mentioned, p. 11.

[b] Purgat. vi. 97, seqq. As to Rudolf, see vol. iii. p. 497.

[c] Sismondi, iii. 248-250.

[d] Gregorov. vi. 16.

[e] This visit to Spires was also signalized by the solemn burial of the emperors Adolphus and Albert in the imperial vault. Böhmer, 268.

[f] Böhmer, 267. Various dates are, however, given, and it would seem that there were various announcements. The old feudal custom required that the *Römerzug* should be proclaimed a year, six months, and three days beforehand. Olensl. 40.

[g] Pertz, Leges, ii. 501; Alb. Mussat. 329, seqq.

[h] Böhmer, 283.

[i] Alb. Mussat. 338, seqq.; Nic. Botrontinus (bishop of Butrinto in Epirus, probably a German by birth), 'Relatio de Itin. Ital. Henrici VII.,' in Murat. ix. 884-5; Pertz, Leges, ii. 501, seqq.; W. Naug. contin. 61; Gualv. Flamma, c. 350 (Murat. xi.).

The crown used was a new one—the famous iron crown having been pawned by the Torre family, and so being unattainable. (It was redeemed in 1319 by Matthew Visconti.) Gesta Trevir. in Martene, Coll. Ampl. iv. 393; G. Vill. ix. 9; Muratori de Cor. Ferrea, cc. 10, 13, in Graevius, Antiq. iv.; Fontanini, c. 5 (ibid.); Böhmer, 285; Gregorovius vi. 35. Monza put in a claim to be the place of coronation; but on inquiry it appeared that coronations had been performed there only when the rebellious disposition of the Milanese or some other circumstance made it impossible that they should be celebrated at Milan (Nic. Botront. 894; Murat. Ann. VIII. i. 72; Barthold, 'Der Römerzug Heinrichs v. Lützelburg,' i. 447, 453, Augsburg, 1830). Dino Campagni says that Monza was the usual place, but that Henry "per amore de' Milanesi, e per non tornare dietro," was crowned at Milan (525). Yet a tale was spread that Henry was crowned at Monza (Ferret. Vicent. 1060; Herm. Corner in Eccard, ii. 976); and in the history of Pistoia Murat. xi. 400, it is said that at Monza

at Milan he proclaimed that he desired to know nothing of party, but everywhere to establish peace and justice,[k] and to restore the exiled citizens; and the people wept for joy at the announcement.[m] The factions of the Milanese, which were headed respectively by the families of Visconti and Della Torre, were not, however, to be at once appeased; and the exactions to which Henry was driven by his necessities produced Feb. 12. a commotion, in consequence of which he was led to expel the Della Torres, who, from having been the first to welcome him, had afterwards turned against him.[n] In faithful adherence to his declaration that he had not come into Lombardy for the benefit of a party, but of all,[o] Henry proceeded from city to city, everywhere restoring the exiles, whether Ghibellines who had been banished by Guelfs, or Guelfs who had been banished by Ghibellines.[p] But some of the Lombard cities rose against him on account of this impartial procedure,[q] and it was not without much labour that he was able to reduce them; while the detention thus caused (as at Brescia, May 19—Sept. 18. which did not capitulate until after having been reduced to extreme distress by a siege of four months,[r]) involved the loss of opportunities which might have enabled him to make himself master of central and southern Italy.[s] At Genoa, where he spent four months—partly on account of the illness and death of his queen[t]—he received ambassadors from Robert of Naples, proposing terms of friendship and alliance;[u] but on

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he received a crown of straw, "com' è d' usanza," and afterwards the iron crown at Milan (Cf. Murat. de Cor. Ferr. c. 13). For the Monza view as to the right of coronation, see the Chron. Modoet., in Murat. xii. 1077-8, 1080-1, where it is said that Henry's coronation at Milan was without prejudice to the rights of Monza (1098); see also a note, ib. x. 537.

[k] "Cujus simplex animus totaliter aspirabat dare pacem mundo," says Joh. de Cermenate, ap. Murat. ix. 1236; cf. Ferr. Vicent. 1059, who says that he was deceived by the intriguing Italians.

[m] Nic. Botr. 894. This writer, however, professes to have foreseen that Henry would not deal impartially with great men, 891.

[n] Ptol. Luc. xxiv. 40; Ferr. Vic. 1061; Vita V. Clem. V. ap. Baluz. i. 88; Chron. Est. in Murat. xv. 372; G. Vill. ix. 11; Sism. iii. 256-8; Jordan in Murat. Antiq. iv. 1028-9; Barthold, i. 463, seqq.; Böhmer, 283. John de Cermenate (1242, seqq.) is full on this. He says that Guy's welcome at first was reluctant and insincere (1236); that he ironically proposed a sum of 100,000 florins for Henry, and was held to his words, as if he had spoken seriously. 1239-40.

[o] Nic. Botr. 889.

[p] Ib. 890, 892, 894-5; Vita V. Clem. in Baluz. i. 87; Ptol. Luc. 38.

[q] Ricobald. in Eccard. i. 1294.

[r] Alb. Muss. 364, 375, 383, 394; Ferr. Vic. l. iii.; Chron. Ast. in Murat. ix. 233; Henr. Hervord. 228; Böhmer, 290-4.

[s] W. Nang. contin., 64; Chron. Astense, 233, seqq.; Barthold, i. 498, seqq.; ii. 3, seqq.; Gregorov. vi. 36-8. When Brescia held out, Henry asked a cardinal to excommunicate the inhabitants; whereupon the cardinal told him that the Italians did not care for such sentences, and gave instances in proof of this. Sism. iii. 260.

[t] Nic. Botr. 912; Alb. Muss. 404. The queen died on Dec. 13, of a pestilential ailment caught at Brescia. Böhmer, 296.

[u] Alb. Muss. 407.

proceeding southward, he found that Robert was exerting all his Oct. 21, 1311— Feb. 16, 1312. influence against him, and that the king's brother, John, prince of Achaia, was in possession of the approach to Rome by the Ponte Molle, and of some strong places within the city.[x] After some negotiation, he compelled John to withdraw from the bridge (although professing to do so May 7, 1312. for strategical reasons); and he gradually got possession of the Capitol, the Colosseum, the Pantheon, and other strongholds on the left bank of the river.[y] But the Capitol was recovered by the Neapolitan party, through the influence of money.[z] The Vatican quarter and the Trastevere, with that part of the Campus Martius which is nearest to the river, were in the hands of John and of his allies the Orsini; bloody encounters were frequent in the streets;[a] and after repeated attempts to gain possession of St. Peter's, by force or by treaty, with a view to his imperial coronation,[b] Henry was obliged to submit to receive the crown on St. Peter's day in the half-ruinous church of St. John Lateran, which had lately been in great part destroyed by fire.[c] For this there was a precedent in the case of Lothair III., who had been crowned in the Lateran because St. Peter's was occupied by the antipope Anacletus,[d] and it was sanctioned by a decree of the Roman senate and people;[e] but the three cardinals who had been commissioned by the pope to officiate, did not consent to such a deviation from the usual practice until after much difficulty and under protest;[f] and the ceremony, shorn of its usual splendour, was performed in the midst of danger and alarm.[g]

Immediately after the coronation, the duke of Bavaria and others of Henry's supporters left Rome with their troops, in fear of the heats which had so often been fatal to the Germans;[h] and the emperor himself, who had been reduced to great straits

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[x] Nic. Botr. 890, 906; J. Germ. 1263; G. Vill. ix. 39. For the state of Rome see Alb. Muss. 407, 419; Barthold, ii. 173-5.

[y] Nic. Botr. 916-8; Ptol. Luc. 44-5; Alb. Muss. 455, seqq.; Ferr. Vic. 1099-1100; Matth. Neob. in Urstis. ii. 117. This part of the story is very fully related by Gregorovius and von Reumont. See too Böhmer's summary, Regesta, 300-1.

[z] G. Vill. ix. 42.

[a] G. Vill. ix. 38; Ptol. Luc. 47-8; Istor. Pistoles. in Murat. xi. 40-2; Gregorov. vi. 48.

[b] Alb. Muss. 459.

[c] See p. 9.

[d] See vol. iii. p. 17.

[e] Alb. Muss. 381.

[f] Nicolas of Prato was one of these cardinals. There is a difference of statement as to the amount of discretion allowed them by the pope. See Matth. Neoburg. in Urstis. ii. 117; Chron. Ast. 236; Alb. Muss. 462-3.

[g] Pertz Leges, ii. 529-532; Ferr. Vicent. 1101; Alb. Muss. 462; Nic. Botr. 918-9; G. Vill. ix. 42; Ptol. Luc. 42-8; W. Nang. cont. (See a letter of Henry to Edward of England and the answer, Rymer, ii. 170, 210.) Some wrongly date the coronation on the festival of St. Peter's chains (Aug. 1). Barth. ii. 212-5; Gregorov. vi. 60-2.

[h] Nic. Botr. 920; Ferr. Vic. 1108.

by the diminution of his force, finally took his departure on the 20th of August.[l] It was in vain that Clement desired Henry and Robert, as sons of the church, to make peace;[k] for Henry, having been advised by his legal counsellors that the pope had no right to interfere thus between him and his vassal,[m] was determined to assert the fulness of his imperial rights.

April 25, 1313.

After some previous formalities, he uttered at Pisa the ban of the empire, by which Robert, on account of treasons and other offences which were recited, was declared to have forfeited both his southern kingdom and the county of Provence. His subjects were absolved from their allegiance, and, as an outlaw, he was threatened, if he should fall into the emperor's hands, with the same death which his own grandfather, the founder of the Angevine dynasty, had inflicted on the unfortunate Conradin.[n] The pope declared this sentence to be null, and reminded Henry of his oaths to the apostolic see; to which Henry replied that he had taken no oath of fealty to any one; and having made this declaration solemnly before witnesses, he caused it to be formally recorded.[o]

Sept. 19—Oct. 31, 1312.

Henry's force had been greatly reduced by defections, war, and sickness, and he was obliged to wait for reinforcements from Germany. Yet the firmness with which he held to his purpose, and the other great qualities which he displayed, were such as even to extort the admiration of those who were opposed to him.[p] Being as yet unable to attack Robert directly, he laid siege to Florence, which now for the first time began to take a prominent part in the general politics of Italy;[q] but the strength of the defence and a sickness among his troops obliged him to relinquish the attempt. The pope, greatly

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[l] Gregorov. vi. 65-7, 72.

[k] Clementin. II. tit. ix.; Böhmer, 303.

[m] Nic. Botr. 921; Barth. ii. 272-3.

[n] Pertz, Leges ii. 515; Nic. Botr. 924, 932-4; G. Vill. ix. 49; Alb. Muss. 524-531; Clementin. II. tit. xi. c. 2; Matth. Neoburg. 118; Barth. ii. 385-6. "Vita per capitis mutilationem privandum in his scriptis sententialiter condemnamus." Pertz, 546. See Olenslager, 65.

[o] W. Nang. contin. 66; Gir. Frachet. contin. 39; Clementin. II. tit. ix.; cf. xi. 2. See Schmidt, iii. 499; Schröckh, xxxi. 45; Hallam, ii. 32. The pope afterwards declared that the oath was to be construed as one of fealty. (Clementin. l. c. col. 121.) John of Cermenate has a story (which looks apocryphal) that the pope was terrified by Philip into siding with Robert, whereas his inclination was opposite. 1277.

[p] Murat. Ann. VIII. i. 96. For instance, the Guelf John Villani, ix. 1. The bishop of Butrinto seems to have considered him too self-willed. "Dominus imperator proprii capitis et proprii sensus in hoc et in multis aliis, qui non se regebat semper per consilium alicujus nisi per suum, sicut omnes qui in suis consiliis magis secretis fuerunt, frequenter sunt experti." 923.

[q] G. Vill. ix. 44; Chron. di S. Miniato, in Baluz. Miscell. i. 159, seqq. Henry had before cited and banned Florence, Nov. 20 and Dec. 21, 1311. (Pertz, Leges, ii. 519, seqq.) The like as to other Tuscan cities, April, 1312, and Feb., 1313. Ib. 521, 537.

incensed, threatened excommunication and interdict against any one who should invade the Neapolitan kingdom, as being a fief of the church;[r] but Henry replied to his legate, "If God be for us, neither the pope nor the church will destroy us, so long as we do not offend God."[s] The pope, instigated by Philip's influence in behalf of his Neapolitan kinsmen, pronounced his curses;[t] but before the publication of them, Henry had died at Buonconvento, on the 24th of August, 1313, at a time when his power was greater and when his prospects appeared brighter than they had ever before been.[u] His death appears to have been really occasioned by natural causes; but its suddenness gave countenance to the suspicion of poison, which was said to have been administered in the eucharistic cup by his confessor, a Dominican named Bernard of Montepulciano, who had been bribed (according to various theories) by Robert of Naples, by Philip of France, by the Florentines, or by the pope.[x]

With Henry's attempt to restore the dignity of the empire Dante's famous treatise 'Of Monarchy' is connected by its

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[r] Although the popes had claimed the suzerainty of the kingdom, the emperors had never relinquished their claim to it. See vol. iii. 21, 78.

[s] Nic. Botr. 933.

[t] Ptol. Luc. 53; Barth. ii. 410.

[u] It was noted that Henry died on the anniversary of Conradin's defeat at Tagliacozzo, and the Guelfs celebrated St. Bartholomew's day accordingly, as being fatal to their enemies (Alb. Muss. 568, 573-4; Chron. Regiense in Murat. xviii. 26; Gregorov. 92.) Fauriel is severe on Henry VII., and on the result of his expedition to Italy. ('Dante,' i. 222.) In favour of Henry, see Reumont, ii. 769.

[x] The death of Henry is referred to natural causes by G. Villani (ix. 51), the fifth biographer of Pope Clement (Baluz. i. 94), Albertino Mussato (568), John of Cermenate (1282), and Jordan in Muratori, Antiq. Ital. iii. 1031. The story of the poisoning is mentioned by some writers with incredulity or doubt, while others strongly affirm it. (See Annal. Lubic. in Pertz, xvi. 423; Chron. di Pisa in Baluz. Miscell. i. 453; Ptol. Luc. 53; Matth. Neoburg. 118; Ist. Pistolesi, 404; Chron. Modoet. 1110; Tritheim. Chron. Hirsaug. A.D. 1313; W. Naug. contin. 67; Ferret. Vicent. 1115-7; Cron. di S. Miniato in Baluz. Miscell. i. 461; Annal. Altah. A.D. 1113; Chron. de Melsa, ii. 320; Gesta Balduini, in Mart. Coll. Ampl. iv. 402; Zantfliet, 163; H. Rebdorf, &c.) John of St. Victor refers the death to an imposthume, but says that the Germans and the imperialist Pisans charged the Dominicans with having poisoned the emperor, although the contrary had been proved by medical witnesses (Bouq. xxi. 657). The Franciscan John of Winterthur tells the story very circumstantially, but affects to conceal the order to which the poisoner belonged; and he adds that the crime was rewarded with a bishoprick (Eccard. i. 177-81). On the other hand, the Dominican Herman Corner is very indignant at the charge, alleges witnesses to clear his order, and recriminates on the Franciscans as to members of their order having been burnt for heresy (ib. ii. 983). No less is the indignation of another Dominican, Henry of Hervorden (230). The Dominicans, finding themselves much defamed and persecuted on account of the alleged crime, so that they were even charged with it in popular rhymes (Ptol. Luc. xxiv. 40; Chron. Anon. in Bouq. xxi. 151; Ferr. Vicent. 117; Cron. di Bologna in Murat. xviii. 326), tried to vindicate themselves by producing testimonials of their innocence, especially one from Henry's son, King John of Bohemia, dated 1346 (in Baluz. Miscell. i. 326); but these are said to be of doubtful genuineness (see Giesel. II. iii. 21-4). Modern writers in general acquit them (e.g. Murat. Ann. VIII. i. 96; Sism. R. I. iii

subject, although it was probably composed somewhat earlier.[y] From one of the poet's letters it is inferred that he waited on the emperor at his appearance in Italy;[z] and his interest in Henry personally appears from a well-known passage of the 'Paradise.'[a] The treatise 'Of Monarchy' may be regarded as a remarkable instance of the manner in which the advance of the papal claims provoked the development of a rival theory, which invested the emperor with a majesty partly derived from the remembrance of the ancient Roman greatness, and partly borrowed from the theocratic idea of the papacy. The author proposes to himself three questions: whether monarchy be necessary for the wellbeing of the world; whether the Romans acquired their empire rightfully; and whether the monarch's authority be derived from God immediately, or through some other power: and all these questions he decides in favour of the imperial pretensions.[b] He argues that in every society there must be a head, and in the great human society this head must be a monarch. He regards this monarchy as absolute and universal, and declares that such a government is the only means of establishing universal peace, which never existed except under the empire of Augustus Cæsar.[c] The Romans, he says, were the noblest of peoples, and therefore were worthy of universal empire. They got their empire rightfully; for they got it by war, and war is a recourse to the Divine arbitration.[d] In proof of this, he alleges stories of miracles, from Livy and from Virgil;[e] and he argues that, if the empire were not of right, the Saviour,

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280-1; Barthold, ii. Beil. i.; Böhmer, 311-2). Raynaldus charitably says of Henry, "Siquid præter communem ordinem triste acciderit, cur non in divinas iras causa referri possit, cum censuras pontificias sperneret?" (1313. 24-5). But Olenslager believes the poisoning (67), while Gieseler (II. iii. 23) and Palacky (II. ii. 104) think the question doubtful. It was said that Henry, feeling himself poisoned, advised the confessor to escape before his crime should be discovered; and that, on being urged to save his life by taking an emetic, he replied that he would rather die than dishonour the Saviour's body. Gesta Balduini, l. c.; Joh. Victor. in Böhmer, Fontes, i. 376, 402; Mart. Polon. contin. in Eccard, i. 1440; Annal. Lubic. l. c.; Joh. Vitodur. l. c. &c.

[y] Gregorov. vi. 21-2. The Florentines, both whites and blacks, were Guelfs; but the whites (Dante's party) when expelled, allied themselves with the Ghibellines of various towns. Dante's avowal of absolute Ghibellinism dates from Henry's approach to Italy. Fauriel, 'Dante,' &c., i. 21-2.

[z] "Benignissimum vidi et clementissimum te audivi quum pedes tuos manus meæ tractarunt et labia mea debitum persolverunt" (Opere, vi. 738, seqq. ed. Firenze, 1830-41). In this letter (dated April 16, 1311, while Henry was besieging Cremona), Dante is vehement in denunciation of his Florentine countrymen (742), and it is said to have led to a renewal with increased severity of the decree for his banishment. See Barthold, i. 415, 535; Fauriel, 'Dante,' i. 215.

[a] xxx. 133-8. It has been supposed that Dante also celebrated Henry in other poems. See Fauriel, i. 223; Reumont, ii. 767, 1205.

[b] Opere, vi. l. i. p. 520; l. iii. p. 681.

[c] p. 561.

[d] pp. 561, 604, 612.

[e] pp. 575-8.

by being born under it, would have sanctioned wrong.[f] In the third book, Dante discusses the question of the emperor's deriving his authority from God immediately or mediately. He admits that the secular power is under certain obligations to the spiritual power; but he denies that the phrase of the "two swords" showed St. Peter to be possessed of temporal as well as spiritual government.[g] He combats such deductions from the "two great lights" and from other Scriptural language as would make the temporal power inferior to the spiritual;[h] and, without questioning the genuineness of the Donation ascribed to Constantine, he denies the inferences from it as to the emperor's having made over his power to the pope.[i] As the empire existed in its fulness before the church, it could not be derived from the church;[k] the emperor has his power immediately from God, and he is chosen by God alone, while the so-styled electors are merely the instruments for declaring the Divine will.[m] The whole treatise—and nothing in it more signally than the wild inconsequence of some of the arguments—may be regarded as evidence of the fascination which the idea of the imperial grandeur and the traditional dignity of Rome as its seat could exercise over a mind lofty, solitary, unequalled in some elements of greatness, but ill fitted for the practical work of human politics.[n]

The pope had been embroiled with the Venetians as to Ferrara, where, on the death of Azzo III., in 1308, the succession was disputed between his brother Francis, and his illegitimate son Frisco.[o] Frisco, finding himself odious to the Ferrarese, called in the aid of the Venetians, to whom he afterwards sold his interest;[p] while his uncle threw himself on the protection of the pope.[q] The Venetians, who had always been inclined to hold themselves independent of Rome in ecclesiastical matters, persisted in keeping their questionable acquisition; while Clement advanced an apocryphal claim to Ferrara as a dependency of the Roman see.[r] A papal nuncio was insulted, and

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[f] Op. 614-8. "Vere potuit dicere vir Romanus quod Apostolus ad Timotheum, 'Reposita est mihi corona justitiæ'—reposita scilicet in Dei providentia æterna." p. 612.

[g] p. 650.

[h] pp. 638, 640, seqq.

[i] pp. 656, seqq.

[k] p. 668.

[m] pp. 676-682.

[n] Antoninus is severe on Dante's theory as to the empire over the church, iii. 307.

[o] Ferret. Vicent. 1037; Cron. di Bologna, in Murat. xviii. 315; Murat. Ann. VIII. i. 1-49; Sismondi R. I. iii. 243; *Frisco* is another form of *Francis*.

[p] Ricobald. in Murat. ix. 255-6; Ferret. Vicent. ib. 1039.

[q] Cron. Est. in Murat. xv. 361; Cron. di Bologna, 318.

[r] Annal. Parm. in Pertz, xviii. 758; Daru. i. 171.

even stoned, at Venice;[s] and on Maundy Thursday, 1309, the pope issued a bull, so monstrous that even the papal annalist Rinaldi[t] is ashamed to transcribe it at full length.[u] Clement declared by it that, unless the Venetians would submit, they should be excluded from religious offices, from civil intercourse, and from all benefit of laws; their magistrates were to be branded as infamous, their doge was to be stripped of the ensigns of office, their whole property was to be subject to confiscation, they were to be liable to slavery, and their goods were to be at the mercy of any who might care to plunder them. Princes were invited to carry out these outrageous denunciations, and a crusade was proclaimed against the republic, with the usual promise of indulgences. The clergy and monks withdrew from Venice in obedience to the pope's order, and multitudes were readily found to catch at the license to plunder which was held out in the name of religion. In England and in France the property of Venetian traders was violently seized; at Genoa and in the ports of the Romagna, of Tuscany and of Calabria, many of them, in addition to the loss of their effects, were reduced to slavery, or even were slain. Cardinal Arnold of Pelagrue,[x] whom the pope had commissioned as legate for Tuscany and Northern Italy, marched an army to Ferrara, which he took with great slaughter by the aid of the party opposed to Frisco; and he exercised cruel vengeance on the Venetians who fell into his hands.[y] The interdict on Venice continued in force until the year 1313, when Francis Dandolo (afterwards doge) was sent to the papal court at Avignon, and, by the adroitness of his submission, was able to obtain the absolution of his countrymen.[z]

Feeling his health declining, Clement in 1314 resolved to seek a restoration of it by a visit to his native province; but he had proceeded no further than Roquemaure, on the western bank of the Rhone, when death came on him on the 20th of April.[a] His body was removed to Carpentras for burial; and it is said that, having been left unattended in a church, it was

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[s] Ferret. Vicent. 1013; Daru, i. 479.

[t] 1309. 7.

[u] Ptol. Luc. 32; Bern. Guid. 69; Ferr. Vic. 1044; Giesel. II. iii. 19. Muratori calls it "la più terribil ed ingiusta bolla che se sia mai udita." Ann. VIII. i. 1-54.

[x] Ferr. Vic. 1044; Daru, i. 484.

[y] G. Vill. viii. 115; Ferret. Vic. 1046-7; Ptol. Luc. 32-35; Annal. Parm. 751; Bern. Guid. in Baluz. Vit. Pap. Aven. i. 69.

[z] Rayn. 1313. 31-34; Daru, i. 515.

[a] Ptol. Luc. 54-6; Hist. de Langued. iv. 158. Ptolemy says that "sicut audivi a suo confessore fide digno," Clement was never well after he had issued certain constitutions unfavourable to the mendicants (the *Exivi de Paradiso*, Clementin. V. xi. 1). Cf. Baluz. note, p. 615; Bern. Guid. 77.

partly burnt in a conflagration, occasioned by the candles which were placed around it.[b] Notwithstanding the expenses of his court and the rapacity of his mistress, he left vast wealth to his nephews.[c]

Ignominious as Clement's subserviency to the king of France appears, he had yet been able by his policy to gain some points which would have been certainly lost if he had attempted to carry on the lofty manner of Boniface. His underhand dealings had frustrated Philip's attempt to gain the imperial crown for the reigning family of France; he had succeeded in rescuing the memory of his predecessor from reprobation, and by so doing had rescued the credit of the papacy itself.[d]

The last years of Philip the Fair were not happy, and some saw in the troubles which befel him the punishment of his outrages against pope Boniface or of his injustice to the Templars.[e] He was dishonoured in his family by the infidelity of his queen[f] and of the wives of his three sons.[g] The falsification of the coinage, and his other oppressive means of raising money,[h] although they failed to enrich him, provoked discontents which sometimes found a vent in insurrection and compelled him to withdraw his offensive measures.[i] But in the mean time his piety and his cruelty were shown at once in the punishment of religious error, as in the case of Margaret Porrette, a native of Hainault, who in 1310 was burnt for having produced a book on the Love of God, written in a strain of mystical fervour which seems to have bordered on the errors of the sect of the Free Spirit.[k] So noted was Philip's zeal for orthodoxy, that Arnold of Villeneuve, a Provençal physician and Professor in the Uni-

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[b] G. Vill. ix. 58; Vita I. p. 22; F. Pipin. in Murat. ix. 751.

[c] G. Vill. ix. 58. Dante refers to Clement's love of money:—

> "Ben puoi tu dire, Io ho fermo il disiro
> Sì a colui che volle viver solo,
> E che per salti fu tratto a martiro,
> Ch'io non conosco il Pescator nè Polo."
> *Parad.* xviii. *fin.*

the Florentine coins being stamped with the figure of St. John the Baptist. The pope's subserviency to Philip is denounced in the 'Inferno,' xix. 82, seqq.

[d] Milm. v. 238. For Clement's contributions to ecclesiastical law, see the supplementary chapter of this book.

[e] Antonin. iii. 288; Anon. Cadomensis, in Bouq. xxii. 25.

[f] W. Nang. cont. 68. With the name of this queen, Jane of Navarre, is connected the legend of the Tour de Nesle. See Bayle, art. *Buridan.*

[g] G. Vill. ii. 69; W. Nang. contin. l. c.; Martin, iv. 566.

[h] Antoninus says that he was too fond of pleasures—especially of hunting—and so left the management of affairs to officers who managed ill.

[i] W. Nang. contin. 67, 69. The chronicler Joinville, at the age of 100, was one of those who signed a remonstrance against Philip's oppressive measures. Martin, iv. 509-511.

[k] The continuer of William of Nangis (p. 63) says that she taught "quod anima adnihilata in amore conditoris sine reprehensione conscientiæ vel remorsu potest et debet naturæ quidquid appetit et desiderat concedere." See Mosheim de Beghardis, 236.

versity of Paris, after having published a book against the prevailing religious system, thought it well to secure his safety by seeking a refuge in Sicily.[m]

After a reign of twenty-nine years, Philip, although he had reached only the age of forty-six, was prematurely aged and worn out. An accident which befel him while hunting in the forest of Fontainebleau produced an illness which he is said to have borne with great patience; and on the 29th of November, 1314, he died, leaving the memory of a rule more despotic and oppressive than any that had been known in France.[n]

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[m] Bulæus, iv. 121. J. Villani says only that Arnold's book was a speculation on the coming of Antichrist (ix. 3); and in this he is followed by Antoninus, iii. 284. For the errors imputed to Arnold, and for a list of his books, see Eymeric, 265, 316.

[n] Chron. de Flandre, in Bouq. xxii. 401. The continuer of William of Nangis says that the cause of the king's illness was unknown (69). Philip is not without eulogists among the writers of the time, such as William the Scot, who ascribes all his objectionable measures to his counsellors, and extols his piety very greatly. Among other things this writer tells us that the king on his death-bed called his eldest son to him, and, in the presence of his confessor alone, instructed him in the manner of touching the sick, and in the form of the words to be used for the purpose (xxi. 207). An anonymous chronicler says, "Fuit autem conversatione humilis et modestus, generosus, largus, magnificus, liberalis et pius." Ib. xxii. 17.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE DEATH OF POPE CLEMENT V. TO THAT OF THE EMPEROR LOUIS IV.

A.D. 1314-1347.

THE cardinals met at Carpentras, the place of Clement V.'s burial, for the election of a successor to him.[a] Of twenty-three who composed the college, six only were Italians, and the feeling of these is shown in a letter which was addressed by one of them, Napoleon Orsini, to King Philip. The cardinal expresses his deep dissatisfaction with the result of the last election. Rome and Italy had suffered by Clement's withdrawal, and had fallen a prey to confusion. The patronage of bishopricks and other ecclesiastical dignities had been prostituted to money or to family interest. The Italian cardinals had been slighted in all possible ways, the pope had shown his intention to confine the church to a corner of Gascony; and the letter concludes by praying that Philip would concur towards the election of a pope who may be as unlike his predecessor as the good of the church required that he should be.[b]

The Italians urged a return to Rome, and maintained that, in order to preserve the ascendancy of the pope over the hearts of men, the chair of St. Peter must be fixed in the apostle's own city.[c] The French cardinals, although nearly thrice as many as the Italians, hesitated to force an election by outvoting them; but while the conclave was sitting, two of Clement's nephews, under pretence of accompanying his body, entered the town at the head of a party of Gascons, who, with shouts of "Death to the Italians!" "We will have a pope!" attacked the houses of the Italian cardinals, killed many of their dependents, and began to plunder and to burn in several quarters. The palace in which the cardinals were assembled was set on fire, and they were compelled to make their escape by breaking through the

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[a] Ptol. Luc. i. 4. Clement's body was afterwards removed to Uzeste, in Gascony. See Ciacon. ii. 360, 389. His splendid tomb there was demolished by the Huguenots in 1568. Bul. iv. 169.

[b] Baluz. V. P. Aven. ii. 289, seqq.

[c] Vita I. Joh. XXII., ib. 113; W. Naug. contin. 68.

back wall of the building.[d] The cardinals were scattered "like frightened partridges;"[e] and, although Philip urged them to meet at Lyons for an election,[f] the matter was unsettled at the time of his death.

His son and successor, Louis X., who from his noisy and disorderly habits acquired the name of *Hutin*,[g] was a frivolous, prodigal, childish prince,[h] and, while he gave himself up to the amusements of the tilt-yard and to other enjoyments, the real conduct of affairs was in the hands of his uncle, Charles of Valois. The late king's ministers and instruments were disgraced: Enguerrand de Marigny and others of them were put to death;[i] and in the course of the proceedings against them were discovered the arts of some sorcerers who, in complicity (as was said) with Marigny, his wife, and his sister, were supposed to practise against the lives of the king, of his uncle Charles, and of others, by placing waxen images of them before a slow fire, when, as the figure gradually melted away, a corresponding decrease took place in the fleshly substance of the person who was represented.[k]

The spirit of party was strong among the cardinals. The Gascons would have no one but a Gascon for pope, while those who had been discontented under Clement were not inclined to elect one of his countrymen. In consequence of these differences the papacy had already been vacant two years,[m] when Louis, by promising that the rule for closing the conclave should not be enforced, persuaded the cardinals to assemble at Lyons for an election, and deputed his brother Philip, count of Poitiers, to superintend it. But before any decision had taken place, Philip was informed that Louis had suddenly died, on the 5th of July,

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[d] Letter of Ital. cardinals in Wilkins, ii. 449; Baluz. V. Pap. Aven. i. 687; ii. 287-8; John XXII.'s bull against those concerned in the outrage, ib. 388.

[e] W. Nang. contin. 68.

[f] Baluz. ii. 293. There are letters from Edward II. of England, urging an election. (Rymer, ii. 249, 277.) Philip had in 1310 acquired Lyons, which until then had not been even feudally subject to the French crown. (See Bern. Guid. in Baluz. V. P. A. i. 77; Hallam, M. A. i. 41.)

[g] Sismondi, ix. 193, seqq. The chronicle ascribed to John Desnouelles, however, says that he was so called, "pour ce que moult estoit desiranz de combattre as Flamens." Bouq. xxi. 196.

[h] "Largus erat et prodigus et admodum puerilis." Joh. S. Vict. in Bouq. xxi. 661.

[i] W. Nang. contin. 69; B. Guidon, 82. It is said that when Charles of Valois was paralyzed in 1325, he gave alms, that the poor might pray for Enguerrand and himself, putting Marigny first, in token of remorse for his death.

[k] W. Nang. contin. 69, 70; Joh. S. Vict. in Bouq. xxi. 660. See Eymeric, 317. This practice was called *invultuation* (*cultus* being sometimes used to signify a whole figure). Pins or needles were sometimes stuck into the images, in order to produce pain in the corresponding part of the victim's body. See Ducange, s. v. *Invultare*; Maitland on False Worship, 291-9 (Lond. 1856).

[m] G. Vill. ix. 79.

1316;[n] and, being advised by some counsellors that the engagement as to the conclave was illegal, and therefore invalid,[o] he ordered that the Dominican convent, in which the cardinals were assembled, should be walled up and guarded, while he himself set off to secure his own interests in the new circumstances of the kingdom.[p] A son whom the widowed queen bore after her husband's death lived only a few days;[q] and as the only other child of Louis, a daughter, was set aside on account of her sex, Philip "the Long" himself became king,[r] although not without a protest in the name of the excluded princess.

The cardinals were at length brought, through the management of Napoleon Orsini, to elect James d'Eusé, or Duèse,[s] cardinal of Porto, who took the name of John XXII.[t] John was a native of Cahors, and appears to have been the son of a respectable citizen of that place,[u] although some represent him as descended from a knightly family, while others make his father a tavern-keeper or a cobbler.[x] He was a man of small stature, of simple personal habits, and of vehement and bitter temper; he was distinguished for his acuteness, his eloquence, and learning;[y] he had been chancellor to king Robert of Naples, and had held the sees of Fréjus and of Avignon, to the latter of which he was promoted by Clement V., in compliance with a recommendation which was signed and sealed by the chancellor in the king's name, but to which Robert himself was not privy.[z] He

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[n] His age was only twenty-seven. Some groundlessly ascribed his death to poison—as J. Desnouelles, in Bouq. xxi. 197.

[o] Vita I. Joh. XXII. ap. Baluz. i. 115. Bernard Guidonis says, that the condition was not kept, "quatenus pro majore bono rei publicæ, quæ præfertur privatæ, compellerentur ecclesiæ providere." 81.

[p] W. Nang. contin. 71.

[q] W. Nang. contin. 72.

[r] W. Nang. contin. 71-2. Vita I. Joh. 115-6; B. Guid. 84; "Tunc etiam declaratum fuit quod ad coronam Franciæ mulier non succedit." W. Nang. contin. l. c.

[s] This is the form approved by Bertrandy, 'Recherches historiques sur le Pape Jean XXII. Paris, 1854.'

[t] G. Vill. ix. 79; Vita VI. p. 185; Baluz. V. P. A. i. 785.

[u] "Ex patre plebeio" (Ferr. Vicent. 1167). "De militari progenie natus" (Matth. Neoburg. 125.) Cf. G. Vill., ix. 79; Antonin. iii. 29; Baluz. i. 689. M. Bertrandy says, that his father was one of the principal citizens, but not noble; and supposes the notion of the father's having been a cobbler to have grown out of the word *huèse* = *brodequin* (28-31). Was John the father of three brothers De Aux, who were legitimatised by the French king in 1340, as being "ex copula detestanda, de pontifice videlicet in pontificali dignitate, gradu, seu ordine constituto?" (Baluz. ii. 600).

[x] Ferr. Vic. 1166; Vita I. p. 116.

[y] G. Vill. ix. 20; W. Nang. contin. 71. Petrarch speaks of him as 'homo perstudiosus,' &c. (Rer. Memorab. ii. 5, p. 481.) Ferretti says that king Robert pushed on his election, not without the use of money, in the hope of using him against Frederick of Sicily and others. l. c.

[z] G. Vill. ix. 79; Antonin. iii. 292. The story as told by Ferretti (1168) is that Robert asked Clement why James had been promoted so highly. "To

had been employed in Italy to inquire into the case of Boniface VIII.;[a] at the council of Vienne he had rendered important services to Clement, by labouring both for the rescue of Boniface's memory and for the condemnation of the Templars; and these services had been rewarded by his promotion to the dignity of cardinal.[b]

It is said that at the election John conciliated the Italian cardinals by swearing that he would never mount on horseback unless to return to Rome; and that he eluded his oath by descending the Rhone to Avignon in a boat, and walking from the landing-place to the papal palace, which he never afterwards quitted except in order to attend the services of the neighbouring cathedral.[c]

But although John remained in France, his condition was very different from that of his predecessor. The kings with whom he had to deal did not possess the vigour of Philip the Fair; and the air which the pope assumed towards them was not that of a subordinate but of a superior.[d] Even if he endeavoured to bring about that transference of the imperial crown to the royal house of France which Clement's art had been employed to prevent, it was with a view to establishing more thoroughly the superiority of the papacy over the empire. He took it on himself, in disregard of a right which had always been claimed by sovereigns,[e] to redistribute the dioceses of southern France, erecting Toulouse into an archbishoprick, with six suffragan bishops under it,[f] and to make similar changes in other parts of the kingdom.[g] And, in reliance at once on his

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please you, and at your recommendation," was the answer. Thereupon the king, instead of exposing the trick, thanked the pope, and made sure of the bishop as a tool.

[a] Rayn. 1310. 37-8.

[b] Ferr. Vicent. 1169.

[c] Vita V. p. 178; or Ptol. Luc. in Murat. xi. 1213; Chron. de Melsa, ii. 318. Baluze questions the story (i. 793). John rode on the day of his coronation; but, perhaps, he may not have reckoned himself to be then fully in power. See Hefele, vi. 507.

[d] Martin, iv. 543. He wrote to Philip V. as if the king were a child, reproving him for talking at the services of the church, especially the mass, charging him to respect the Lord's Day by refraining from bathing, from getting his beard and hair trimmed, &c. Rayn. 1317. 3, &c.

[e] See vol. ii. 507-8; vol. iii. 527.

[f] Extrav. Commun. iii. cc. 5-6 (dated 7 Kal. Jul. and 4 Non. Aug. of his first year); W. Naug. contin. 71; Th. Niem, in Eccard, i. 1469. See Ad. Murimuth, 28; Hist. Langued. iv. 168-172; Baluz. V. P. A. i. 135-7, 187-190. The abbot of Castres protested against having a bishop put over him, on the ground that the king's consent had not been had, and "quod Dominus Papa Johannes adhaerens vestigiis suorum praedecessorum, satagit adjungere superioritati imperii spiritualis ad illum pertinentis in universum orbem superioritatem omnis imperii temporalis;" with which view he intended to strengthen himself by multiplying bishops. But this objector was pacified by being allowed to retain the title of abbot, with a handsome allowance out of the conventual revenues. Baluz. V. P. A., ii. 309-311; Hist. Langued. iv., Preuves, 21.

[g] Thus the diocese of Poitiers was divided into three. W. Naug. contin. l. c.

pontifical authority and on his personal reputation for learning, he undertook to reform and to dictate to the universities of Paris, Toulouse, and Orleans.[h]

John was especially severe against those magical practices which have been already mentioned, and by the fear of which the public mind was at that time thrown into a state of panic.[i] The Inquisition was employed to discover those who carried on invultuation or similar arts—with whom the remains of the Albigensian sectaries were sometimes confounded.[k] For such crimes (real or imaginary) many persons were put to death; among them was Hugh Geraldi, the bishop of John's native city, who, having been found guilty of having compassed the pope's death by unhallowed arts, was degraded from his orders, flayed alive, and torn asunder by horses, after which A.D. 1317. his remains were dragged through the town to the place of public execution, where they were burnt.[l] The lepers, who during the time of the Crusades had generally been regarded with compassion, and who, in the early days of the Franciscan order, had been the special objects of its charity, now fell under suspicion of a conspiracy against the rest of mankind. It was said that they were engaged in a design to poison all the wells of France, by putting into them little bags containing the consecrated host, mixed with human blood, herbs, and various loathsome substances; that by such means they hoped either to destroy all Christians, or to infect them with their own miserable disease; that with a view to this plot they had held four general councils, at which all lazar-houses were represented; that they had been instigated to the crime by Jews, who were the agents of the Moorish king of Granada;[m]

John intended to do the like in certain Spanish and Portuguese dioceses, but did not carry out the plan fully. Rayn. 1318. 38-9.

[h] Milm. v. 250.

[i] See *e.g.* Rayn. 1317. 52, seqq.

[k] Gir. Frach. contin. 56; Hist. Langued. iv. 207; Rayn. 1320. 31.

[l] A. Murimuth, 26; Chron. de Melsa. ii. 319; Baluz. V. P. A. i. 170, 187; Th. Niem in Eccard, i. 481; Platina, 253 A nephew of the pope himself was charged with invultuation under Charles IV., but the king declared him innocent. Hist. de Langued., iv. Pr. No. 87. See Bertrandy, 'Un Evêque supplicié,' Paris 1865. The bishop was charged with extortion, injustice, corruption, vicious life, putting people to death with tortures, &c. (47-52). For these offences he was tried by a commission and condemned to imprisonment for life; but being afterwards convicted on charges of poisoning the pope's nephew and of invultuation, he was punished as the text relates. (61). John of Winterthur says that the pope was believed to have proceeded cruelly against this bishop on no other evidence than that of a dream. Eccard i. 1802.

[m] Phil. V. in Hist. Langued. iv., Preuves, p. 163; Mansi, xxv. 570-2; Baluz. V. P. A. i. 130-32; W. Nang. contin. 78; Gir. Frach. contin. 56; Sism. ix. 395-7. Some of them are said to have confessed, (Hist. Langued. Pr. 163-4.) The lepers were said to have settled among themselves the dignities which they were to assume when triumphant; one was to be king of France, another king of England, and so on.

and that, while lending themselves to the plots of the infidels, the lepers had engaged themselves to deny the Christian faith. In consequence of these wild tales, a general persecution was carried on against the lepers. In some places, they were shut up in their houses, which were set on fire by excited mobs;[n] many of them were burnt indiscriminately by sentence of the king's judges, who were commanded to deal summarily with them;[o] but at Paris and elsewhere the distinction was at length established that such of them as could not be convicted of any personal share in the alleged crimes should be confined for life within the lazar-houses, in the hope that by a separation of the sexes their race might become extinct.[p]

The Jews also, who in the reign of Louis had been allowed to return to France, and had paid heavily for the privilege,[q] were now persecuted. Many of them were burnt, their property was confiscated, and the pope ordered that the bishops should destroy all copies of the Talmud, as being the chief support of their perversity.[r] Many Jews threw their children into the fire, in order to rescue them from being forcibly baptised.[s]

Under Philip the Long the system of administration which had pressed so heavily on France in his father's time was resumed. Among other means of exaction, he was authorised by the pope to levy a tenth of ecclesiastical income for a crusade; but when he attempted to collect the money, the bishops, who suspected that it was intended to serve the king in some design on the empire,[t] refused to pay until they should be assured that a crusade was really intended.[u] The oppressiveness of the king's exactions produced in 1320 a new movement of Pastoureaux, which, like that in the reign of St. Louis, began in the north of France.[x] The leaders in this movement were a priest

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(Chron. Anon. in Bouq. xxi. 152.) Henry of Hervorden, who attributes the persecution to Philip, says that his real motive was a fear of their numbers, "ne contagione pestifera tota terra fortassis interficeretur." 230.

[n] Bern. Guid., 165.

[o] W. Nang. contin., 79. See letters of Philip V. and of Charles IV. in Hist. Langued. Preuves, p. 163. Philip says that the ordinary judges were to deal with them, "ut celerius promptiusque et commodius, sicut res exigit, fœtidorum leprosorum superstitum superstitiosa nequitiosa putredine terræ superficies abluatur."

[p] Bern. Guidon. 165; Baluz. V. P. A. i. 131. The next king, Charles IV., recommended that those who had been left alive should be provided with the means of life by charitable contributions.

[q] Sism. ix. 400.

[r] Rayn. 1320. 23-30. Bernard Guidonis, as inquisitor of Toulouse, threw two cartloads of Talmuds into the fire on the 29th of December, 1319. Hist. Langued. iv. 181.

[s] Gir. de Frach. contin. 56 7.

[t] Olensl. 122-3.

[u] Martin, iv. 519.

[x] Baluz. V. P. A., i. 128; W. Nang. contin. 77.

who had been deprived of his parish for misconduct, and an apostate Benedictine monk; their followers were at first shepherds and swineherds—chiefly boys; and they set out as if for the Holy Land, marching along silently, preceded by a cross, with staves in their hands and empty wallets, trusting to find their support in alms.[y] But gradually the company was swelled by persons of lawless character, and from begging they proceeded to plunder. Their violence showed itself in an alarming degree at Paris, and when some of them were imprisoned, the rest broke open the prisons and forcibly released them.[z] Wherever they went, the Jews were especial objects of their fury. At Verdun, on the Garonne, where many of these had been driven to take refuge, the Pastoureaux shut up more than 500 of them in the castle, and set it on fire.[a] At Toulouse they slew all the Jews and plundered their goods, in defiance of the magistrates and of the king's officers.[b] The wave rolled on, everywhere spreading terror, so that the inhabitants of the country fortified themselves against the strangers, and would not sell them any provisions.[c] Ascension-day 1320. As they approached Avignon the pope uttered an anathema against all who should take the cross without his sanction, and requested the protection of the Seneschal of Beaucaire, who had already put many of them to death.[d] When they reached Languedoc, the Pastoureaux had numbered 40,000. The seneschal shut them out of Aigues Mortes, where they had intended to embark, and, enclosing them with his troops in the adjoining country, he left them to the operation of famine, of nakedness and want of shelter, and of the fever generated by the swamps, occasionally falling on them when thus weakened, and hanging them in large numbers on gibbets or on trees. Thus this unhappy fanaticism was speedily extinguished.[e]

With the extreme party among the Franciscans John was very

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[y] Baluz. V. P. A. 129, 161, 193; Gir. Frach. contin. 54; W. Nang. cont. 77. Some were from England. A. Murimuth, 32.

[z] Baluz. i. 129, 162; W. Nang. cont. l. c.

[a] It is said that the Jews employed one of their number to cut their throats, and that, after having despatched nearly 500, he went out to the camp of the Pastoureaux, desiring baptism for himself and for some children whom he had reserved. After having reproached him for his crime against his nation, they cut him to pieces; but the children were spared and were baptised. Baluz. i. 120, 129, 161-2; W. Nang. cont. l. c. (who tells a somewhat similar story of the Jews of Vitry, i. 79); Gir. Frach., contin. 54; Hist. Langued. iv. 185.

[b] Baluz. i. 194. In Germany there was a gathering of peasants for the purpose of slaying Jews under the pontificate of Benedict XII.; but it was suppressed by the emperor Louis, and the leader (who called himself King Armileder, or Arculeder) was put to death. Ib. 203, 228, 231.

[c] Ib. 194.

[d] Rayn. 1320. 22.

[e] Baluz. V. P. A. i. 130, 162-3; W. Nang. cont. 77; Gir. Frach. contin., 55, 189; Hist. Langued. iv.

seriously embroiled.[f] The luxury and splendour of his court, the wealth which he was visibly accumulating, although a large part of the treasures left by his predecessor Clement escaped his endeavours to get possession of it[g]—such things contrasted violently with the severe notions which this party held as to the nature and obligation of evangelical poverty.[h] While in other matters they mostly adhered to the opinions of Peter John Olivi[i]—declaring the pope to be the mystical Antichrist, the precursor of the greater Antichrist, his church to be the Babylonian harlot, the synagogue of Satan,[k] and in some cases professing to support their opinions by the authority of new revelations,[m]—they denied that the Saviour and his apostles had possessed anything whatever; they maintained that He and they had only the use—not the possession or the disposal—of such things as were necessary for life, of their dress, and even of their food;[n] that the scrip and the purse of which we read in the Gospels were allowed only by way of condescension to human infirmity;[o] that the use of such repositories as cellars and granaries is a distrust of the Divine Providence.[p] If, it was argued, the Saviour had possessed, whereas St. Francis did not, He would not have been perfect, but would have been excelled by the founder of the Minorites. As even the fanaticism of the Fraticelli recoiled from such a supposition as blasphemous, it was concluded that therefore the Saviour possessed nothing;[q] and it was inferred that He ought to be obeyed not only in his precepts but in his counsels.[r]

In such opinions John saw a revolutionary tendency which threatened the papacy and the whole hierarchical system, and he condemned them by several bulls,[s] in some of which he

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[f] Alvar. Pelag. de Planctu Eccles. l. ii. cc. 55, seqq., has much on this subject, taking the pope's side. Cf. d'Argentré, i. 290, seqq.

[g] See Baluz. V. P. A. ii. 368, seqq.; append. Nos. 56-7, 60-2, &c.

[h] See Rayn. 1226. 21. for the strange performances of the Franciscans of Issoudun on St. Nicolas's day, seemingly in ridicule of the papal court.

[i] See vol. iii. pp. 600-2.

[k] Baluz. V. P. A. i. 117.

[m] Rayn. 1321. 19; 1322. 52; 1331. 4, seqq.

[n] Mich. Caesen. in Goldast. ii. 1350, G. Vill. ix. 155; Rayn. 1322. 59 seqq. John of Winterthur (a Franciscan) says that the Dominicans had blasphemous caricatures against his order on account of the differences on this subject. Eccard. i. 1800.

[o] Nicolas III. had said, "Sic infirmorum personam Christus suscepit in loculis," &c., and the rigid party made much of these words. Pope John and his abettors maintained that Nicolas ought to be understood as speaking of *bona immobilia*. See Rayn. 1322. 65 seqq.; 1323. 63; 1324. 33, seqq.

[p] Joh. Extrav. xiv. col. 117; Rayn. 1322. 62.

[q] Mich. Cæsen. in Goldast. ii. 1347.

[r] See Wadding. 1318. 9: Dialog. contra Fraticellos, in Baluz. Miscell. ii. 595. seqq.

[s] Extrav. vii. "Sancta Romana"; xiv. i. "Quorundam exigit;" ib. 3, "Ad conditorem;" ib. 4, "Cum inter nonnullos;" ib. 5, "Quia quorundam." Cf. the bull of Clement V., "Exivi

argued the question, maintaining that, in the case of such things as food, the power of use involves possession and ownership.[t] But the spiritualists met the pope's condemnation by denying his power to dispense with their statutes,[u] by taking their stand on the bull of Nicolas III., which was known by the title of *Exiit*,[x] and by appealing to a future pope.[y] In Languedoc some convents broke out into rebellion, and the spiritualists, who were supported by the popular favour, expelled those who differed from them.[z] An inquiry was set on foot by a commission, of which Michael of Cesena, the general of the order, was a member;[a] and by it many members of the violent faction were condemned either to the flames or to imprisonment.[b] A general chapter of the Franciscans, which was held at Perugia, in 1322, affirmed the doctrine of evangelical poverty,[c] and Michael of Cesena, who presided, was now with the rigid party. The pope declared the chapter to be heretical, and denounced the Franciscans as hypocritical for enjoying great wealth under pretext of the fiction that the use alone was theirs, and that the possession belonged to the papacy. He renounced the nominal right on which this fiction was grounded; he forbade the order to employ the name of the

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de paradiso,' on which see Hefele, vi. 483. Against these bulls see W. Occam, 'Compendium Errorum Papæ,' in Goldast. ii.

[t] Extrav. xiv. 3, col. 139. Against this, see Mich. Cæsen. in Goldast. ii. 1358. "Unde concludebant multi tales non esse in statu salutis, votumque non esse sanctitatis, sed magis assumptæ sine ratione voluntatis.' Gir. Frach. cont., 50; W. Nang. cont. 74; Alb. Mussat. 773-8.

[u] Baluz. V. P. A. i. 117. This was against the exordium of one of John's bulls, "Ad conditorem." Baluz. Miscell. ii. 248, 250.

[x] See vol. iii. p. 600.

[y] Wadd. 1318. 21.

[z] Baluz. V. P. A. i. 111, 117.

[a] Baluz. Miscell. ii. 247; Wadd. 1317. 11.

[b] Hist. Langued. iv. 182, seqq.; Knighton in Twysd. 2610; Baluz. Miscell. ii. 248, 271, &c.; Wadd. 1318. 25-6, &c.; Baluz. i. 118, 598, seqq. 'One of these, Bernard Deliciosi, of Toulouse, was tried in 1319 on charges of very various kinds, including heresy, magic, treason, and contriving to poison Pope Benedict XI., &c. He was said also to have laboured for many years to excite odium against the inquisition, to have stirred up the mob of Carcassonne to destroy the convent of the Dominican inquisitors, and to have declared before the king and other great persons that St. Peter or St. Paul would be unable to clear themselves of the charge of heresy if they were subjected to the method of trial which was used by the inquisition. Bernard was acquitted as to the death of Pope Benedict, but on other accounts he was sentenced to be imprisoned in chains for life, and to be fed with the bread of affliction and the water of affliction. The judges, in consideration of his age and weakness, were inclined to mitigate his sentence as to the chains and the diet; but the king's proctor appealed against such lenity, and the pope ordered that Bernard should be stript of the Franciscan habit, and forbade all mitigation. Baluz. V. P. A. i. 115-6, 341-365, 691; Liber Sententiarum, in append. to Limborch, 268 seqq.; Hist. Langued. iv. 179; Hist. Litt. xxiv. 97. Eymeric says that four brothers, who were burnt at Marseilles, were revered by the party as martyrs and saints (283-4). Mosheim had a list of 113 persons of both sexes who were put to death between 1318 and the pontificate of Innocent VI., for their adherence to the rigorous idea of Franciscan poverty. He supposes that about 2000 suffered in all. ii. 670.

[c] G. Vill. ix. 155; Rayn. 1322. 54; Wadd. 1322. 51-4; Bul. iv. 192 seqq.

apostolic see in collecting or administering money,[d] repealed the bull of Nicolas III.,[e] on which they relied, and subjected them to various disabilities.[f] The university of Paris, which was under the influence of the rival order of St. Dominic, condemned at great length the extreme doctrine of poverty.[g] A division took place in the Franciscan order, and Michael of Cesena, who had fled from Avignon in defiance of the pope's orders that he should remain there, and had denied the validity of the deposition which John had thereupon pronounced against him,[h] was superseded as its head by the election of Gerard Odonis in 1329.[i] But in consequence of these differences with the pope, the more rigid Franciscans were driven into Ghibellinism;[k] and while the learned men of the party, such as the famous schoolman William of Ockham, employed themselves in inquiries which tended to the overthrow of the papal pretensions,[m] the results of such inquiries were spread everywhere by the itinerant friars, who familiarised people, down even to the lowest classes, with the notion that the pope and the Roman church were the mystical Antichrist and Babylon of Scripture.[n] And thus that order, on which the popes had relied as their surest support and instrument, was turned in great part into dangerous opposition to their interest.

In order to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Henry VII., Frederick and Leopold of Austria, the sons of his predecessor Albert, were brought forward; but they were opposed by the late emperor's partisans, of whom the archbishop of Mentz, Peter Aichspalter, was the leader.[o] The candidate of this party was Louis of Bavaria, a grandson of Rudolf of Hapsburg through female descent, and therefore a cousin of the Austrian

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[d] Extrav. xiv 3; Wadd. 1322. 56 (who is strongly against these proceedings), 57-61.

[e] Extrav. xiv. 1-2.

[f] G. Vill. ix. 155; Bern. Guidon. in Baluz. V. P. A. i. 139. Wadding boldly undertakes to prove that John was nevertheless in accordance with Nicolas. 1323. 5-12. Cf. 1324. 25.

[g] Rayn. 1323. 10, seqq.

[h] Wadd. 1327. 7; 1328. 12-21; Martene, Thes. ii. 749 seqq.

[i] Wadd. 1329. 7; Annal. Cæsen. in Murat. xiv. 1247-51. William of Ockham's 'Opus Nonaginta Dierum,' is especially directed against the bull, *Quia vir reprobus*, by which the pope condemned Michael. Michael's own tract, 'Contra Errores Joh. xxii. Papæ,' written after his deposition, is in the same volume. Also his letter to the emperor and to the German princes. An acknowledgment of his faults, in the form of a paraphrase on Psalm 51, is said to have been written by him when "struggling with death," in 1343, and is printed in Murat. III. ii. 513, seqq.

[k] Joh. Vitodur. 1801.

[m] See below, p. 77. William also wrote against John as to the question of poverty, and charged him with 32 errors on this head. See Goldast. ii. 965-970.

[n] A friar who was brought before the pope in 1329, told him to his face that he was a heretic and not pope. W. Nang. cont. 92.

[o] Ferr. Vicent. 1170. See Olensl. 75-8, and the documents in his appendix, 56 seqq.

princes whom he was reluctantly persuaded to oppose.[p] On the 19th of October, 1314, Frederick was elected by one party, and on the following day Louis was chosen by the other. Both elections took place in the suburbs of Frankfort; but Louis, in addition to being supported by three unquestionable votes, while Frederick had only two,[q] had the advantage of being able to gain admission into the city, where he was raised aloft on the high altar of the great church, and was afterwards displayed to the people assembled in the surrounding place.[r] As the archbishop of Cologne, when asked to crown him according to custom Nov. 26. at Aix-la-Chapelle, pretended to a right of investigating the election, the coronation was performed there by the archbishop of Mentz; and on the preceding day the archbishop of Cologne had crowned Frederick at Bonn.[s] The papacy was then vacant by the death of Clement V., and each party drew up a statement of its case to be submitted to the future pope, with a request that he would confirm the election of its candidate.[t] Clement, after the death of Henry, had declared the imperial ban which had been pronounced against Robert of Naples to be null,[u] had claimed for himself—by ancient right, as he pretended,—the administration of the empire in Italy, and on the strength of this novel claim had appointed Robert as vicar over the imperial territories in that country.[x] By John this pretension was carried yet further.[y] He issued a bull, declaring that all authority which had been held in Italy under grants of the late emperor was at an end,

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[p] Monach. Fürstenfeld. in Böhmer, i. 47; Olensl. 80-1.

[q] There were, however, complaints of unfairness on the other side. See Henr. Hervord. 230-1.

[r] Gesta Trevir. in Martene, Coll. Ampl. iv. 404; Olensl. 83-7.

[s] Olensl. 88-9. See the archbp. of Cologne's letters, *ib.* Anhang, 72-6. He relies on a papal privilege, by which the archbishops of Cologne were authorised to crown anywhere within their diocese or province (p. 73). Matthew of Neuburg says that Louis was crowned "in loco quo debuit, sed non a quo debuit," and Frederick, "a quo debuit, sed non in loco in quo debuit" (Urstis. ii. 119). There was a dispute whether, in the absence of the archbishop of Cologne, the coronation of a king of the Romans, belonged to Mentz or to Trèves. Olensl. 89 and Anh. 77.

[t] G. Vill. ix. 66; Gir. Frach. contin., 49; W. Nang. cont. 69, 73; Olensl. Anh. 63-9; Schmidt, iii. 508-514. Louis had to pay heavily for the support of the electors; thus, he gave up the "right of first prayers" (see vol iii. p. 583) within the diocese of Mentz to the archbishop (Schmidt, iii. 510), and made large concessions to the late emperor's son, John, king of Bohemia (Palacky II. ii. 108 , as well as to the king's uncle, archbishop Baldwin of Trèves. Gesta Trev. 404; Olensl. 83, and Anh. 76.

[u] Clementin. II. xi. 2.

[x] Ib.; Rayn. 1311. 2; Olensl. Urk. 16; Murat. Ann. i. 113. The only instance at all parallel was the appointment of Charles of Anjou as vicar of Tuscany by Clement IV. (vol. iii. p. 462). See Döllinger ii. 256. This is alleged by Clement himself. Olensl. Urk. 95.

[y] "Quod licet de jure sit liquidum, et ab olim fuerit inconcusse servatum." (Extravag. v.) As to Clement and John, see the 'Defensor Pacis,' in Goldast. ii. l. ii. c. 21, p. 279; c. 25, p. 282.

and forbidding the officials to continue the exercise of such authority without fresh commissions from himself;[z] he even attempted to set up a similar pretension to a vicariate in Germany during the vacancy of the imperial throne,[a] and refused to confirm German bishops in their sees unless on the condition of their owning neither of the elect as king until he should have decided between the rivals.[b] In Italy the chiefs of the Ghibelline party were not disposed to obey the new claim; the most conspicuous among them, Matthew Visconti, although he laid down the title of imperial vicar, got himself chosen by the Milanese as their captain-general, and thus founded a hereditary dominion which afterwards became the dukedom of Milan.[c] In consequence of this John thundered against him charges of heresy and other offences, curses, and interdicts, and proclaimed a crusade with the full crusading indulgences;[d] yet Visconti maintained his power against all the forces which the pope could raise up against him, until a short time before his death, when he transferred it to his son John Galeazzo, and gave up his remaining days to devout preparation for his end.[e] It was, however, found necessary to conceal the place of his burial, lest the papal vengeance should be wreaked on his body as that of one who had died under excommunication.[f]

June, 1322.

Robert of Naples, by spending some years in Provence, gained an entire ascendancy over his old chancellor the pope, which he intended to employ for the subjugation of Italy;[g] but throughout the peninsula the dread of falling under his power contributed strongly to foster an antipapal spirit. Almost all the cities had now parted with their republican liberties, and had fallen under the dominion of lords, of whom many were detestable tyrants,

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[z] Extrav. l. c. p. 61; Giesel. II. iii. 26.

[a] Olensl. 102; Schröckh, xxxi. 67; Planck, v. 217.

[b] Olensl. 103.

[c] Rayn. 1320. 12; Schmidt, iii. 521-2; Sism. Rèp. Ital. iii. 358, 360.

[d] Rayn. 1320. 16, seqq.; 1322, 6 seqq, Chron. Astense, c. 105 (Murat. xi.).

[e] He was more than ninety years old. Rayn. 1322. 10.

[f] G. Vill. ix. 142-3, 154; Gir. Frach. contin. 48-9; Mansi, xxv. 689, seqq.; Chron. Ast. c. 107; Sism. Rèp. I. t. iii. 361, 374. The continuer of William of Nangis gives a terrible account of the offences by which the Visconti had incurred the reproach of heresy. Matthew's grandfather, grandmother, and other relatives had been burnt as heretics, and he himself was supposed to deny, or at least to question, the resurrection of the dead (73). On the other hand, Marsilius of Padua styles him "generosum, nobilem et illustrem virum catholicum, morum honestate et gravitate inter cæteros Italicos singularem, bonæ recordationis," and says that the pope unjustly cursed him, but that no one cared for the sentence (Goldast. ii. 286). For John's denunciations of his memory, while charging Galeazzo with oppression of the church, and proclaiming a crusade against him, see Rayn. 1324. 7 seqq.

[g] Joh. S. Vict. in Bouq. xxi.; W. Nang. contin. 76-7; Sism. R. I. iv. 38; Gregorov. vi. 113.

yet at whose courts literature and the arts, which were now bursting into splendour, found an enlightened and a munificent patronage.[h] Thus Dante's last years were spent at the court of Ravenna, under the protection of Guy of Polenta, nephew of that Francesca on whose name he has bestowed a mournful immortality.[i]

In the dissensions of Germany John seemed for a time to take no side, giving the title of king of the Romans alike to each of the rival claimants of the crown,[k] while he contented himself with desiring them to settle their quarrel and to report the result to him. But this quiescence did not arise from indifference; for no pope ever entered into political strife more keenly than John, and the part which he at length took was not provoked, as the action of popes in other cases had been, either by any personal vices in the emperor, or by aggressions on the Church. In his contest with Louis of Bavaria, John's single motive was a desire to assert for his see a power over the empire.[m] He is said to have avowed the principle that "when kings and princes quarrel, then the pope is truly pope."[n] So long, therefore, as Louis and the Austrian princes were wearing each other out in indecisive struggles, the pope looked on with calmness. But when the great battle of Mühldorf, on Michaelmas-eve, 1322, had given victory to Louis, and had thrown into his hands Frederick of Austria and his brother Henry as prisoners,[o] John was driven from his policy of inaction, and put forth a manifesto, in which his claims were strongly asserted.

Oct. 5, 1323. The pope lays down that, as the election to the empire had been doubtful, it ought to be referred to him for judgment; he desires Louis to cease within three months from using the title or the authority of the Roman kingdom or empire, and to recall, in so far as might be possible, the acts which he had done as king. He forbids all obedience to Louis, and declares engagements to him as king elect to be null.[p] The document was not sent to Louis, as the pope considered the display of it on the doors of the Cathedral at Avignon to be a sufficient publication.[q] Louis, on being made acquainted with it, sent forth a protest, which was read in the presence of a large

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[h] Tiraboschi, v. 15 seqq.

[i] Sism. R. I., iii. 325-3, 334, 345-6, 353. Dante died in 1321, aged 56. G. Vill. ix. 133-4. [k] Henr. Hervord. 231.

[m] W. Nang. contin. 73; Schröckh, xxxi. 70; Planck, v. 214; Milm. v. 282.

[n] Ludov. ap. Baluz. V. P. A. ii. 479; or Olensl. Urk. p. 117.

[o] G. Vill. ix. 173; W. Nang. cont. 82; Mon. Furstenf. in Böhmer, i. 61; Matth. Neoburg. 122; Olensl. 112-3; Palacky II. ii. 138.

[p] Olenslager, Urkunden, No. 30.

[q] Ib. p. 84; G. Vill. ix. 26. Louis denies the sufficiency. Olensl. Urkunden, p. 196.

assembly at Nuremberg. With much profession of veneration for the Roman Church, he denounces the injustice and the enmity which he had experienced at the pope's hands. Dec. 16. He maintains that one who had been rightfully chosen by the electors, or by a majority of them, and who had been duly crowned, had always been acknowledged as king of the Romans, and he complains that he himself, after having held that dignity for ten years, should now find his title questioned by the pope, with a disregard of all the usual forms of justice. He repels the charge of favouring heresy, which the pope had brought against him on account of his connexion with Galeazzo Visconti and others, and even retorts on John himself for neglecting the accusations brought against the Franciscans, that they revealed the secrets of the confessional, and so deterred Christian people from confession, to the great danger of their souls. He concludes by appealing to a general council,[r] and he also sent envoys to the papal court, with a request that the time allowed him for defending himself might be extended.[s] To this the pope replied that the time was not allowed for defence, but for submission. Jan. 9, 1324. He consented, however, to grant two months more;[t] and as within that period Louis did not submit, he pronounced him excommunicate, forbade all acknowledgment of him as king of the Romans, March 21. and annulled all engagements to him as such, while he yet suspended for three months the further penalties which had been threatened.[u]

Louis again appealed to a general council, and to a true and lawful future pope. He again denied the charge of favouring heresy, and protested against the disregard of the rules of justice which had been shown in John's proceedings against him. The liberties of the church, he says, were the gift of Constantine to Pope Sylvester. He charges John with invading the rights of the empire and of the German electors,[x] and taxes him with cruelty and perfidy towards the imperialists of Italy, with having stirred up rebellion in Germany, with profanation of the sacraments and contempt of the canons, and with having prevented the deliverance of the Holy Land by detaining the money collected for that purpose. And whereas in a former document he had blamed him for partiality to the Franciscans, he now accuses him of heresy and profanity in endeavouring to blacken

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[r] Olensl. Urkund. 37.

[s] Ib. p. 93.

[t] Ib. Urk. 38.

[u] Ib. Urk. 39.

[x] Against this John addressed a letter to the electors, Olensl. Urk. No. 40.

that order by asserting that the Saviour and His Apostles possessed goods in common.[y] John, finding his opponent still contumacious, issued on the 11th of July his "fourth process," by which Louis was pronounced to be deprived of all that he might claim in right of his election, while his excommunication was renewed, all who had abetted him were placed under ban or interdict, and he was cited to appear, either in person or by proxy, before the pope at Avignon on the 1st of October.[z] The archbishops of Sens, of Canterbury and York, of Magdeburg and of Capua, were charged with the proclamation of this sentence in their respective countries.

In these proceedings the pope did not meet with the general acquiescence and support which he probably expected. Electors and other great personages—even Leopold of Austria—began to take alarm at the extravagance of the papal pretensions.[a] At Paris and at Bologna doctors of both canon and civil law gave opinions condemnatory of his acts.[b] In Germany the sentences against Louis were not published by any prelates except such as had before been his enemies,[c] and at Basel a clerk who ventured to publish them was thrown into the Rhine.[d] Some Dominicans in German cities, who adhered to the pope, found themselves deprived of the alms on which they had relied for a maintenance, and were compelled to leave the country.[e] The canons of Freising refused to receive a bishop who had been nominated by the pope.[f] Respect for ecclesiastical sentences had died out, unless in cases where the justice of them was clear, and the charges to avoid the emperor as an excommunicate person were unheeded.[g]

Louis was aided in his struggle by men of letters, whom the exaggerated pretensions of the papacy had provoked to follow in the line opened by Dante's treatise 'Of Monarchy,' and to inquire into the foundations of the ecclesiastical power with a freedom of which there had as yet been no example.[h] The jurists were, as of old, on the imperial side, and maintained the emperor's entire independence of the pope; even those who were

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[y] Olensl. Urk. No. 43, and more fully in Baluze, V. P. A. ii. 478, seqq.; W. Nang. cont. 75. The date is Sachsenhausen, on the 22nd of some month; but the month is not named. Olenslager refers it to April or May, 1324, and remarks that the hand of a Franciscan may probably be traced in it. 140.

[z] Olensl. Urk. No. 42.

[a] Olensl. 145.

[b] See extracts in Gieseler II. iii. 34.

[c] Planck. v. 231; Giesel. II. ii. 49.

[d] Joh. Vitodur. in Eccard, i. 1804.

[e] Schröckh, xxxi. 84. On the opposition of Dominicans and Franciscans as to the imperial question, see Andr. Ratisbon. in Eccard. i. 2103.

[f] Olensl. 44.

[g] Döllinger, ii. 258.

[h] Giannone, iv. 58. See Döllinger, ii. 259.

hindered by circumstances from taking a declared part—as the lawyers of Bologna, who were subject to the pope's temporal rule—allowed their imperialist principles to be clearly seen.[i] And in the "spiritual" party among the Franciscans, who were already embroiled with John on the question of evangelical poverty, and whose rigid opinions on that subject accorded with the emperor's desire to humble the secular greatness of the papacy,[k] Louis found a new and important class of allies.

Of these Franciscans the most famous was the Englishman William of Ockham, so called from his native place in the county of Surrey, who, according to the custom of the schools, was distinguished by the titles of "Singular and invincible Doctor," and "Venerable Inceptor.[m] William had studied at Paris under Duns Scotus, of whose system he was afterwards a conspicuous opponent, and he had taught both there and at Bologna.[n] He had revived the almost extinct philosophy of the Nominalists, which his followers maintained against the Realism of the Scotists with such zeal that their disputes often ran into violent affrays. In the contest between Philip the Fair and Pope Boniface he had written a treatise on the side of royalty;[o] and, as a provincial of his order, he had taken a conspicuous part in the synod of Perugia, which asserted opinions contrary to those of pope John on the question of evangelical poverty.[p] A papal sentence drove him from Bologna; and, like others of his order,[q] he took refuge with Louis, to whom he is reported to have said, "Defend me with the sword, and I will defend you with the word."[r]

Ockham's chief contribution to the controversy, a 'Dialogue' between a master and a disciple, is (although incomplete,[s]) of enormous length,[t] while it is also repulsive from its difficulty, and is written with a scholastic intricacy which might often lead any

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[i] See Gieseler's extracts from Bartolo of Sassoferrato, Albert of Rosate, &c., II. ii. 31-4.

[k] Gregorov. vi. 119.

[m] Giesel. II. iii. 234.

[n] Schröckh, xxx. 395.

[o] 'Disputatio Clerici et Militis,' in Goldast, i. 13-8.

[p] See as to this subject his 'Octo Quæstiones,' in Goldast, ix. p. 387; and his 'Defensorium,' in Browne's 'Fasciculus,' ii. 439, seqq.

[q] W. Nang. cont., 88.

[r] Trithem. de Script. Eccles., p. 313; Aventin. 609.

[s] See Goldast, ii. 957.

[t] It is in vol. ii. of Goldast, 'De Monarchia,' and, if printed like the text of this book, would fill nearly 1600 pages, while the other antipapal writings of Ockham in the same volume would be equal to about 500 more of my pages. I do not pretend to more than such an acquaintance with it as might be gained by reading the arguments of the chapters (in itself no small labour), and occasionally dipping into the text. A portion of the book, at least, in which pope John's errors are discussed, and in which the form of dialogue is discarded (p. 740, seqq.), was written under Benedict XII.

but a very careful reader to confound the author's opinions with those which he intends to confute. He professes, indeed, to give impartially the arguments for the opposite sides of each question; but the greater weight of argument is always laid on that side which the author himself espoused.[u] After discussing the nature of heresy, he decides that not only the pope, but the Roman church, a general council, the whole body of clergy, nay, all Christians, may err from the faith.[x] He holds that general councils may be summoned without the pope's consent.[y] He attacks the papal pretensions as to temporal dominion and to "plenitude of power,"[z] and discusses questions as to the form of civil government. He holds that general councils have only a *general* influence of the Holy Spirit, and are not infallible as to matters of detail;[a] that our Lord's promises to St. Peter were given for the apostle himself alone.[b] In another division of the work, he denies that the empire is in the pope's disposal, and maintains that the gift of it may not be transferred to the pope, but belongs to the Roman people;[c] that the emperor is not dependent on the pope, but has the right of choosing him;[d] and that in coactive power the pope is inferior to the emperor.[e] It is not to be supposed that such a work as this 'Dialogue' can ever have found many readers; but the antihierarchical opinions which were embodied in it were spread in all directions, and made their way to all classes, through the agency of the itinerant friars.[f]

On the same side wrote John, who takes his name from his native village, Jandun, in Champagne,[g] and Marsilius Raimondini, of Padua, a physician, who had also studied law at Orleans.[h] These two are supposed to have shared[i] in the authorship of the 'Defensor Pacis'—a treatise of which the title was intended as a

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[u] See Neand. ix. 55.

[x] P. I. ll. iv.-v.

[y] Ib. vi. 84.

[z] P. III. (See vol. iii. 580.)

[a] pp. 822-5.

[b] p. 850.

[c] pp. 901, seqq.

[d] pp. 902-930.

[e] p. 956. The relations of papal and secular power are also discussed in Ockham's 'Opusculum Octo Quæstionum,' &c.

[f] William of Ockham is generally supposed to have died at Munich in 1343 or 1347; but Wadding, who defends his orthodoxy against Bzovius, says that he died at Capua in 1350, penitent for his antipapalism (1347. 19, seqq.). John of Trittenheim mentions a story that he repented and was absolved before his death, but seems to disbelieve it. Chron. Hirsaug. p. 215. Cf. Rayn. 1349. 15-6; Bul. iv. 317; Schröckh. xxx. 396.

[g] See, e.g. his tract 'De Nullitate Processuum Papæ Johannis contra Ludovicum Imperatorem, pro superioritate Imperatoris in Temporalibus,' in Goldast, i. 18-21. Instead of *de Janduno* he is sometimes wrongly styled *de Gandavo* (*i.e.* of Ghent).

[h] Gir. de Frach contin. 68. "Philosophiæ gnarus et ore disertus" (Alb. Mussat. 773; cf. Olensl. 136; Schröckh, xxxi. 96.) The continuer of William of Naugis describes John and Marsilius as "duo genimina viperarum," breaking forth from the university of Paris (75). Muratori styles them "due dotti ribaldi." Ann. VIII. i. 188.

[i] Giesel. II. iii. 35.

sarcasm on the pope for fomenting war instead of acting as became his office for the maintenance of peace.[k] Passing beyond the technicalities on which the jurists had rested their assertion of the imperial prerogative, the authors inquire into the origin of civil government, founding their theory on Aristotle's 'Politics.'[m] It is laid down that there ought to be no power uncontrolled by law;[n] that election is to be preferred to hereditary succession;[o] that the pope, according to ancient testimony as well as to Scripture, has no coactive sovereignty or jurisdiction, but ought to be subject to earthly powers, after the Saviour's own example.[p] As to the power of the keys, it is said that God alone can remit sin, with or without the agency of the priest, forasmuch as He alone can know in what cases sin ought to be remitted or retained; that the priest's absolution relates only to the communion of the church on earth; that he is as the keeper of a prison, who, by releasing a prisoner, does not free him from guilt or from civil punishment.[q] The identity of the orders of bishop and presbyter is maintained, and, in quoting the well-known words of St. Jerome, who speaks of "ordination" as the only function by which bishops are distinguished from presbyters,[r] the writers interpret the term as meaning administrative power.[s] They maintain the equality of all the apostles, and deny that the Roman bishops derive from St. Peter any superiority over others.[t] They trace the rise of the papal power to the peculiar circumstances of Rome.[u] The final decision of ecclesiastical questions is ascribed to general councils, which must, it is said, be summoned by the emperor; and as an instance of the unfitness of popes, who may possibly be heretical, to interpret doubtful points, they mention the reigning pope's opinions on the subject of evangelical poverty.[x] The precedence of one church over others is declared to be a subject for general councils to settle.[y] The popes are denounced for having assumed an unfounded "plenitude of power;" for having confined to the clergy the privilege of electing bishops, which ought to belong to all the faithful; for having further narrowed it by excluding the priests of the diocese from a share, and restricting the election to the canons, who are described as rarely in priestly

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[k] Milm. v. 297. The 'Defensor' is in Goldast, ii. 154-312.

[m] See Neand. ix. 36.

[n] i. 11.

[o] i. 16.

[p] ii. 3-5.

[q] ii. 6.

[r] "Quid enim facit excepta ordinatione episcopus, quod presbyter non faciat?" Ep. 146, Migne, Patrol. Lat. xxii. 1194. Cf. Joh. Breviscox, in Gerson, i. 867; Gerson, ii. 230.

[s] 'Potestatem iconomicam,' ii. 15, p. 240.

[t] ii. 16.

[u] ii. 18.

[x] ii. 18, 20, 21, cf. 13-1.

[y] ii. 22.

orders, and as ill qualified for such a trust;[z] and, finally, for having extinguished the right of election, by reserving all questions on such matters to themselves.[a] It is maintained that the choice of a pope belongs to the people and to the emperor; and that those who elect are also entitled, on sufficient cause, to depose.[b] The usurpations of the popes on the imperial power (which are illustrated by the fable of the snake warmed in the husbandman's bosom)[c]—their abuse of indulgences as encouragements to war against Christian princes[d]—their attempts to prevent the election of an emperor, in order that they themselves might claim power during the vacancy;[e] the injustice, and consequent invalidity, of their sentences,[f] the iniquity of John's behaviour towards Louis, the hostility of the papal pretensions to all secular government,[g] the great calamities and injury to religion occasioned by the pope's proceedings[h]—are strongly denounced. The idea of the necessity of one earthly head for the church, the Roman bishop's claim to judicial power, the pope's pretensions to unfailing faithfulness, are controverted;[i] and the treatise ends by exposing some of the current sayings as to the superiority of spiritual to secular power, and by combating the inferences which were drawn in the papal interest from the alleged transference of the empire from the Greeks to the Germans.[k]

The freedom of speculation which these antipapal writers displayed was, indeed, more likely to alarm than to convince the men of that age; but this effect was perhaps more than counterbalanced by the extravagances into which the assertion of the papal pretensions was carried out by such champions as Augustine Trionfi, an Augustinian friar of Ancona,[m] and Alvar Pelayo, a Spanish Franciscan, who eventually became bishop of Silves, in Portugal.[n] All the old claims of the Hildebrandine

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[z] "In quorundam imperitorum et exsortium legis divinæ juvenes (?), quos canonicos vocant."

[a] ii. 24. It is also said that they prefer lawyers to theologians for such dignities, and that they promote dissipated and ignorant young men to the cardinalate. Ib.

[b] ii. 25. [c] p. 283. [d] p. 285.

[e] ii. 26. [f] p. 256. [g] pp. 284-5.

[h] p. 287. [i] ii. 28-9.

[k] ii. 30. The "conclusions" are summed up at the end.

[m] Schröckh, xxxi. 104. The edition of his 'Summa de Potestate Ecclesiastica,' which is in the British Museum, bears the date of Augsburg, 1473, and is much like a MS. as to the form of letters; contractions, &c. It has no paging, and my knowledge of the contents is chiefly through Gieseler, II. iii. 42-7.

[n] 'De Planctu Ecclesiæ,' Venet. 1560. A folio of 600 pages, closely printed in double columns. The book was written at Avignon in 1530, and revised ten years later (Giesel. II. iii. 47). It is remarkable how the writer combines with his extravagant papalism an unsparing exposure of the corruptions which existed in the church, and had their real source in the system of the pope and his court. See Janus, 247-8.

party were put forward, with the falsifications of history to which time had given the currency of undoubted truths. It was maintained that all powers, both spiritual and secular, belonged to the pope, and that princes exercised power only as his delegates; that to deny this would be "not far from heresy;"[o] that whatever might have been granted by emperors to popes (as the donation of Constantine to Sylvester) was not properly a gift, but a restitution of something which had been wrongfully taken away; that the pope's sovereignty extends even over the heathen; that he has all kingdoms in his absolute disposal; that he is entitled to appoint and to depose the emperor and all other sovereigns; that the German electors hold their power of election from him;[p] that the pope cannot be deposed for any crime—even for heresy, if he be willing to be corrected;[q] and that he cannot be judged even by a general council.[r]

The Germans in general were strongly in favour of Louis, and the more so because the pope showed an inclination to make over the imperial crown, as if it were forfeited and vacant, to the reigning sovereign of France.[s] With a view to this, Charles IV., who succeeded his brother Philip in 1322, and who, like his father, bore the epithet of "le Bel," had visited the papal court in company with King John of Bohemia, who, in consequence of some supposed wrongs, had turned against Louis. Robert of Naples, who was then at Avignon, joined in the consultations which were held; and it was after these conferences that the ban of March 21, 1324, was pronounced.[t] With the same purpose, an alliance with the Austrian party was projected; but a meeting between Charles and Leopold, at Bar on the Aube, was unsatisfactory,[u] and, although the proposal was discussed in an assembly of the German princes at Rhense early in 1325, it was rejected, chiefly through the effect of an appeal which Bertold of Bucheck, commander of the knights of St. John, made to the national feeling by insisting on the disgrace of transferring the empire to foreigners for the mere gratification of the pope's vindictiveness.[x]

Leopold of Austria, despairing of success for his party, was induced to send the insignia of the empire to Louis, in the hope

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[o] Alv. Pelag. 37, fol. 12-13.

[p] Aug. Triumph. ap. Giesel. II. iii. 43-7.

[q] Alv. Pelag. i. 4. It will be seen that even this falls far short of the notions which have since become common in the Roman church. See vol. ii. p. 55.

[r] Alv. Pelag. i. 6.

[s] Olensl. 123.

[t] G. Vill. ix. 24; Olensl. 130-3.

[u] Olensl. 147-8.

[x] M. Neoburg. 123; Olensl. 153-4; Schmidt, iv. 535. By this Bertold forfeited the succession to his brother as archbishop of Mentz. M. Neob. l. c.

of obtaining the release of his brother Frederick.[y] In this he
August, 1324. was disappointed; but an agreement was soon after made by which Frederick was set at liberty on certain conditions, among which it was stipulated that he should renounce all further designs on the empire, and should ally himself with
March, 1325. Louis against all men, especially "against him who styles himself pope, with all who abet or favour him, so long as he should be opposed to the king and kingdom."[z] Although the details of this compact were kept secret for a
May 4, 1325. time, the pope, without knowing what they were, annulled it, on the ground that no such agreement with an excommunicated person could be binding.[a] But Frederick disdained to avail himself of this evasion, and, finding, after strenuous efforts, that it was impossible to fulfil the conditions of his engagement, he carried out the alternative which had been prescribed in the treaty by repairing to Munich, and throwing himself on the mercy of his rival.[b] Louis met this "old German fidelity" with a corresponding generosity, and admitted his captive into the closest intimacy. They ate at the same table, and even slept in the same bed; and when Louis was called away for a time from Bavaria, he left the care of defending the country to Frederick as his representative.[c] A scheme for sharing the empire between them as equal colleagues was devised, as Louis was in fresh difficulties which made some compromise desirable;[d] but as this was found to give offence to the electors, who complained that their right of choice was set aside, it was proposed that one of the elect kings should reign in Italy, and the other in Germany.[e] But the sudden death of Leopold, who was regarded as the chief support of the Austrian party,[f] appeared at once to relieve Louis from

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[y] Louis had bargained for them as a condition of entering into negotiations (Mon. Fürstenfeld. in Böhmer, i. 61). There is a story that Frederick's wife, by incantations, set on devils to attempt his deliverance from prison, and that Frederick defeated the plan by making the sign of the cross (Andr. Ratisb. in Eccard. i. 2097; Matth. Neoburg. 123; Joh. Vitodur. 1792; J. Trithem. Chron. Hirsaug. 1323; see Olensl. 120). Count Mailath supposes the demon who is said to have appeared to Frederick to have been really a travelling student (i. 119).

[z] Olensl. Urk. 44; G. Vill. ix. 293. W. Nang. cont. 85. See Hen. Hervord. 238.

[a] Olensl. Urk. 45.

[b] Olensl. Anh. p. 132; Joh. Vict. in Böhmer, i. 399.

[c] Olensl. 159; Schiller's poem, 'Deutsche Treue,' is well-known. The pope, unable to understand such romantic honour, expressed his surprise at it ("familiaritatem et amicitiam illorum ducum incredibilem") in a letter to Charles of France. Olensl. Urk. 47.

[d] Olensl. 165-7, and Urk. 50-1.

[e] Olensl. 170, and Anh. 135; Schmidt, iv. 537-8.

[f] G. Vill. ix. 311; Matth. Neoburg. 124.

all dread of that party, and to release him from any engagements which had not been completed with it. He now resolved to proceed into Italy, in compliance with invitations which he had received from the Ghibelline chiefs and from a party among the Romans. But on proposing the expedition to a diet at Spires, he found that the great feudatories (especially the ecclesiastical electors) refused to accompany him; for, although bound to do so when a king of the Romans was about to receive the imperial crown, they alleged that they owed no such duty to a king who was excommunicate, and whose relations with the pope were altogether such as to shut out the hope of his coronation.[g] Louis, however, persevered, although the force which he was able to take with him across the Alps was so small that a chronicler of the age likens it to a hunting party.[h] At Trent, where he was met by some heads of the Ghibelline faction, and by the representatives of others, a great demonstration took place against the pope, to whom he had lately made fresh overtures without success.[i] Marsilius of Padua and John of Jandun excited the indignation of the assembly by enlarging on the misdeeds of "Priest John" (as they contemptuously styled him[k]); eighteen articles were drawn up against him, and he was declared to be a heretic and unworthy of the papacy. In these proceedings the emperor was supported by many bishops, by the grand-master of the Teutonic order, and by a multitude of Franciscans, Dominicans, and others, whose natural attachment to the papacy had been turned into enmity against the existing pope.[m] At Milan, as the archbishop had taken flight, the iron crown was placed on the head of Louis by three bishops who had been expelled from their sees by the Guelfs;[n] but he imprudently alienated the family of Visconti, who had been the chief supporters of the imperial interest in Northern Italy, and, by depriving Galeazzo of his signory and imprisoning him, he spread alarm among the Ghibelline tyrants of Lombardy and of Tuscany.[o] In

Feb. 29, 1326.

Feb., 1327.

Whit Sunday.

July 7.

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[g] Olensl. 176-8; Schmidt, iii. 542.

[h] "Cum viginti tantum equis vel circiter, quasi venationi vacans." W. Nang. cont. 87. Böhmer makes the number 100. Regesta, 51.

[i] Olensl. 178. [k] Olensl. 181.

[m] G. Vill. x. 15, 18.

[n] Ib. 18; Gualv. Flamma, c. 365; Antonin. iii. 322; Olensl. 182. The names of these bishops are variously given. The bishop of Arezzo, Guy Tarlati, who was one of them, afterwards forsook Louis, and died penitent. G. Vill. x. 24.

[o] Ib. 30-1; Gualv. Flamma, 368; Olensl. 186. G. Villani says that his proceedings against Galeazzo Visconti were according to "la parola di Cristo nel suo santo Evangelio, *Io ucciderò il nemico mio col nemico mio;*" but he

the mean time the report of the meeting at Trent provoked the April 3, 1327. pope to issue a "fifth process," by which, after a long recital of the previous dealings, Louis was pronounced to be deprived of all fiefs which he held, not only under the Church, but under the empire, and was summoned to appear at Avignon in order to hear his sentence.[p] About the same time were uttered other papal denunciations.[q]

Rome had, since the withdrawal of the popes, been under a republican government, and had in turn been swayed by the influence of Robert of Naples, of the papal legates and other envoys, and of its great families—the imperialist Savellis, the papalist Orsinis, and the Colonnas, whose chiefs, the brothers Stephen and Sciarra, were arrayed in opposition to each other.[r] The Romans had already entreated the pope to return, and now renewed the request; but John excused himself on the ground of important business which detained him in France, of the unsettled state of Italy, and of the commotions and changes which had lately taken place in Rome itself. He promised, however, to return at a later time, and he warned them in the meanwhile to avoid Louis, as being a heretic, excommunicate, and a persecutor of the church.[s] By this reply, and by the attempt of a Genoese force, in alliance with the pope, to surprise their city and to set fire to the Vatican quarter,[t] the Romans were disposed in favour of Louis, who entered Rome on the 7th of January, 1328, and was received with general exultation.[u] Of the clergy who adhered to the pope, some fled, and others refused to perform the offices of religion; but Louis was accompanied by a train of bishops, clergy, monks, and friars, who made him independent of this opposition.[x] A great assemblage at the Capitol proclaimed him king of the Romans

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gives no reference for this text, and Antoninus, who follows him, omits it, iii. 322. Henry of Hervorden, in mentioning the death of Galeazzo (1329) styles him "homo sollertissimus, sagacissimus, moderatissimus, benignissimus, et ad virtutem omnem summe dispositus, utpote qui Secundam Summæ beatissimi doctoris S. Thomae de Aquino super omnes etiam cujuslibet conditionis homines didicerat, intellexerat, alta mente retinebat, et ad linguam semper habebat." 249.

[p] Olensl. Urk. 53. In Martene, Thes. ii. 680, a citation is added, with censures for maintaining the spiritualist doctrine of poverty, for consorting with Marsilius and John of Jandun, &c., as to whose excommunication (Oct. 1327) see ib. 704; Rymer, ii. 719.

[q] *E.g.* Mart. Thes. ii. 186.

[r] Alb. Mussat. in Murat. x. 772; Sism. iv. 53; Gregorov. vi. 136, 185.

[s] G. Vill. x. 19; Schmidt, iii. 515.

[t] G. Vill. x. 20; Gregorov. vi. 138-9.

[u] Vita Ludov. in Böhmer, i. 156.

[x] G. Vill. x. 53; Gregorov. vi. 142. A canon of St. Peter's hid the Veronica, lest the heretical imperialists should unworthily see it. (G. Vill. l. c.) After having found a refuge at the Pantheon, the famous relic was restored to its place in St. Peter's on the emperor's leaving Rome. John to the French king, in Rayn. 1328. 51.

and lord of Rome;[y] and on the 17th of January he was crowned as emperor in St. Peter's. The unction was administered by the bishops of Castello and Aleria, both already excommunicated by the pope; the sword was girt on his thigh by Castruccio Castrucani, lord of Lucca, as count of the Lateran palace;[z] and the crown was placed on his head by Sciarra Colonna, whom the Romans had lately elected as their captain.[a] At the same time the empress was crowned, and Louis bound himself by three decrees to maintain the catholic faith, to reverence the clergy, and to protect widows and orphans.[b] The pope, on being informed of these proceedings, denounced Louis afresh, declared his coronations, both at Milan and at Rome, to be null, proclaimed a crusade against him, and exhorted the Romans to arrest the two impugners of the papal authority, Marsilius and John of Jandun—the former of whom had been appointed imperial vicar of the city, and exerted himself in compelling the reluctant clergy to say mass.[c]

March 31.

On the 18th of April the emperor appeared with all the insignia of his dignity on a throne erected in the Place of St. Peter's. In the presence of a vast assembly which stood around, an accusation against the pope was delivered by some Franciscans, and by two syndics who professed to represent the Roman clergy; and the question was thrice proclaimed whether any one wished to appear as procurator for priest James of Cahors, who styled himself Pope John the Twenty-second; but no one took up the challenge. A German abbot then preached an eloquent sermon in Latin, enlarging on the emperor's love of justice and on the offences committed by Pope John; and the imperial sentence was read aloud. In this John was charged with having neglected the interest of Christendom and exposed it to Saracens and heathens; with having asserted that the Saviour and His disciples were possessed of property; with having attempted to usurp temporal power, whereas Christ commanded that we should render unto Caesar the things that

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[y] G. Vill. l. c.

[z] See Olensl. Urk. 56; Hist. Pistol. in Murat. xi. 443-5.

[a] Hist. Rom. Fragm. in Murat. Antiq. Ital. iii. 261. "Praetenderunt enim urbici hoc eis competere, papa etiam nolente; praesertim cum senatores prius papam requisiverant ut ad urbem se transferret" (Matth. Neoburg. 121). John of Vichtring says that it is the prefect's function to present the crown to the pope, by whom it is to be placed on the emperor's head (Böhm. i. 401). In remembrance of the part taken by Sciarra on this occasion, the Colonnas still bear the crown in their arms. Olensl. 191.

[b] G. Vill. x. 53-4; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 713; Cron. Sanese in Murat. xv. 79; Gregorov. vi. 136, 143, 145, 147; Sism. iv. 54.

[c] Olensl. Urk. 57; Mart. Thes. ii. 727; cf. 716, 736; Gregorov. vi. 152.

are Cæsar's, and declared His kingdom to be not of this world; with having questioned the emperor's election, which had been regularly made and did not need the papal confirmation. For these offences John was pronounced to be deprived of the papacy and of all benefices spiritual or temporal, and to be subject to the penalties of heresy and treason; and the emperor declared that, after the example of his predecessor Otho the Great,[d] he held it his duty to provide the apostolic see with a new and fit occupant.[e] The rashness of such a step began to be manifest four days later, when James Colonna, a canon of the Lateran, and son of Stephen (who had been driven from the city by his brother Sciarra), read in public the pope's last and bitterest sentence against Louis, which no one had as yet ventured to publish in Rome. After having declared his adhesion to John, he affixed the paper to the door of the church of St. Marcellus, and escaped unmolested to Palestrina.[f] Yet Louis was resolved to go on.

April 23.

On the following day a statute was published, by which it was forbidden that the pope should go to the distance of two days' journey from Rome without the consent of the clergy and people, and it was enacted that, if after three citations he should refuse to return, a new pope should be chosen in his stead.[g]

On Ascension day, the 12th of May, a multitude was again assembled in front of St. Peter's. A sermon was preached by a monk, in which Pope John was compared to Herod, while Louis was likened to the angel who delivered St. Peter out of prison; and the bishop of Venice thrice proposed to the assembled multitude that Peter Rainalucci, of Corbaria, should be elected to the papacy. The imperialists were present in such numbers as to overpower all difference of opinion; and Peter was invested with the papal mantle by the emperor,[h] who saluted him by the name of Nicolas the Fifth, placed him at his own right hand, and afterwards accompanied him into the church in order to

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[d] John Villani wrongly says Otho *the third*. x. 68.

[e] Baluz. ii. 512, seqq.; or another form, afterwards published at Pisa, ib. 522, seqq.; Olensl. Urk. 58; G. Vill. x. 68. Marsilius is supposed to have been the author of the document. Gregorov. vi. 154.

[f] G. Vill. x. 69; Gregorov. vi. 157. For this the pope rewarded him with a bishoprick (G. Vill. l. c.). Albertino Mussato says that Louis burnt John in effigy (Böhmer, Fontes, i. 89): and this Dean Milman (v. 306) supposes to be the origin of a story, which Raynaldus (1328. 23) professes to give on unpublished authority, and Böhmer (Regesta, 60) seems to believe—that John was condemned to death by Louis.

[g] Olensl. Urk. 59; G. Vill. x. 70. See W. Naug. cont. 88.

[h] This was usually done by the archdeacon. Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 706.

be present at his performance of mass.[i] The antipope, a man of humble parentage,[k] had been married in early life, but had separated from his wife that he might enter the Franciscan order:[m] he had held the office of a papal penitentiary, and, notwithstanding the aspersions of his enemies,[n] it would seem that he had been highly esteemed for learning and prudence.[o] But, although he had hitherto professed the opinion of the most rigid party among his order as to evangelical poverty, he fell at once, on assuming the title of pope, into the traditional habits of pomp and luxury, for which the means were chiefly provided by the traditional expedients of selling offices and preferments.[p] He made seven cardinals, all of them men who had been deposed from dignities by Pope John, or had been prominent in opposition to him;[q] he pronounced deposition against bishops who adhered to his rival, and nominated others to fill their sees—among them, Marsilius to be archbishop of Milan;[r] he affected to appoint legates, and on Whitsunday he confirmed Louis in the imperial dignity and pronounced on him a solemn benediction, but with a careful avoidance of everything that might have seemed to imply a bestowal of the imperial office by the pope, or a subordination of the secular to the spiritual power.[s]

Louis soon began to find himself uneasy at Rome. His delay there had given an advantage to Robert of Naples, whereas it is not improbable that, by vigorously pushing forwards to the south, he might have been able to overthrow the Angevine dynasty. A Neapolitan fleet took Ostia, and some of the ships

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[i] G. Vill. x. 71; Olensl. 201-2.

[k] Bernard Guidonis describes his father as "rusticus et pauper." Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 142.

[m] Bernard Guidonis says that the separation was without the wife's consent (cf. Pope John in Mart. Thes. ii. 765), and that she sued before the bishop of Rieti for a restoration of conjugal rights, and obtained a favourable judgment in November, 1328 (Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 142; cf. W. Nang. cont. 91). But Nicolas had been a friar at least as early as 1310, and it would seem that this suit, instituted after his appearance as antipope, was got up in order to annoy him (Ib. 705). Some writers trace the fable of Pope Joan to the case of this antipope's wife (Bal. iv. 240); but it was of earlier invention. See vol. ii. p. 311.

[n] Alvar Pelayo, who had known him in the convent of Ara Coeli, represents him as a hypocrite, and as living much among women (De Planetu Eccl. I. i. 37, fol. 13).—"Quem corvinum appello, quia ut corvus de morte schismaticæ divisionis pascitur, et quia ut corvus furtive et latro in sede Petri resedit,' &c. (Ib. Proœm.). For the antipope's character generally, see Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 702, seqq.; Olensl. 201. It is said that Louis set him up chiefly in order to gratify a party among the Romans. Annal. Ensdorf. in Pertz, xvi. 7; Baluz. l. c.

[o] "Eo usque vita et honestate probatum," says Alb. Mussato, 773.

[p] G. Vill. x. 73; Olensl. 305. For councils against Nicolas, see Mansi, xxi. 827, seqq.

[q] Cron. Sanese in Murat. xv. 80.

[r] Gualv. Flamma, i. 366; Hist. Pistol. in Mur. xi. 445.

[s] G. Vill. x. 73-4; Dölling. ii. 262; Gregorov. vi. 161. "Ita falsus imperator et falsus pontifex sibi invicem authores dignitatis fuere." Antonin. iii. 325.

advanced up the Tiber as far as the convent of St. Paul, committing devastations of which the blame was commonly thrown on the emperor.[t]

The citizens, instead of receiving from the emperor the benefits which they had expected, found themselves oppressed by taxes, which his own necessities and those of his pope compelled him to impose.[u] The Ghibellines had been offended by some impolitic measures; and, while Nicolas met with little or no acknowledgment even among the imperialists of the city,[x] the party of John, whose intrigues were incessant, recovered its force.[y] Provisions became scarce,[z] partly because the supplies were cut off by the Neapolitan troops, and the emperor's own soldiers, being unable to get their pay, swelled the grievances of the Romans by plundering; the North Germans quarrelled with those of the south, and many of the soldiers deserted.[a] After a vain attempt to proceed southward, Louis left Rome on the 4th of August, amidst general curses and derision, mixed with acclamations in honour of "holy church."[b] Stones were thrown as he retired, and some of his men were killed. In token of the popular feeling, the privileges which had been granted by the emperor and the antipope were burnt in the Place of the Capitol; even some bodies of Germans were dragged from their graves and ignominiously thrown into the Tiber.[c]

At Pisa, where he had been joined by the leaders of the disaffected Franciscans—Michael of Cesena, Bonagratia, and William of Ockham, who had all escaped from detention at Avignon[d]—the emperor held an assembly on the 13th of December, when Michael denounced Pope John as a heretic, and the emperor again pronounced him to be deposed. About the same time John at Avignon renewed his condemnation of the emperor as a heretic and a persecutor of the church, and declared the antipope a heretic and schismatic.[e] The antipope joined Louis at Pisa, where he carried on the system of ejecting Guelf bishops and substituting Ghibellines, from whom payments were extorted for their promotion.[f] But, on the emperor's departure

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[t] G. Vill. x. 54, 72; Matth. Neoburg. 124; Giann. iv. 12; Gregorov. vi. 164.

[u] G. Vill. x. 66; Olensl. 205.

[x] The chronicler of Pistoia, however, says that he was owned by all the Ghibellines throughout Italy, "sì laici come cherici e prelati." Murat. xi. 445.

[y] Murat. Ann. VIII. i. 196; Gregorov. vi. 164.

[z] Alb. Mussat. in Böhmer, i. 182.

[a] G. Vill. x. 76.

[b] Ib. 96.

[c] Ib.

[d] Alb. Muss. 775.

[e] G. Vill. x. 113; Baluz. V. P. Aven. ii. 546; Mart. Thes. ii. 763.

[f] G. Vill. x. 121; Hist. Pistol. 453.

from that city, Nicolas was left behind, and Louis, as he proceeded northwards,[g] found the Italians less and less favourably disposed, while discontent and desertion became more rife among his own troops.[h] In the end of January, 1330, Louis recrossed the Alps. His expedition to Italy had ruined the imperial cause in that country, and his failure had given additional force to the impression made by the papal curses. The Romans swore fealty anew to the pope, and, with Pisa and other Italian cities, entreated his forgiveness for their temporary submission to Louis.[i]

The antipope, when left at Pisa, was glad to find shelter with a powerful nobleman, Count Boniface of Donoratico, but in the following year was, after much urgency, given up by him to the pope, on condition that his life should be spared.[k] On St. James's day Nicolas abjured his errors in the cathedral of Pisa, expressing deep contrition for his conduct and casting much blame on the emperor.[m] The ceremony was afterwards repeated at Avignon, where he appeared with a rope around his neck, and threw himself at the feet of his triumphant rival. John raised him up, released him from the rope, and admitted him to the kiss of peace.[n] The fallen antipope spent the remaining three years of his life in an apartment of the papal palace, where he was supplied with the means of study, but was strictly secluded from all intercourse with men.[o]

The death of Frederick of Austria, in January, 1330,[p] appeared

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[g] In the Annals of Parma (Pertz, xviii. 775) is a curious account of the difficulties caused, as the emperor was in that city, by the question as to observance of the pope's sentences. The local clergy in general celebrated their services with closed doors; but those who attended on Louis, headed by Michael of Cesena, officiated with ringing of bells, &c.

[h] G. Vill. x. 107; Annal. Mutin. in Murat. xi. 121; Gualv. Flamma, i. 366, ib. xi.

[i] Rayn. 1329. 8, 11; 1329. 17-20; 1332. 40, seqq.; Giesel. II. iii. 54-5; Schröckh, xxxi. 116; Gregorov. vi. 174, 179.

[k] Bern. Guidon. in Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 143; Cron. di Pisa, in Baluz. Misc. i. 456.

[m] Hist. Pistol. 459; Rayn. 1330. 26; Wadd. 1330. 1-9. See Mansi in Rayn. v. 468.

[n] W. Nang. cont. 93; Gualv. Flamma, 1002; Mart. Polon. cont. 1448. The first meeting was on Aug. 25; the abjuration on Sept. 6. For the form, see Rayn. 1330. 11-24.

[o] Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 145, 149; G. Vill. x. 162; Mansi, xxv. 580; Olensl. 222; Gregorov. vi. 175. John of Vichtring says that the pope would have made him a bishop but for the opposition of the cardinals, who urged that so great a misdeed ought not to be so lightly passed over. Böhmer, i. 409.

[p] Olensl. 214. Louis heard of it at Trent. Frederick is said to have been eaten up by lice — as some say, for breach of engagements to Louis, which had been sanctified by receiving the holy Eucharist together (Andr. Ratisb. in Eccard, 1. 2097; H. Rebdorf. A.D. 1322), while others suppose that it may have been in punishment of his behaviour to his wife, who had lost her sight through weeping during his imprisonment, but on his liberation was deserted by him, and superseded in his affections by a nun (Joh. Vitodur. 1793). The continuer of Martin of Poland says that, although within his own territory he

to favour the establishment of peace between the papacy and the empire; but the pope, acting under the influence of Naples and of France, was bent on effecting the ruin of Louis. He scornfully rejected the mediation of the king of Bohemia, who had been empowered by the emperor to offer very humiliating terms:[q] he uttered fresh anathemas, in "aggravation" of his former denunciations;[r] he endeavoured to stir up enemies against Louis on all sides, and encouraged his neighbours to attack him—not scrupling even to let loose the heathens who bordered on Brandenburg for an invasion of that territory, where they committed atrocious cruelties and profanations;[s] he urged the German princes to choose a new emperor; he declared Germany to be under an interdict so long as Louis should be acknowledged. A fearful confusion prevailed in that country, although, notwithstanding all the pope's denunciations, the emperor was still generally obeyed.[t] Some of the clergy, in obedience to the interdict, refused to perform the Divine offices in cities where Louis was, and on this account they were driven out by him.[u] Alliances were continually changing, and the ascendancy was always shifting from one party to another. In these movements John of Luxemburg played a very conspicuous part. A.D. 1310. At the age of fourteen he had received the kingdom of Bohemia from his father, Henry VII., as a fief of the empire, which had become vacant through the failure of male heirs, and at the same time he had married the younger daughter of the late king, Wenceslaus—thus excluding Henry duke of Carinthia, the husband of her elder sister.[x] But he speedily found that he and his subjects were ill suited to each other, and while his queen, with her children, lived in the palace at Prague, he made his home in his hereditary territory of Luxemburg, and roamed over Europe in quest of adventures, visiting Bohemia on rare occasions for the purpose of raising money.[y] In 1330 he was invited by the citizens of Brescia to defend them against the Visconti of Milan and the Scaligers of

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styled himself king, he never attempted anything against Louis (Eccard, I. 1146); but documents of 1326 are extant in which he calls himself king of the Romans. Olensl. 171-3, and Urk. 52.

[q] Ib. 221-3; Schmidt, iii. 552-3.

[r] Mart. Thes. ii. 767.

[s] Joh. Vitodur. in Eccard, i. 1805; Giesel. II. iii. 50.

[t] H. Rebdorff. 1333.

[u] Joh. Vitodur. 1795-7; cf. 1870.

[x] Ptol. Luc. in Murat. xi. 1233; Gesta Trev. in Martene. Coll. Ampl. iv. 390; Joh. Victor. in Böhmer, i. 365; Palacky, II. ii. 79-83; Böhmer, Reg. 279. Some writers represent Bohemia as the princess's portion (Chron. Modoet. in Murat. xii. 1096; Ferret. Vic. 1170); but it seems rather that the emperor gave it to John, and made the marriage for the sake of extinguishing any possible claims on the female side.

[y] Palacky, II. ii. 145, 153, 160, 170, 232.

Verona; and in consequence of this he proceeded at the head of 10,000 men into Italy,[z] where his intervention was welcomed at once by the Guelfs, who saw in him a friend of the pope, and by the Ghibellines, who regarded him as the son of Henry VII. and as a representative of the emperor.[a] His influence was beneficially exerted for the pacification of many Lombard cities;[b] but gradually both parties began to distrust him,[c] so that he found himself obliged to withdraw before a combination which was formed against him;[d] and, after a second expedition, in which he enjoyed the countenance of the French king and of the pope, he was compelled to retire altogether from the field of Italian politics.[e]

The three sons of Philip the Fair, who had successively reigned over France, were all carried off at an early age; and while the clergy saw in this the vengeance of heaven for Philip's outrages against Pope Boniface,[f] the popular opinion traced it to the martyrdom of the Templars, and to the supposed curse or prophecy of James de Molay.[g]

After the death of Charles IV., which took place in January, 1328, his widow gave birth to a second daughter, who lived only a few days;[h] and as the hope of a male heir was extinguished, Philip, the son of Charles of Valois, and nephew of Philip the Fair, became king, to the exclusion of his predecessor's surviving daughter.[i] Philip of Valois revived much

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[z] Joh. Malvec. Chron. Brixiense, in Murat. xiv. 1001-4. The continuer of William of Nangis says that he went rather "causa curiositatis, et patriæ videndæ, quam alia quaecunque ratione." 94.

[a] G. Vill. x. 168; Olensl. 225-6; Sism. R. I. iv. 86-90; Palacky, II. ii. 177-9.

[b] G. Vill. x. 168, 171, 173; Annal. Parm. in Pertz, xviii. 777-9; Annal. Mutin. in Murat. xi. 125; Cron. Sanese, ib. xv. 88. There was a proverb that nothing could be done without the help of God and of the king of Bohemia. Palacky, II. iii. 187.

[c] "Papæ et imperatori complacere cupiens, et ambobus displicens." Matth. Neoburg. 124. Cf. Annal. Parm. in Pertz, xviii. 776-9.

[d] Vita Karoli IV. [autobiography] in Böhmer, i. 237-246; G. Vill. x. 181; Sism. iv. 92; Palacky, II. ii. 180. There is a papal decree (Baluz. i. 701) of about this time, ordering that the kingdoms of Germany and Italy shall be separated, and shall never be reunited. The genuineness of it has been questioned (as by Baluze, l. c.), but is regarded as certain by Gieseler, II. iii. 57.

[e] G. Vill. x. 211, 213; Annal. Parm. 785-7; Palacky, II. ii. 193-6.

[f] It was believed (after the event) that Boniface had prophesied this when seized at Anagni. Joh. Victor. 347.

[g] G. Vill. ix. 64-5; Sism. ix. 467; Martin, iv. 569. A Pistoian chronicler suggests a less authentic reason—that Philip the Fair (?) caused all the lepers (*infermi*) of the kingdom, 500 in number, to be arrested and burnt in one day. Murat. xi. 518.

[h] W. Naug. cont. 85.

[i] There had been no instance of a female heir to the crown of France since the accession of the reigning dynasty, and it was now pretended that the Salic law excluded women from the throne. This was unfounded, and was contrary to the analogy of the great fiefs, which descended to female heirs; and the possible fitness of women for reigning had very lately been shown in

of the chivalrous splendour which had lately been wanting to the court of France;[k] and in his ecclesiastical policy he endeavoured, like St. Louis, to maintain the rights of the national church as against the papacy.[m] When, however, he proposed a new crusade, it was evident that the idea was not prompted by a spirit of self-sacrificing devotion like that which had animated his saintly ancestor. He designed, by placing himself at the head of Christendom in such an enterprise, to gain for himself and his family a title to the empire; and he endeavoured in other respects to turn it to his own advantage by obtaining great concessions from the pope.[n] John granted for the crusade the tithe of ecclesiastical benefices throughout the whole western church for six years;[o] and in October, 1333, Philip took the cross, and swore to set out for the holy war within three years.[p] But he was reminded that some of his predecessors, after having collected tithes, as if for a crusade, had spent them on other objects; and, whatever his intentions may really have been, circumstances arose which prevented the execution of the project.[q] When the collection of the tithe was attempted in Germany, the emperor, in a great diet at Spires, declared that no such impost could be raised without his permission, and hinted his doubts whether the money would be spent for the professed object. He added that, if peace were re-established, he himself would head an expedition for the recovery of the Holy Land; for he considered that he would have lived long enough if he might once see a pope who cared for his soul's good.[r] Mission after mission was sent to Avignon, but all brought back reports of the pope's implacable hardness.[s] The difficulties which pressed on the emperor were so serious that, in 1333, he was willing to resign his crown for the sake of

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the case of the queen-regent Blanche, the mother of St. Louis. Edward III. of England claimed the kingdom of France through his mother, Isabella, daughter of Philip the Fair, alleging that, even if she were personally disqualified by sex, her claim would revive in her son. But this is against all fair principle of succession; and moreover, if inheritance by or through females were admissible, the daughters of the last three kings and the sons of these princesses, would have had prior claims to Isabella and Edward. See W. Nang. cont. 87; Hume, ii. 315-6; Hallam, M. A. i. 42-5, 278; Lingard, iii. 107; Martin, iv. 563-4.

[k] Froissart, i. 126; Sism. x. 59, 62; Martin, v. 11-2.

[m] Martin, v. 12-3.

[n] W. Nang. cont. 94; Rayn. 1332. 2, seqq.

[o] See the letters of Frederick, abp. of Salzburg, in Pez, VI. iii. 21, seqq.

[p] W. Nang. cont. 96; Rayn. 1333. 1, seqq.

[q] W. Nang. contin. 108; G. Vill. x. 196. M. Villani (i. 75; vii. 2) says that it was a trick to get money. There is a story of a friar who rebuked the king for this (ib. 3). Schröckh, xxxi. 128; Martin, v. 23.

[r] Mutius in Pistor. ii. 874; Olensl. 250-1.

[s] Olensl. Urk. 62-4; Schröckh, xxxi 123-5.

restoration to the communion of the Church; but the plan was frustrated through the indiscretion of his cousin, Henry, duke of Lower Bavaria, in whose favour the abdication was intended.[t]

Jan. 1333.

The pope, who had been so profuse of accusations of heresy against others, himself fell under a new charge of this kind, by asserting in a sermon that the saints would not enjoy the beatific vision until the end of the world; he was reported to have said that even the blessed Virgin herself would until then behold only the humanity of her Son — not his Godhead.[u] This opinion, although agreeable to the authority of many early fathers, had been generally abandoned for centuries;[x] it endangered doctrines and practices which had become firmly established in the Church — the belief in purgatory, the use of indulgences, masses for the dead, and invocation of saints; and, although the papal court in general acquiesced, an English Dominican, named Thomas Waleys, raised an alarm by preaching against it.[y] John's old Franciscan opponents, Michael of Cesena, Bonagratia, and William of Ockham, eagerly raised the cry of heresy;[z] and the question was referred by King Philip to the theological faculty of Paris, in an assembly held at the palace of Vincennes,[a] while John laboured to influence the opinion of divines by heaping preferment on those who sided with him.[b] At Paris great excitement arose, and men were divided in their judgment. The Dominicans opposed the pope's view;[c] the general of the Franciscans, who had superseded Michael of Cesena, supported it; the doctors of the Sorbonne condemned the doctrine, but suggested that

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[t] Ptol. Luc. 1212 (who says that the kings of France and Bohemia were in favour of this plan); Olensl. 219; Schmidt, iii. 562-3. See Böhmer, Fontes, i. 214-9.

[u] G. Vill. x. 228; Occam in Goldast. ii. 746; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 787-791. Mansi says that John can only be defended on the ground that, although he varied from the doctrine which was afterwards established, he was ready to accept whatever might be shown to have the authority of the church (note in Rayn. t. v. 568). Herman Corner, after relating that a treasure belonging to John was seized by the imperialists on its way to Lombardy, says that the pope "jam senio confectus desipuit, partim ex senio et partim ex melancholia, eo quod tantum thesaurum perdidisset." 1011.

[x] Rayn. 1534. 27, seqq.; Giesel. II. iii. 59.

[y] Olensl. 252; W. Naug. cont. 96; Henr. Hervord. 251-2; D'Argentré, i. 315; Thorn in Twysden, 2067; Giesel. l. c.; Milm. v. 313. Waleys was imprisoned for a while, and was put on short allowance of food. (D'Argentré, l. c.)

[z] Rayn. 1331. 32 seqq. See Pt. ii. of Ockham's 'Dialogus,' and his 'Compendium Errorum' (written after John's death) in Gold. ii. 970. Durand of St. Pourçain, bishop of Meaux, also wrote against John. Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 183; H. Hervord. 255.

[a] W. Naug. cont. 97.

[b] G. Vill. x. 22[illegible]

[c] Gualv. della Fiamma [illegible] remarkable, after John had promoted 122 members of the order to bishopricks. 1006.

John might have propounded it only by way of a doubt or a question.[d] The king is said to have threatened not only the Franciscan general, but the pope himself, with the punishment of heresy, and made use of John's danger to extort important concessions from him;[e] while the Italian cardinals, in their dislike of a French pope, threatened to bring him before a general council.[f] John offered to produce ancient authorities in his behalf, but was glad to avail himself of the escape which the doctors of Paris had suggested, and declared that he had intended only to state the opinion, not to decide in favour of it.[g] But the excitement burst out afresh, and at last John, on his deathbed, was brought—it is said chiefly by the urgency of his nephew or son, Cardinal Bertrand de Poyet[h]—to profess the current doctrine, "that purged souls, being separated from their bodies, are in heaven, the kingdom of heaven, and paradise; that they see God face to face, and clearly behold the Divine essence, in so far as the condition of separate souls permits."[i]

On the day after having made this declaration, John died at the age of ninety. The treasures which he left behind him were enormous,[k] partly the produce of exactions raised under the pretext of a crusade,[m] partly of the arts of the papal court as to the disposal of preferments and favours. In these arts John showed himself a master. Under the pretence of discouraging simony, but he kept valuable reserves in his own hands;[n] by the bull *Execrabilis*, he compelled pluralists to give up all but one benefice each, and got for himself the disposal of the rest.[o] He took into his own hands the appointment of bishops, in disregard of the capitular right of election,[p] which had been

Dec. 4. 1334.

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[d] "Non asserendo vel opinando, sed solummodo recitando." D'Argentré, i. 317; cf. G. Vill. l. c.; W. Nang. cont. 96; Mansi, xxv. 981; Giesel. II. iii. 60; Milm. v. 316: Letter of the Paris doctors in Mart. Thes. i. 1383; D'Argentré, i. 316, seqq.; Bul. iv. 236, seqq.

[e] G. Vill. l. c.; Letter of John to the king, Rayn. 1333. 46.

[f] Giesel. II. iii. 61.

[g] "Recitando et conferendo et non determinando, nec etiam tenendo." D'Argentré, i. 320; Mansi, xxv. 984; G. Vill. l. c. Ptol. Luc. in Murat. xi. 1212; Hefele, vi. 523-4. St. Antoninus says that, even if the opinion were heretical, John was not a heretic, as he did not maintain it obstinately. iii. 334.

[h] See Ciacon. ii. 409. Rinaldi denies the alleged parentage. 1334-40.

[i] Mansi, xxv. 569; G. Vill. xi. 19; Mosh. ii. 654. The story of the retractation was questioned, however. See Giesel. II. iii. 61.

[k] John Villani, on the information of his brother, who, as a merchant, had been concerned in counting John's wealth, says that the money amounted to eighteen, and the plate and jewels to seven, millions of gold florins. xi. 20.

[m] "E *forse* havea quella intenzione," says Villani, l.c.

[n] Ib.

[o] Extrav. tit. iii. 'De Praebendis et Dignitatibus.'

[p] Murat. Annal. viii. i. 249; Schröckh. xxxi. 127.

so hardly extorted from sovereigns. Whenever any high preferment fell vacant, he made it the means of promoting the greatest possible number of persons, advancing each of them a single step, and so securing the payment of fees from each.[q] And to the exactions which already pressed on the church, he added the invention of annates—the first year's income of ecclesiastical dignities.[r] Yet although his long pontificate was chiefly remarkable for the unrelenting hostility with which he pursued the emperor Louis, and for the extortions and corruptions by which he so largely profited, it must in justice be added that he is described as temperate in his habits, regular in the observation of devotion, and unassuming and unostentatious in his manner of life.[s]

At the time of John's death, the college of cardinals consisted of twenty-four members, among whom the French, headed by Talleyrand of Perigord,[t] had a great majority.[u] Both Frenchmen and Italians, however, agreed to choose the cardinal of Comminges, bishop of Porto, if he would pledge himself that the papal residence should not be removed from Avignon; but he refused to comply with this condition, and the cardinals, shut up in the palace of Avignon by an officer of King Robert of Naples, began afresh the usual intricate manœuvres of a papal election.[x] By an unforeseen concurrence of circumstances, the result of which was considered to be a divine inspiration,[y] their choice fell on James Fournier, a member of the Cistercian order, cardinal of St. Prisca, and bishop of Mirepoix, whose remark on the announcement of his new dignity was, "You have chosen an ass." The new pope, Benedict XII.,[z] was a native of Saverdun, in the county of Foix, and had risen from a humble condition in life.[a] He was highly

Dec. 30, 1334.

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[q] G. Vill. xi. 20.

[r] Schröckh, xxxi. 130. See below, Chap. XI. i. 4.

[s] Ib 129.

[t] For this bearer of a name which has been again famous in late times see Baluz. Vit. Pap. Aven. i. 770; Ciacon. ii. 430. He was son of the Count of Perigord by his wife Brunisenda, the supposed mistress of Clement V. (see p. 9). It is said that he had been married before taking holy orders, and had been a very popular advocate. But, although he had a good patrimony, and received large fees, he was always in want of money; whence he concluded, on considering the matter, that his practice of pleading for money was wrong. He thereupon resolved to undertake no other than just causes, and to work for charity alone; and he soon found himself abundantly rich. (Gesta Abbat. S. Albani, ii. 384.) He is highly eulogised in the Hist. Litt. de la France, xxiv. 39. For his will, see Martene, Thes. i. 1408. He died in 1364. Ciacon. l. c.

[u] G. Vill. xi. 21. John had complained to the king, in 1331, that the French were 17 out of 20, yet afterwards found himself obliged to add to their number. Rayn. 1331. 33-4.

[x] G. Vill. l. c.

[y] Ib.; Hist. Rom. Fragm. in Murat. Antiq. Ital. iii. 275.

[z] Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 197; G. Vill. l. c.

[a] St. Antoninus calls him "infimæ

respected for his learning, and, notwithstanding his modest estimate of himself, was a man of sense and judgment.[b] He is praised for his sincerity, his justice, his liberality in almsgiving,[c] and his benevolence of character; while his orthodoxy had been displayed by his activity as an inquisitor in his own diocese and throughout the region of Toulouse.[d] Disinclined to share in political affairs,[e] he was earnestly bent on a reform in the church, and in order to this he reversed in many respects the system of his predecessors. The crowds which, in hope of preferment, had thronged the city of the papal residence, the idle and greedy friars who hung about the court, were dismissed to their own homes.[f] A reform of the monastic system was strenuously taken in hand.[g] The abuse of commendams was done away with, except only in the case of such as were held by cardinals.[h] Pluralities were steadily discouraged.[i] Expectancies of benefices not yet vacant were abolished, and such as had been already granted were revoked.[k] The late pope's custom of multiplying promotions on every vacancy was abandoned. All practices which might appear to savour of simony were forbidden. It was ordered that no canonries in cathedrals should be bestowed on boys under fourteen years of age,[m] and all applicants for the pope's patronage were examined as to their fitness.[n] Preferments were given to men of learning, without solicitation, and although they did not frequent the court.[o] The pope withstood the entreaties of great men, who attempted to influence his patronage; and he was careful not to favour his own relatives unduly, telling them that, as James Fournier, he had known them, but that as pope he had no kindred.[p] He refused great matches for his niece, whom he married to a merchant of Toulouse, with a dowry not more than suitable to the husband's condition; and he bestowed no other favours on the pair than that of occasionally indulging them with a visit

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conditionis in saeculo" (iii. 332). His father is commonly described as a baker or a miller (Matth. Neoburg. 125); but for this it is said that there is no ground except the family surname (Hist. Langued. iv. 215). A curious story as to his elevation being foreshown is told by Matth. Neoburg. l. c.

[b] G. Vill. l. c.; Giesel. II. iii. 62. See Olensl. 321.

[c] Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 213; Matth. Neoburg. 125.

[d] Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 213, 229.

[e] Ib. 198, 214.

[f] Ptol. Luc. in Murat. xi. 1214; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 251; Vita V. p. 253.

[g] See Wilkins, ii. 585-621; J. Vitodur. 1821. H. Hervord. 263.

[h] G. Vill. l. c.; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 198.

[i] Ib. 230.

[k] Ib. 230.

[m] Ib. 231.

[n] Ib.; Hist. Rom. Fragm. in Murat. Antiq. iii. 277.

[o] Baluz. 109, 231.

[p] "Huic autem sanguis et caro non revelavit amorem." Ib. 219; cf. Rayn. 1338. 82. This was partly in order that he might keep himself independent of the king. Matth. Neob. 125.

to his court at his own expense.[q] One nephew alone obtained high office in the church, having been urgently recommended by the cardinals for the archbishopric of Arles.[r] The officials of the court were required to swear that they would not accept any gifts.[s] The messengers who conveyed the papal letters were bound in like manner neither to ask nor to receive anything beyond food and other necessaries.[t] The pope moderated the expenses of episcopal visitations, which had long been a subject of complaint;[u] and he caused a visitation of cathedrals to be undertaken by commissioners, who corrected such irregularities as they discovered.[x] Yet, great as Benedict's merits were, he has not escaped serious imputations. His desire to purify the administration of the church and the monastic orders appears to have been too little tempered by courtesy or by discretion, so that it excited much animosity, which has left its lasting traces in the chronicles of the times. Petrarch speaks unfavourably of him in more than one place, and mentions especially that excessive love of the pleasures of the table which is said to have given rise to the saying, "Let us drink like a pope."[y] And a biographer, whose enmity would seem to have been provoked by Benedict's avowed dislike of the mendicant orders, charges him with avarice and with harshness of character, with negligence in some parts of his duty as to administration, and with a general distrust and ill-opinion of mankind.[z]

Benedict's virtues were also marred by a want of courage,

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[q] Ib. 21.

[r] Ib. 210. "Non improbo tamen," says Platina, "eos qui ob cognationem et affinitatem ad summos dignitatis gradus eriguntur, si tanta conditione digni sunt." 258.

[s] Matth. Neob. 231. There is a letter from Benedict to a collector sent into England, desiring him to report as to the alleged misbehaviour of former collectors. Theiner, 267.

[t] Wadding, 1335. 2.

[u] Mansi, xxv. 987.

[x] Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 233.

[y] "Bibamus papaliter" (Vita VIII. in Baluz. i. 241). "Comestor maximus et potator egregius," says Gualvaneo Fiamma (Murat. xii. 1009), who felt as a Dominican towards Benedict. (See Mur. Annal. VIII. ii. 9.) Petrarch tells us that Benedict, on receiving a present of eels from the Lake of Bolsena (see vol. iii. p. 493), distributed all but a few among the cardinals, and that when these afterwards praised the fish, he said, "Si praegustassem, scivissemque quales erant, non fuissem tam largus distributor; sed nunquam credidi tale quid nasci posse in Italia" (p. 901). Elsewhere he calls the pope "potorem illum et senio et sopore et mero gravidum" (p. 809)—"vino madidus, ævo gravis, ac soporifero rore perfusus." (Ep. sine Titulo, i. 1; see Gibbon, vi. 215; Gregorov. vi. 223). It has been asserted that Benedict seduced the poet's sister, and made her his concubine; but the story is said to be unfounded (Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 815; Milm. v. 329). The Seventh Life, in Baluze's collection, ends with a quotation—

> "Iste fuit Nero, laicis mors, vipera clero,
> Devius a vero, cuppa repleta mero."

The same is quoted by the Dominican Henry of Hervorden, who says that the pope died "perpaucis dolentibus." 265.

[z] Vita VIII. in Baluz. i. 210. Cf. 829. "Hic justus et durus erat." Th. Niem. in Eccard. i. 1199.

which prevented him from carrying out his wish to deliver himself from the thraldom of King Philip, and from the oppressive influence of the French cardinals.[a] And, when he attempted to prepare the way for a return to Rome, or at least to Bologna, where the foundations of a palace had been laid by the legate Bertrand de Poyet,[b] he was deterred by the manifestations of an antipapal spirit, by the dangers of the way, and by other such considerations.[c] He, therefore, as if to guarantee the continuance of the papal residence at Avignon, began the vast and costly structure which still remains as the chief monument of it;[d] but, at the same time, he showed his interest in the ancient capital of Christendom, by spending large sums on renewing the roof of St. Peter's, and on repairing other churches and palaces at Rome.[e] He accepted the office of senator, to which he was elected by the Romans in 1337; he forbade the use of the terms Guelf and Ghibelline,[f] as being continual sources of discord,[g] and he endeavoured to keep up a semblance of influence in Italy, by investing some party chiefs with the character of vicars under the apostolic see.[h]

Philip, however, notwithstanding his ascendancy, was not able to gain all that he desired from Benedict. When he asked the newly-elected pope to make over to him the treasures of John XXII., and to bestow on him the ecclesiastical tithe for ten years—professedly with a view to a crusade, but in reality for the war into which he had been drawn with England—Benedict replied that his predecessor's wealth, having been collected for the crusade, must not be given up until that expedition were actually begun; and he withdrew the grant of tenths which John had previously sanctioned.[i] It was in vain that the

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[a] Giesel. II. iii. 63; Milm. v. 520. Döllinger says that by adding to the number of French cardinals he rivetted his chains faster, and brought on the fulfilment of Joachim's prophecy that the papacy would find France a reed that would pierce its hand (ii. 265). See note there against Raynaldus and Pagi.

[b] G. Vill. x. 199-200; Hist. Pistol. 451.

[c] Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 199. The Bolognese had expelled the legate. Ib. G. Vill. x. 1-7; Hist. Rom. Fragm. in Murat. Antiq. iii. 271; Hist. Pistol. 461-7; Gualv. Fiamma, 1008; Cron. Bologn. in Murat. xviii. 39; Rayn. 1337. 27 seqq.

[d] Baluz. 215; Martin, v. 25. The cardinals hereupon began to erect *bastite* for themselves (Ib. 202). Ptolemy of Lucca says that he built the great tower "quæ etiam ad sui similitudinem magna et quadrata existit." (Murat. xi. 1216.) Platina says that Benedict intended to employ Giotto ("Jotum, pictorem illa ætate celebrem") in painting his palace with the histories of martyrs. 258.

[e] Baluz. V. P. Aven. 199, 206. 219; Ptol. Luc. 1211. In the Fragments of Roman History (Murat. Antiq. iii. 277-9) is a curious account of the breaking up of the old roof of St. Peter's.

[f] Gregorov. vi. 197.

[g] Henr. Hervord. 256.

[h] Gregorov. vi. 218.

[i] Baluz. V.P. Aven. i. 200-1; Olen. 251.

king asked the vicariate of Italy for himself, and the kingdom of Vienne for his son;[k] and when he went to Avignon, for the purpose of urging his suit as to the pretended crusade, the pope declared that, if he had two souls, he would gladly sacrifice one of them for the king; but that, as he had only one, he must endeavour to save it.[m]

March, 1336.

The controversy which John XXII. had raised as to the Beatific Vision, and in the discussion of which Benedict had formerly taken a conspicuous part,[n] was now determined by him in a formal decree, which declared that the glory of the saints is perfect; that they already enjoy the vision of the blessed Trinity; and that, although they will have their perfect consummation in body and in soul after the judgment-day, the joy of their souls will not be sensibly increased.[o]

Jan. 29, 1336.

The pope, both from natural character and from alarm at the French king's inordinate requests, was heartily desirous of peace with the emperor Louis, and with a view to this made overtures, both indirectly and directly, to him.[p] Louis, on his part, sent a fifth and a sixth embassy to Avignon, with offers of submission; but the influence of France, of Naples, and of Bohemia, with that of the cardinals, whose property Philip had threatened to confiscate if they made peace with the Bavarian,[q] prevailed over the pope's favourable dispositions.[r] Yet he made no secret of his real feeling. Thus, on one occasion, when urged by the representatives of the French and the Neapolitan kings, he asked whether they wished to do away with the empire. They answered that they did not speak against the empire, but against Louis, who had been condemned as an enemy of the church. "Rather," said Benedict, "it is we that have sinned against him. He would, if he might have been allowed, have come with a staff in his hand to our predecessor's feet; but he has been in a manner challenged to act as he has done."[s] The emperor's sixth embassy, in October, 1336, was authorised to offer very humiliating terms; to confess that he had done grievous wrong in setting up an antipope, in his alliances with the Visconti, with the re-

April—Oct. 1336.

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[k] Matth. Neob. 125; Olensl. l. c.

[m] Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 211; Planck, 283-4.

[n] Rayn. 1333-59, seqq.

[o] Mansi, xxv. 989; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 216, 222-4. Some thought this decision heretical, Rayn. 1334. 35, seqq.; 1336. 4-16; G. Vill. xi. 47.

[p] Matth. Neoburg. 126; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 198; Olensl. 256; Giesel. II., iii. 63.

[q] Matth. Neob. 126; Olensl. 259.

[r] Matth. Neob. 127; Joh. Vitodur. 1812-3; H. Rebdorff. 1337; Rayn. 1335. 7; Olensl. 256-7.

[s] Matth. Neob. 126; Olensl. 259.

bellious Minorites (whose opinions he disavowed), with John of Jandun and Marsilius, by whom he professed to have been deceived and misled. They professed that he was ready to submit to penance, to lay down the imperial title, to persecute heretics, to build churches and convents, if the pope would release him from excommunication and interdict, and would grant him the empire anew.[t] But the ambassadors became weary of waiting for an answer, and Louis, despairing of any satisfactory result so long as the French king's influence should be exerted against him, declined an invitation to resume negotiations, and allied himself with Edward of England, who had now set up that claim to the crown of France which for a century and a half arrayed the two nations in deadly hostility to each other.[u] Benedict's warnings to Edward, against entering into a connexion with an excommunicated person, were unheeded; although the king professed all dutiful submission to the papal authority, and said that he had advised Louis to make his peace by humbling himself.[x]

Another mission—the seventh—in behalf of Louis, was sent to Avignon by the archbishop of Mentz, Henry of Virneburg, and his suffragans, after a council held at Spires.[y] The pope is said to have had tears in his eyes as he told the envoys that he could not grant absolution to Louis, in consequence of his breach of treaties with France; that Philip had threatened him with a worse fate than that of Boniface VIII., if the Bavarian should be absolved without the French king's consent; and that he could hold no communication with the archbishop of Mentz, who had given great offence by a compact which he had lately made with his chapter, in order to obtain admission to his see.[z]

The Germans were indignant that their requests should thus be rejected at the dictation of a foreign sovereign, and that pretensions should be set up which seemed to transfer the right of the electors to the pope.[a] In reliance on this feeling, Louis summoned a great diet, consisting not only of princes and

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[t] Rayn. 1336. 31. seqq.

[u] Joh. Vitodur. 1844; Rymer, ii. 991; Pauli, Bilder aus Alt-England, No. v. The emperor asked Edward to go with him to Avignon, Rymer, l. c.

[x] Rymer, i. 1004; Rayn. 1337. 7; 1139. 11, seqq.; Olensl. 270-3; Schmidt, iii. 577-9; Pauli, iv. 340. See Baluz. i. 804, against the story of Edward's having prevented some papal envoys from coming to England.

[y] Olensl. Urk. 66. The date is March 27, 1338.

[z] Matth. Neoburg. 127; Olensl. 276-7. Henry had been appointed by John XXII. in contempt of the capitular right of election, and, having been before opposed to Louis, had been gained over to his side. Matth. Neob. 127, 135; Olensl. 274-5; Schröckh, xxxi. 144-5.

[a] Olensl. 278; Schmidt, iii. 580.

nobles, but of deputies from cities and cathedral chapters, to meet at Frankfort on Rogation Sunday, 1338. Before this assembly Louis set forth, in a pathetic tone, the course of his dealings with the papal see, and the pretensions which had been set up for the papacy in derogation of the imperial dignity; and in proof of his orthodoxy he recited the Lord's Prayer, the Angelic Salutation, and the Creed. The case was argued on his behalf by lawyers and canonists, especially by the famous Franciscan, Bonagratia; and the assembly resolved that the emperor had done enough, that the censures uttered against him were wrongful, and therefore of no effect; that the clergy ought not to observe the papal interdict, and that, if unwilling to celebrate the Divine offices, they should be compelled to do so.[b]

On the 15th of July the electors, with the exception of the king of Bohemia, held a meeting at Rhense,[c] where they expressed their apprehensions that, if the papal claims were admitted, they might in future have to choose only a king—not an emperor. They resolved that the empire was held immediately under God; that the emperor, chosen by all the electors, or by a majority of them, needed no confirmation from the pope; and they swore to defend the dignity of the empire and their own rights against all men, and to accept no dispensation from their oath. These resolutions were confirmed by a diet held at Frankfort, and several documents were drawn up by which the late pope's processes against Louis were pronounced to be null, and Pope Benedict was requested to withdraw them, while the emperor appealed against John to a general council. It was declared that the vicariate of the empire, during a vacancy of the throne, belonged not to the pope but to the Count Palatine of the Rhine; that the oath taken by emperors was not one of fealty to the pope; and it was forbidden to receive papal bulls without the sovereign's permission.[d]

Aug. 8.

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[b] Joh. Vitodur. 1816-7 (whose account of the effect on the clergy is remarkable); Olensl. 280-1.

[c] This meeting is known as the First Union of Electors (*Churverein*). Giesel. II. iii. 67. Although Rhense, on the Rhine, between Boppart and Coblentz, is described as immemorially a place of meeting for the German electors, the first distinct mention of it as such is in connexion with the election of Henry VII. Its situation, within the territory of the archbishop of Cologne, was convenient as being near the frontiers of the other three Rhenish electors. The *Königstuhl* was erected by Charles IV. in 1376, and there is a view of it in Olenslager's book (p. 422). Having fallen into ruin under the French domination, it was restored in 1814 (Murray's Handbook; Bädeker, Rheinlande).

[d] Olensl. Urk. 67, 70; pp. 282-8; Matth. Neuburg. 129; Schmidt, iv. 583; Giesel. II. iii. 67. Some documents connected with this affair are said to be questionable. See Hefele, v. 559.

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A great excitement followed in Germany. While the imperialists posted on church-doors manifestoes annulling the papal sentences, the papalists placarded copies of those sentences, and denunciations against all who should hold intercourse with the excommunicated Louis.[e] The clergy and monks who observed the interdict were driven out, and their property was confiscated; many of them went to Avignon, but, as their distress found no relief there, some returned to Germany and submitted to Louis.[f] Each party defended itself by the pen, and on the imperial side the most conspicuous writers were William of Ockham[g] and Leopold of Bebenburg, who afterwards became bishop of Bamberg.[h]

In September, 1338, the emperor held a meeting with the king of England at Coblentz. The importance of the occasion was marked by a great display of splendour on both sides. Each of the sovereigns set forth his causes of complaint against Philip of France; an intimate alliance was concluded, and was confirmed by oath, and Edward was appointed vicar of the empire over the territories westward of Cologne.[i] Yet notwithstanding the solemnity of his compact with Edward, from whom he received large subsidies,[k] the emperor allowed himself to be soon after enticed,—chiefly through the influence of the countess of Hainault, who was at once his own mother-in-law and Philip's sister,—into making an alliance with the French king; an inconstancy which can only be explained by supposing that he was sincerely disquieted in conscience by the papal excommunications, and that he wished to secure Philip's intercession with the pope.[m] But although Philip affected to mediate, the faintness of his interest in the matter was too manifest, and Benedict looked with no favour on such an alliance between the sovereign whom the holy see had regarded as its especial favourite, and him who had been the object of its

A.D. 1339-40.

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[e] Olensl. 284-6.

[f] Ib. 288-9.

[g] 'Compendium Errorum Papae,' in Goldast, ii. 957, seqq.

[h] "De Juribus Regni et Imperii Romani" [addressed to Abp. Baldwin of Trèves], in Schard, Syntagma, Argent. 1609, pp. 167, seqq. See Gieseler, II. iii. 69.

[i] Walsingh. i. 223; Ad. Murimuth, 88; W. Nangis, contin. 100, 105; Matth. Neoburg. 127 (who says "generalem vicarium per Germaniam et Teutoniam"); Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 201; Olensl. 292-3; Pauli, Gesch. v. Engl. iv. 360-1; Bilder, 135-7; Hook, iv. 102. For the pope's bulls against the alliance, see Rymer, ii. 1063, 1092, 1096, and Benedict's letter to Edward, against using the title of King of France, ib. 117 (March, 1340).

[k] Matth. Neob. 128.

[m] Matth. Neob. 128; H. Rebdorff, 429; Olensl. 296, 307; Urk. 78; Palacky, II. ii. 231; Pauli, iv. 381. The recall of the commission to Edward as vicar (July 25, 1341) is in Rymer, ii. 1161. Edward's answer, Ib. 1167.

most terrible condemnations. He expressed his willingness to listen if Louis would sue for absolution according to the forms of law, but intimated that the orthodoxy or the heresy of Louis could not be dependent on the French king's convenience.[n]

About this time a new cause of troubles arose. Margaret, the heiress of the Tyrol,[o] had been married to a boy six years younger than herself, a son of the king of Bohemia.[p] The marriage had not been happy, and the emperor now formed a scheme of securing Margaret and her possessions for his son Louis, on whom he had already bestowed the marquisate of Brandenburg. It was alleged that the Bohemian prince was incapable of performing the duties of a husband,[q] and Leopold, bishop of Freising, was found willing to pronounce a separation on this ground, and to grant a dispensation for the marriage of Margaret with the younger Louis, to whom she was related within the forbidden degrees.[r] But before this could be done Leopold was killed, while on a journey, and no other bishop could readily be found to carry out the plan. In this difficulty the emperor's literary allies, Marsilius and William of Ockham, came to his aid, by writing treatises in which it was maintained that the jurisdiction in such cases belonged, not to the church, but to the temporal sovereign; that it had belonged to heathen emperors, and therefore much more must it be the right of the Christian emperor;[s] that, while it is for bishops and theologians to decide whether certain defects in one of the parties would justify a divorce, the application of the rule so determined belongs to the secular judge; that "it is for the human lawgiver to order that to be done which is established by the Divine law."[t]

On the strength of these opinions Louis proceeded. Margaret's

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[n] Matth. Neob. 128; Joh. Vitodur. 1863; Olensl. 309. "Francus, ut videbatur, quod noluisset simulavit se velle; Benedictus vero quod voluisset simulavit se nolle." M. Neob. l. c.

[o] Rayn. 1341. 14. It is commonly said that she was called *Maultasch* (Mouth-pocket), on account of the largeness of her mouth (Olensl. 314)—"ob fœdam tetramque vultus dispositionem" (Trithemius, Chron. Spanh. A.D. 1347.) Another writer calls her "femina inexhaustæ libidinis et audax" (Mutius, in Pistor. ii. 870). Matthew of Neuburg styles her "semifatua." (Urstis. ii. 129.) But John of Winterthur describes her as "pulcra nimis" (1864), and Bp. Hefele says that she got her name from the castle of Maultasch, where she was born. vi. 560.

[p] Olensl. 225; Palacky, II. ii. 159.

[q] H. Hervord. 257.

[r] H. Rebdorff (129, 412) and others represent him as having actually annulled the marriage. Another story is given by John of Winterthur, 1861. See Coxe, i. 126; Palacky, II. ii. 240-3.

[s] W. Ockham. in Goldast, i. 21-4.

[t] Marsil. ib. ii. 1389-90.

husband was cited, and, as he did not appear, the emperor took A.D. 1341. it on himself to decree a divorce, and to dispense with the laws as to consanguinity with a view to her second marriage.[u] But although Louis thus gained his immediate object, this invasion of a province which had always been supposed to belong exclusively to the hierarchy excited a general distrust, which told severely against him.[x] He made enemies of the king of Bohemia, with his uncle the powerful Archbishop Baldwin of Trèves, and all the Luxemburg party.[y] April 25, 1342. The pope desired the patriarch of Aquileia to declare the late proceedings null, and to interdict the Tyrol;[z] and at this very time the death of Benedict XII. made way for a successor more formidable to the emperor.[a]

The election fell on Peter Roger, a Limousin of noble family, May 7, 1342. who styled himself Clement VI. He had been a Benedictine monk, and at the time of his election was archbishop of Rouen and cardinal of SS. Nereus and Achilleus.[b] He had also been chancellor to King Philip, who, from unwillingness to lose his services, had for a time hindered his promotion to the cardinalate. His devotion to the interest of France was indicated in the ceremonies of his coronation, where the chief parts were assigned to great French dignitaries, and it was soon after more fully shown by the circumstance that out of ten cardinals whom he made, nine were French.[c]

Clement was noted for his learning, for his eloquence,[d] and

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[u] Olensl. Urk. 81-2; or Goldast. ii. 1383, 1385. The marriage took place in Feb. 1342. Böhmer, 139.

[x] Martin. Polon. contin. in Eccard. i. 1458; Joh. Vitodur, ib. 1864, 1867.

[y] Matth. Neoburg. in Urstis. ii. 130; Schmidt, iii. 592-8; Palacky, II. ii. 243; Gieseler, II. iii. 72.

[z] Olensl. 318. A divorce was afterwards pronounced by the bishop of Chur, under papal authority, on the ground of Margaret's cohabitation with Louis of Brandenburg. Matth. Neoburg. 151.

[a] It is said that Benedict, "de quo fertur quod non fuit justior eo post S. Gregorium," on being asked, when dying, to empower some one to absolve him, replied, "Gloriam meam altori non dato, sed submitto me in misericordiam Dei." (Chron. de Melsa, iii. 38.) Gualvaneo Fiamma, whose enmity to Benedict is remarkable (see p. 97, note [y], and p. 105, note [e]), says that his death caused very great joy to all Christendom. 1041.

[b] Baluz. V. P. Aven. I. 205-7; Rayn. 1338. 81.

[c] Döllinger, ii. 267. Matthew of Neuburg says that he made seven cardinals at the request of the French king, while Edward of England could not obtain the promotion of one (133). Of twelve whom he created in Dec. 1350, only two were Italians. (Cron. Estense, in Murat. xv. 463.) Among his other concessions to the French sovereigns were a great number of exemptions as to excommunications and interdicts, indulgences, privileges for the royal chapels, &c. See Dachery, Spicil. iii. 723.

[d] "Quanno esso teneva cattedra per sermocinare, o vero desputare, tutto Parisi concorreva ad udire esso. Deh como fo bello sermocinatore!" Hist. Rom. Fragm. in Murat. Antiq. iii. 343.

for an extraordinary power of memory;[e] his manners were agreeable, and he is described as free from malice and resentment.[f] His morals were never of any rigid correctness; and while he was pope a countess of Turenne, if not actually his mistress, is said to have exercised an absolute influence over him.[g] He was a lover of splendour and luxury. The great palace of Avignon was growing under his care,[h] and the princely houses of the cardinals rose around it; the court of the successor of St. Peter was perhaps the gayest and most festive in Europe. Under Clement the vice of the papal city became open and scandalous. Petrarch, who himself cannot be described as a model of rigid and intolerant virtue, expressed in the strongest terms his horror at the abominations which filled the new "Babylon of the West,"[i] and withdrew in disgust from the papal city to the solitudes of Vaucluse.[k]

In his ecclesiastical administration, Clement reversed the policy of Benedict. Preferments which the late pope had kept open, from a conscientious anxiety as to the difficulty of finding suitable men to fill them,[l] were now bestowed without any

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[e] W. Nang. cont. 90, 313; Tritthem. de Script. Eccl. p. 322; De Sade, iii. 50. The author of the 'Eulogium Historium' calls him "bonæ conditionis, bene litteratus, amabilis, affabilis, mansuetus, morigeratus, ab omnibus amatus" (I. 283).

[f] Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 264. Rolewinck speaks of him as "nomine et re totus virtuosus," and adds, "Laudabilis fuit rigor severitatis Benedicti, sed multo amabilior fuit benignitas Clementis." (in Pistor. iii. 564).

[g] Matthew Villani styles her "governatore del papa nelle sue temporali bisogne" (iii. 2); cf. iii. 43, where Clement is described as "molto cavalleresco, poco religioso" (Cf. Henr. Hervord. 267). Another speaks of him as "ab antecessoris sui moribus in multis distans, mulierum, honorum, et potentiæ cupidus." (Matth. Neoburg. 133.) See Murat. Ann. VII. ii. 74. The Meaux chronicler gives a curious tale as to his dissoluteness (iii. 89), and tells us that he answered his confessor's remonstrances by saying "Quando juvenis fuimus, hoc usi sumus, et quod facimus modo, facimus ex consilio medicorum." When the cardinals murmured, he produced a little black book, from which he showed that the popes of lax morals had been the best popes. Ib.

[h] Baluz. i. 261.

[i] Ep. sine Titulo, p. 793; De Sade, ii. 220. He styles Avignon, "probrum ingens, fœtorque ultimus orbis terræ" (Contra Galli Calumnias, p. 1179) "Quicquid," he says, "de Assyria vel Ægyptia Babylone, quicquid de quatuor Labyrinthis, quicquid denique de Averni limine, deque tartareis sylvis sulphureisque paludibus legisti, huic Tartaro admotum fabula est." (Ep. sine Tit. 705.) Cf. pp. 621, 796, 797, 801, 806, 808, &c. Epp. Famil., xii. 11; xv. 11, &c.

[k] This was, not, however, his first retirement to Vaucluse. See De Sade, i. 3397. The Basel edition of Petrarch's works (fol. 1554) contains only eight books of his letters 'De Rebus Familiaribus,' but has the 'Seniles,' and the 'Sine Titulo.' The late Florence edition of the Letters, by Fracassetti (3 vols. 8vo. 1859-63), is without the 'Seniles' and the 'Sine Titulo,' but has sixteen additional books of 'Familiar' letters, and large additions to the 'Variæ.'

[l] Baluz. V. P. Aven. 210. This is turned against Benedict by one of his biographers, "negligens in providendo statum ecclesiarum supra modum fuit, et in excusatione duritiæ suæ paucos ad hoc dignos vel sufficientes dicebat." (Ib. 210.) So Gualvaneo Fiamma says, "Ille [John xxii.] fuit in concedendis gratiis ultra modum benevolus; iste [Benedict] fuit crudelissimus, retinuit enim 330 beneficia mitrata, et sic eccle-

regard to the qualifications of the receivers.[m] Bishopricks, cardinalates, and other high dignities were bestowed on young men whose sole recommendation was the elegance of their person and manners, while some of them were notorious for their dissolute habits.[n] Other benefices were declared to be vacant as papal reserves, and were conferred with a like want of discrimination. The higher dignities of the church were reserved for the pope's own disposal, in contempt of the claims alike of sovereigns and of cathedral or conventual electors. The pope's own kindred, both clerical and lay, were loaded with preferments and wealth to a degree of which there had been no example;[o] among his cardinals were one of his brothers, two nephews, and another relation; and when some one ventured to remark on this, Clement's answer was, "Our predecessors did not know how to be pope."[p]

A.D. 1342-3.

The Romans, by two legations composed of persons who represented the various classes of the community,[q] invited the pope to take up his abode in the ancient capital, and Petrarch, who was one of the deputies, urged the prayer in a poetical epistle, setting forth the attractions of the imperial and apostolic city.[r] In reply, Clement alleged the necessity of remaining north of the Alps, that he might act as a peacemaker between England and France; but he promised to visit Rome as soon as the troubles of France should be settled. In the meantime he accepted the office of senator, which was offered to him, not as pope, but as a private person,[s] and he granted another of their requests—that the jubilee, which was supposed to recur only once in a century, should be celebrated every fiftieth year.[t]

Towards the Emperor Louis, the pope, while yet archbishop of Rouen, had shown his hostility by a sermon, in which he

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siarum non pastor sed destructor fuit." Murat. xii. 1009.

[m] Baluz. V. P. Av. i. 283; M. Vill. iii. 43.

[n] M. Vill. l. c.; iv. 86; N. de Clemangis (?) de Corrupto Eccl. Statu, xxvii. 4-5.

[o] M. Vill. iii. 43; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 265, 305; Matth. Neoburg. in Urstis. ii. 133; Platina, 258. The chronicler of Meaux, however, seems to overstate the matter—"Ut infra paucos annos major pars cardinalium de filiis ejus erat et nepotibus." iii. 40.

[p] Baluz, V. P. Aven. i. 311. "Hic non modicum diminuit jura, jurisdictiones, libertates, thesaurum atque patrimonia B. Petri et ecclesiae Romanae." Ib. 309.

[q] Hist. Rom. Fragm. in Murat. Antiq. Ital. iii. 313; see Papencordt's 'Rienzo,' 339-342.

[r] Epp. l. ii. p. 1346.

[s] Rienzi, in Lord Broughton's 'Italy,' II. 514.

[t] Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 286; Hefele, vi. 579. "Havendo ancora," says Matthew Villani, "alcuno rispetto a l'anno Jubileo della Santa Iscrittura; nel quale catuno ritorna ne' suoi propi beni. E i propi beni de' Christiani sono i meriti della passione di Christo; per li quali ci seguita Indulgenza e remissione de' peccati." i. 29 (Muratori, xiv.) A Bolognese chronicler says that, from the pope's concession as to the jubilee, people supposed that he must be in want of money. Murat. xviii. 415.

condescended to play on the words *Bavarian*, *barbarian*, and *boor*;[u] and his behaviour towards him was marked throughout by a rancour which contrasted strongly with the easiness of Clement's general character. The emperor sent a mission to Avignon, caused processions and other religious services to be celebrated with a view to an accommodation,[x] and reminded King Philip of his engagement to intercede for him; but although Philip made a show of exerting himself, the terms which the pope prescribed were too rigid. It was required that Louis should penitently acknowledge all the errors of his past conduct—that he should resign the empire, and restore the Tyrol to the Bohemian prince John;[y] and on Maundy Thursday, 1343, a new bull was issued, in which, after a long recital of the emperor's offences—his contempt of ecclesiastical censures, his opposition to Pope John on the question of evangelical poverty, his proceedings in Italy and at Rome, especially the crime of setting up an antipope, his usurpation of the right to grant a dispensation for the "incestuous and adulterous" union of his son with Margaret, "whom her immodesty will not allow us to call our beloved daughter"—the pope charges him within three months to lay down the imperial title and authority, to appear in person for penance, and to amend his offences against the church; and he threatens him with yet worse punishments in case of failure.[z] At the same time Clement, by private letters, desired the German princes to prepare for another election, and threatened that, if they should be backward, he would give the empire a new head, by the same authority which had formerly transferred it from the Greeks to the Germans.[a]

April 12.

Notwithstanding the French king's intercession, the pope, at the expiration of the time which he had named, pronounced Louis to be contumacious; and a meeting of electors was held at Rhense, under the influence of John of Bohemia and his uncle, Archbishop Baldwin, who were now strongly opposed to the emperor. Louis, although on receiving the report of his first mission to Clement he had angrily sworn that he would never yield to the assumptions of the papal court,[b] was warned

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[u] "Quem nominavit *Baurum*, interpretans nomen *baurus*, id est, *nesciens tergere barbam*, quia tantam dixit esse fœditatem oris sui quod ipsam abjicere non valebat." (Matth. Neob. 133.) Gieseler says that for *baurum* we ought to read *Bavarum*, with a reference to the French word *bave*. II. iii. 73.

[x] J. Vitodur. 1903.

[y] Olensl. 325; Schmidt, iii. 593.

[z] Olensl. Urk. 83.

[a] Olensl. 326; Schmidt, iii. 594.

[b] Olensl. 329.

by tokens of a growing disaffection to attempt a different course. He appeared at Rhense, and was able to avert the immediate danger by professing himself willing to be guided in all things by the judgment of the electors, and to labour in all ways for a reconciliation with the church, and by producing a letter in which the French king held out hopes of his obtaining absolution.[c]

As his former applications had been considered insufficient, Louis now begged that the pope would himself furnish him with a draft of the terms which were required of him; and in answer to this he received a document to which it might have seemed impossible that an emperor could submit in any extremity.[d] He was required not only to acknowledge the errors of his past conduct, but to profess that he had never thought it right; to give up the imperial title, and to own that it was in the gift of the pope alone; to undertake a crusade whenever the pope should call on him; to amend all faults against the church and the pope, and to promise absolute obedience.[e] Even the pope was surprised when Louis authorized his ambassadors to accept these terms;[f] but still these were not enough. Another document was prepared, by which Louis was required to amend and retract all that he had done, not only as emperor, but as king—not only as to Italy and Rome, but as to Germany—and to pledge himself for the future to absolute slavery to the papal will.[g] At this, which concerned the electors as well as himself, the emperor hesitated. He summoned a diet to meet at Frankfort in September, 1344, and, after having exposed the pope's dealings with him, he asked the advice of the assembly. Great indignation was expressed, and it was resolved, in accordance with the determination of the electors in a previous meeting at Cologne, that compliance with the pope's demands would be incompatible with the emperor's oath of office and with the duty of the electors.[h] But the feeling of the assembly, instead of being favourable to Louis, turned against him as having by his weakness and vacillation lowered the dignity of the empire, and as being now for personal reasons the only hindrance to peace.[i]

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[c] Olensl. 330; Schröckh, xxxi. 168.

[d] "Porcuratorium turpissimum et rigidissimum, quod non credebant Ludovicum sigillaturum etiam si captus fuisset." Matth. Neob. 133. Cf. H. Rebdorff, A.D. 1344.

[e] Olensl. Urk. 85.

[f] Ib. p. 332; Matth. Neob. l. c. The emperor wrote letters to the pope and cardinals, (ib.) which Raynaldus misdates. See Olensl. ib., and Urk. 86.

[g] Olensl. 333-4, and Urk. 88; Schmidt, iii. 596.

[h] J. Vitodur. 1904; Matth. Neob. 134; Olensl. 339-340.

[i] J. Vitodur. l. c.

Another meeting was held a few days later at Rhense, where John of Bohemia took the lead in opposition to him. When Louis offered to resign, the electors showed Sept. 17. themselves willing to accept the offer, and in his place to set up Charles, marquis of Moravia, a son of the Bohemian king; and the emperor's attempt to recommend his son, Louis of Brandenburg, as his successor, was met by the insulting declaration, that since one Bavarian had so degraded the empire, they would have no more Bavarian emperors.[k]

Clement was resolved against any reconciliation, and, after having received another fruitless mission from Louis,[m] April 13, 1346. he issued against him, on Maundy Thursday, a fresh anathema, in which, after forbidding all intercourse with him except for the benefit of his soul, denying him the right of Christian burial, and charging all Christian princes to expel him from their territories, the pope proceeds to implore the most horrible curses on him;[n] and the document concludes by charging the electors to make choice of a new king, with a threat that, in case of their neglect, the pope would himself provide a person to fill the vacant throne.[o]

John of Bohemia, who had lately become blind, visited Avignon with his son Charles, who had received in the French court an education of almost a clerical character; and Clement, who, as abbot of Fécamp, had been the prince's tutor, was now favourable to his pretensions.[p] But when the question of the

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[k] J. Vitodur. l. c.; Olensl. 341.

[m] Olensl. 343.

[n] E.g. "Divinam suppliciter imploramus potentiam, ut Ludovici præfati confutet insaniam, deprimat et elidat superbiam, et eum dexteræ suæ virtute prosternat, ipsumque in manibus inimicorum suorum et eum persequentium concludat, et tradat corruentem ante ipsos. Veniat ei laqueus quem ignorat, et cadat in ipsum. Sit maledictus ingrediens, sit maledictus egrediens. Percutiat eum Dominus amentia et cæcitate et mentis furore. Cœlum super eum fulgura mittat. Omnipotentis Dei ira, et beatorum Petri et Pauli, quorum ecclesiam præsumpsit et præsumit suo posse confundere, in hoc et futuro sæculo exardescat in ipsum. Orbis terrarum pugnet contra eum; aperiatur terra et ipsum absorbeat vivum. In generatione una deleatur nomen ejus, et dispereat de terra nomen ejus. Cuncta elementa sint ei contraria. Habitatio ejus fiat deserta, et omnia sanctorum quiescentium merita illum confundant, et in hac vita super eum apertam vindictam ostendant, filiique ejus ejiciantur de habitationibus suis, et videntibus ejus oculis in manibus hostium eos perdentium concludantur."

[o] Olensl. Urk. 89; Matth. Neob. 135; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 248.

[p] See Charles's autobiography in Böhmer, Fontes, ii. 233. His original name, Wenzel, was changed at his confirmation (ib. 233), although it would seem that the Germans continued to call him by it until his election as king of the Romans. (H. Rebdorff, 1075.) John, feeling the disadvantages of his own want of learning, was resolved that his son should be well educated (Böhm. 231), and Charles was able to speak and write with ease Bohemian, French, Italian, German, and Latin (ib. 247). The autobiography, addressed by Charles to his sons Wenzel and Sigismund, reaches to his election as king of the Romans.

empire was brought before the cardinals, a violent conflict arose. The French party, headed by Talleyrand of Perigord, bishop of Albano, was with the pope; the Gascons, under the cardinal of Comminges, a nephew of Clement V., were on the other side. Odious charges and imputations were bandied to and fro; the two chiefs had risen from their seats to rush at each other, when they were with difficulty restrained by the pope, and the meeting was suddenly broken up; whereupon the members of the hostile factions fortified their houses and armed their servants, as if in expectation of a general tumult.[q] A paper of terms was offered by the pope to Charles, and was accepted by him. By this the future emperor bound himself to a degrading submission to the papal see.[r]

The pope now issued a mandate desiring the electors to April 28. proceed to a new choice. As there was no hope of gaining Henry of Virneburg, to whom, as archbishop of Mentz, belonged the privilege of superintending the election. Clement set him aside in favour of Count Gerlach of Nassau, a youth of twenty;[s] and he desired that Louis of Brandenburg, son of the deposed emperor, should be excluded from a vote, as holding his position unlawfully.[t] The young archbishop summoned a meeting to take place at Rhense on the 10th of July, when he appeared with the other ecclesiastical electors, and also the king of Bohemia, and Rudolf, duke of Saxony. The empire was declared to be vacant—Charles of Moravia was elected by the five, and the ceremony of raising him aloft was performed July 11. on the "King's Chair" of Rhense, as Frankfort was in the hands of the opposite party.[u] The services of his supporters were, as usual, rewarded by large payments or other concessions,[x] and the election was, although not until nine months later, confirmed by the pope.[y]

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[q] G. Vill. xii. 59. To this refer the words of Petrarch,

> "Ecce duo obnixis qui sese cornibus urgent."
> Eclog. vii. p. 1265.

[r] See Olensl. Urk. 93, where it is embodied in a later document; or Rayn. 1344. 19, seqq.

[s] For a lively account of the contest for Mentz, see Matth. Neob. 139. Henry had been made archbishop without the consent of the canons, and had been kept out of the see for three years, during which it was administered by Baldwin of Trèves (Trithem. Chron. Hirsaug. A.D. 1328). Notwithstanding the pope's condemnation, he carried himself as archbishop so long as Louis lived, while Gerlach was acknowledged only in Hesse, where the landgrave was favourable to him. Ib. A.D. 1353; Gobelin. Persona, in Meibohm. i. 291.

[t] Olensl. Urk. 90; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 248; G. Vill. xii. 59; Rayn. 1343. 62. At this time King John got the Bohemian church made independent of the see of Mentz, Prague being erected into an archbishoprick. Matth. Neob. 135; Olensl. 337; Mansi, xxvi. 75.

[u] Matth. Neob. 135; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 248; G. Vill. xii. 59.

[x] Matth. Neob. 135; Herm. Corner, 1076.

[y] Olensl. Urk. 92; ib. pp. 361, 365; G. Vill. xii. 77.

The general feeling of the Germans was against Charles. They saw with indignation that the same humiliations to which Louis had only submitted in the extremity of distress, were accepted by the new claimant as the very conditions on which he was to be allowed to supplant a lawfully-chosen emperor.[z] A diet at Spires, under Louis, declared the election of his rival to be null, and denied the pope's right to depose an emperor.[a] No secular prince would side with Charles; no city, except Basel, would countenance or harbour him.[b] Aix-la-Chapelle, the traditional scene of the German coronations, shut its gates against him; and he was derided by the name of the "priests' emperor."[c] In this state of things he found it expedient to withdraw with his father into France; and at the great battle of Cressy, where the blind king died in the thick of the fight, Charles fled from the field.[d] As Aix and Frankfort were closed against him, he was, with the pope's consent, crowned at Bonn by the archbishop of Cologne;[e] and Germany seemed to be on the verge of a civil war,[f] when Louis suddenly died of a fall from his horse in hunting,[g] on the 11th of October, 1347—the last emperor against whom the anathema of the church was directed, and the one who felt it most severely, although living at a time when such denunciations were generally less dreaded than in the days when men had not become familiar with them through abuse.[h]

August 26, 1346.

Nov. 25, 1346.

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[z] See Rayn. 1347. 2 seqq.; Giesel. II. iii. 80-1. Palacky, who is very favourable to Charles on account of his merits as a king of Bohemia, says, that he differed from others, not by yielding more, but by intending to keep his engagements. II. ii. 267-9.

[a] Olensl. i. 359, 360.

[b] Matth. Neob. 139; Olensl. 360.

[c] G. Vill. xii. 105. The objections to his election as irregular are set forth by Henr. Hervord. 275.

[d] H. Rebdorff, 436; Froissart, i. 288; Hist. Rom. Fragm. in Murat. Antiq. Ital. iii. 379-387; Andr. Ratisb. in Pez, IV. iii. 570; Petrarc. de Remed. utriusq. Fortunæ, ii. 96; Palacky, II. ii. 263-4. John had only reached the age of fifty (Pauli, iv. 401). As to his blindness, see Palacky, 225-6, 236.

[e] G. Vill. xii. 77; Matth. Neob. 138; Palacky, II. ii. 270, who gives, from Pelzel's Life of Charles, a strange letter of abuse addressed to him by Louis in January, 1347.

[f] For the anarchy which prevailed, see H. Hervord. 267-8.

[g] G. Vill. xii. 105. The fall is said to have been caused by paralysis. (Matth. Neob. 1841.) H. Rebdorff views his sudden death, while under the church's censure, as a judgment on his having allowed the church and the poor to be oppressed, &c. (437). According to some writers the emperor was poisoned by the wife of Duke Albert of Austria (C. Zantfliet in Mart. Coll. Ampl. v. 250), or by Margaret Maultasch (Trithem. Chron. Spanh. a.d. 1347. Cf. Andr. Ratisb. 571; Wadding, 1347. 18; H. Hervord. 270 (who is full on the emperor's character). Rinaldi exults in his death 1347-9.

[h] Schmidt, iii. 601. Later popes and the Council of Basel style him "divæ memoriæ imperator," although Rinaldi and even Muratori speak of the empire as vacant from the death of Henry VII. to the election of Charles. (Olensl. 380; Giesel. II. iii. 80.) Aventinus, a century and a half later, is very eulogistic, 630-1.

CHAPTER III.

JOANNA OF NAPLES—RIENZI—LAST YEARS OF CLEMENT VI.

A.D. 1343–1352.

Robert, who from the year 1309 had reigned over the kingdom of Apulia, or Naples, with a reputation for wisdom and political skill unequalled among his contemporaries,[a] lost his only son Charles in 1328;[b] and, seemingly from a wish to compensate the elder branch of his family for its exclusion from the Neapolitan throne at an earlier time,[c] he resolved to bestow his granddaughter Joanna, who had thus become his heiress, on one of its members.[d] For this purpose, Andrew, the second son of Robert's nephew, King Charobert of Hungary, was chosen, and the marriage took place in 1333, when the bridegroom was seven and the bride five years old.[e] Andrew remained at Naples in order that he might be duly trained up for his future dignity; but the roughness of his character, which the Italians ascribed to his Hungarian birth, refused to yield to the southern culture, and he grew up rude, passionate, and headstrong.[f] On the death of Robert, in 1343, Joanna, to whom her grandfather had already caused an oath of allegiance to be taken, succeeded to the throne; but intrigues were busily carried on by members of the royal family, and a Hungarian faction, headed by a friar named Robert, attempted to make itself supreme at Naples.[g] Andrew endeavoured, through the interest of his brother Louis, king of Hungary, to obtain the pope's consent that he should be

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[a] Petrarch styles him "regum et philosophorum hujus ævi meo princeps judicio." (Rer. Mirabil. l. I. t. i. 414; cf. 156, 513.) John Villani says that for 500 years [i.e., apparently, since Charlemagne] there had been no such sovereign, either for abilities or for acquired knowledge (xii. 9); cf. Hist. Rom. Fragm. in Murat. Antiq. iii. 311, seqq.; Olensl. 327.

[b] Alb. Mussat. in Murat. x. 780; Chron. Sanese, ib. xv. 84. Letter of John XXII. in Rayn. 1328. 60.

[c] See p. 51.

[d] G. Vill. xi. 224; Matth. Neob. 129; Gravina in Murat. xii. 549; Vita Nic. Acciajuoli, ib. xiii. 1207; Giannone, iv. 12.

[e] G. Vill. x. 224; xii. 9; Giann. iv. 14; Mailath, Gesch. d. Magyaren, ii. 19.

[f] Giann. iv. 18. Giannone calls the Neapolitan court "accademia e domicilio d'ogni virtù;" Sismondi, "la cour la plus police, comme aussi la plus corrompue, de l'Europe." Rep. Ital. iv. 206.

[g] Gravina, 553; Murat. Ann. VIII. ii. 17; Giann. iv. 19, 73. See Petrarch's amusing description of this friar, Epp. Famil. v. 3. He says that at Naples there was "nulla pietas, nulla veritas, nulla fides."

crowned not as consort, but as king by hereditary right;[h] and he indiscreetly uttered threats of the punishments which he intended to inflict on all who had offended him, as soon as he should be established in the kingdom.[i] He also suspected his wife of infidelity,[k] and the mutual ill-feeling which arose from this and other causes was artfully fomented by interested courtiers.[m] A conspiracy was formed against Andrew, and, while residing with the queen and a hunting-party at the Celestine convent of Aversa, he was decoyed from his chamber, and strangled on the night of the 18th of September, 1343.[n] By desire of the Neapolitan nobles an inquiry was made as to the murder, and some of the persons who had been concerned in it were put to death, or otherwise punished.[o] But Joanna herself was suspected,[p] and when she sent a bishop to Louis of Hungary, entreating his protection for herself and for the child with whom she had been pregnant at the time of his brother's death, he replied in a letter which, with unmeasured severity, declared his belief of her guilt.[q]

On the death of his posthumous nephew, Louis claimed the Apulian kingdom as his inheritance, and invaded it, displaying at the head of his army a banner on which was painted the murder of Andrew. He also sent an embassy to the pope, with a request that he might be crowned as heir of Sicily and Apulia; but his envoys were unable to obtain a public audience, as it was alleged that he was connected with the excommuni-

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[h] Giann. iv. 74; Mailáth, ii. 52. Clement grants the coronation as consort, Rayn. 1344. 16.

[i] Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 246; Gravina, 559.

[k] G. Vill. xii. 50. On the other hand, there is a story (probably of later date) that Joanna was provoked against him by his having seduced her sister. Gobel. Persona, in Meibohm. i. 298.

[m] Gravina, 551-5, 558-9.

[n] G. Vill. xii. 50; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 246-7; Matth. Neob. 130, Hist. Pistol. 512. It is said that the murderers had recourse to strangulation, because it was believed that his mother had given him a charm against steel and poison (Gravina, 560; Cron. Estense, xv. 422; Hist. Pistol. l. c.; Mailáth, ii. 53). "Aversa vere aversa," says Petrarch, "nomen a re sumptum, aversa prorsus ab humanitate," &c. (Epp. Famil. vi. 5.) John of Bazano, a Modenese chronicler, thinks that, if Andrew had been crowned, the murderers would not have ventured on their crime; and he says that a cardinal, who was on the way to crown him, performed the ceremony on his dead body. Murat. xv. 613.

[o] J. de Bazano, 613; Hist. Pistol. 513-4; Gravina, 564-7; G. Vill. xii. 51; Giann. iv. 76-7; Sism. iv. 211.

[p] Anon. Ital. 27, in Murat. xvi. Giannone is favourable to Joanna, whom he highly eulogises (iv. 116). Mr. Hallam thinks that she was probably innocent of the murder, and that there is no clear proof of the dissoluteness which is imputed to her by most writers (M. A. i. 317-8); and she has found a champion of another kind in Mr. Landor. See his dramas, 'Andrew of Hungary and Joanna of Naples.'

[q] "Johanna, inordinata vita praeterita, retentio potestatis in regno, neglecta vindicta et excusatio subsequens, necis tui viri probat te fuisse participem," &c. Cron. Est. in Murat. xv. 445; cf. ib. 424; Giannone, iv. 78. Louis and his mother wrote to princes, denouncing the murder. See Rymer, iii. 75-6.

cated Louis of Bavaria.[r] In the meantime, Joanna, yielding (as it was said) to the entreaties of her subjects, who dreaded a Hungarian rule, married her cousin Louis of Tarento, who had been suspected of criminal intimacy with her during the life of her former husband, and of a share in the guilt of his death; and by this she appeared to confirm the imputations which had been cast on her.[s] The pair withdrew from Naples before the approach of the Hungarian force, and fled by sea to the queen's territory of Provence,[t] where she was received at Avignon with great honour, all the cardinals going out to meet her. Clement, who had already pronounced a general excommunication against the murderers of Andrew,[u] at the request of Louis, appointed a commission of three cardinals to investigate the case, but without any definite result; he granted a dispensation for the queen's second marriage,[x] and endeavoured to mediate between her and the king of Hungary.[y] After a time Louis withdrew from Apulia, where he had inflicted severe punishment on many who were suspected of a share in his brother's murder.[z] Joanna and her husband were requested by a party among her subjects to return;[a] and, in order to provide money for this purpose, she agreed to sell Avignon to the pope for a price far below its real value, in consideration (as was believed) of the favours which she had received or might still desire from him in the matter of Andrew's murder.[b] In 1351 the king of Hungary again appeared in Southern Italy; but Joanna and her husband were able, by the help of one of the mercenary bands which were then at the service of any power that would pay them,[c] to make so vigorous a resistance that a truce was concluded. By this the question was referred to the pope and cardinals for arbitration, with the understanding that, if Joanna were found guilty of the crime imputed to her, she should forfeit the kingdom, and that if acquitted, she should retain peaceful possession, but should reimburse the Hungarian king for the expenses of the war. The decision of Clement was in her favour, and she and

Jan. 12, 1348.

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[r] G. Vill. xii. 57; Giann. iv. 80-1; Sism. iv. 211. [s] Sism. R. I. iv. 259.

[t] G. Vill. xii. 98, 114; Gravina, 578-9; Wadd. 1348. 6.

[u] G. Vill. xii. 51; Rayn. 1346. 45.

[x] G. Vill. xii. 114; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 253; M. Vill. i. 18; Giann. iv. 82.

[y] Baluz. i. 253; Rayn. 1348. 3.

[z] Gravina, 583-5. [a] Ib. 586-7.

[b] Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 272; M. Vill. i. 18; Platina, 260; Fuller, 'The Profane State,' 311, ed. Nichols. The sale was sanctioned by the emperor Charles as suzerain (ib. 262). Joanna afterwards, when she supposed herself safe, protested against the bargain, but in vain. (Gregorov. vi. 329.) For Clement's defence of his conduct as to Joanna, see Rayn. 1349. 5.

[c] Gravina, 681. See below, p. 133.

her husband were crowned by a papal legate on Whitsunday, 1352.[d]

II. The long absence of the popes from Rome had been disastrous in its effects on the city. Although still an object of pilgrimage, it no longer enjoyed the wealth which had been drawn to it by the residence of the court, and by the resort of persons from all quarters for official business. Even the pilgrims were often plundered on the way by robbers, or by the bands of mercenary soldiers which beset the roads.[e] The churches were falling into decay; the great monuments of antiquity were turned into fortresses, or were left to utter neglect. While the popes were usually elected, each in his private capacity, and for his own life, to the nominal dignity of senator,[f] the city was a prey to anarchy, and to the contentions of the great families.[g] In these circumstances some romantic spirits felt themselves thrown back on the memories of an earlier time, regarding less the veneration which was attached to Rome as the religious capital of Christendom, than the fame of its ancient republican and imperial grandeur.[h] Thus Dante had desired to see Rome the seat of the papacy and of the empire;[i] and now Petrarch, the foremost man of the age in poetry and general literature,[k] endeavoured from time to time, by letters both in prose and in verse, which found circulation wherever the Latin language was understood, to stir up both emperors and popes to make Rome again their residence.[m] Petrarch was decorated with the laurel crown in the Capitol, on Easter-day, 1341, having received at the same time an offer of that tribute to his genius from the university of Paris and from the Roman senate, and having chosen to be so honoured by the representatives of ancient greatness rather than by the body which, in his own time, was most distinguished in the cultivation of literature.[n]

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[d] M. Vill. i. 93; ii. 41, 65; iii. 8; Monaldesco in Murat. xii. 539; Giann. iv. 85; Sism. R. I. iv. 291-3.

[e] Gregorov. vi. 13.

[f] Ib. vi. 225.

[g] Hist. Rom. Fragmenta, in Murat. Antiq. iii. 411; Sismondi, iv. 218; Gregorov. vi. 185, 200-2.

[h] Milm. v. 341.

[i] Ep. 9, quoted by Gregorov. vi. 100.

[k] See Zantfliet, in Mart. Coll. Ampl. v. 226, 229. Tiraboschi remarks that Petrarch, even if he had not written the poems to which he owes his popular fame, would have deserved to be regarded as one of the most illustrious men of his country. v. 443.

[m] Epp. 1. i. pp. 1331, 1335, 1346, ed. Basil.; Epp. Famil. xi. 1; xii. 1; xviii. 1; xix. 1, &c. He writes to certain cardinals, who had been commissioned to reform Rome, "Primum animis vestris reor insitum, nullius humanae rei nomen esse sanctius quam reipublicæ Romanorum." xi. 16.

[n] Opera, 1251, seqq; Tirab. v. 437; Gibbon, vi. 368; Gregorov. vi. 208-215. The two invitations reached him at the third and the tenth hours on one and the same day. (Opera, 1251.) Papencordt says that De Sade's account of the coronation (t. ii. note 14) is apocryphal

Among the spectators of this ceremony it is probable that there was one in whom the romantic feeling which has been described was soon to find a remarkable expression; indeed it has been supposed that his enthusiasm had drawn nourishment from the sight of the great poet wandering among the monuments of Rome's ancient majesty on an earlier visit to the city.[o] Nicolas, who, from a popular corruption of his father's name, is commonly called Rienzi,[p] was born about the year 1314,[q] in the region named Regola, which extends along the left bank of the Tiber, adjoining the Jewish quarter of Rome. His father was a tavern-keeper, his mother a washerwoman and water-carrier;[r] and although, in the later part of his life, he professed to be an illegitimate offspring of the emperor Henry VII.,[s] it is certain that this attempt to glorify his paternal descent at the expense of his mother's reputation was merely the invention of a diseased vanity.[t]

Rienzi was educated for the profession of a notary; but his delight was in the study of the old Roman authors—of Livy, Cæsar, Cicero, Boethius, and the poets, and he acquired an unusual skill in reading and interpreting ancient inscriptions.[u] From brooding over these records of the past he conceived visions, which he attempted to realize with an amount of success which, for a time, was wonderfully great, and might have been far greater and more lasting but for his own utter inadequacy to the part which he attempted to act; and the

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(Cola di Rienzo, 58). For the history of the laurel crown, see Selden, iii. 457, ed. Wilkins; Gibbon, l. c.; Tirab. v. 455-6.

[o] Gregorov. vi. 206. 213.

[p] *i.e.* The son of Laurence. It has been said that his family name was Gabrini; but of this there is no trace in the original sources. (Papencordt, 62.) The chief special authority for the history of this man, whose character has been extravagantly idealised by writers of fiction, is a chronicle published in the third volume of Muratori's Antiquities, under the title of 'Historiae Romanae Fragmenta.' This has since been re-edited by Zephyrino Ré, Florence, 1828 and 1854. (My references are usually to Muratori; those in which Ré is mentioned, are to his second edition.) The author has been wrongly identified with one Fortifiocca, whom he occasionally mentions. (See Ré, 2.) See, too, Hoesemin, in Chapeaville, 'Gesta Pontiff. Leodiensium,' ii. 494 seqq. (Leod. 1613); Lord Broughton's 'Italy,' ii. 512, seqq.; and Papencordt's 'Cola di Rienzo,' Hamb. 1841, in all of which there are original materials.

[q] Ré, 176.

[r] Hist. Rom. Fragm. 399.

[s] The story is that Henry, having visited St. Peter's in disguise, while the Vatican suburb was in the hands of his enemies, was pursued into Lorenzo's tavern, where he lay hidden for ten days or more, and so became the father of Nicolas by the hostess. The first appearance of it is after the fall of Rienzi, when he wished to recommend himself to Charles IV. at Prague. His own statement is in Papencordt, Urk. p. xxxi. David, he says, had "filium non ignotum" by Uriah's wife, and Abraham had "filium deo acceptum ex ancilla." The author of the Hist. Rom. Fragm. represents him as saying to the emperor, "De vostro lenajo so; figlio de vastardo de Herrico imperatore" (511); but we ought to read (with Ré, 250) "figlio vastardo."

[t] Papenc. 65; Ré, 252.

[u] Fragm. 399; Milm. v. 343.

anarchy into which Rome had fallen was especially brought home to him by the circumstance that his brother was A.D. 1334-5. killed in an affray, and that no redress was to be obtained from the great families which then exercised the powers of government.[x]

In 1342-3, Rienzi was one of the deputation sent by the Romans to beg that Pope Clement would return to their city;[y] and it is said that his eloquence won the admiration of the pope himself,[z] while it is certain that he excited the enthusiasm of Petrarch, who afterwards found reason to regret that he had too easily allowed himself to be fascinated.[a] The embassy, as we have seen,[b] was put off with fair words, and with a grant of the petition that the jubilee should be celebrated every fiftieth year, instead of once in a century; but this concession was hailed by Rienzi with a joy so extravagant, that he extolled Clement above the greatest of the ancient Roman worthies.[c]

Rienzi returned to Rome with the official character of papal notary,[d] and resumed his old studies, while his indignation at the oppression of the nobles (who mocked at A.D. 1344. his ideas as the fancies of a crazy enthusiast)[e] became more vehement than ever. He endeavoured to excite the patriotic feeling of the people by various means, such as expounding inscriptions which attested the glory and liberty of former days,[f] and by exhibiting a picture which, in the midst of many other symbols, displayed Rome under the figure of a majestic matron, clothed in tattered garments, with dishevelled hair, weeping eyes, and hands crossed on her breast, kneeling on the deck of a ship which was without mast or sail, and appeared

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[x] Fragm. 399.

[y] G. Vill. xii. 89; Fragm. 399. Von Reumont seems to think that Rienzi had no regular commission. ii. 853.

[z] Fragm. 399.

[a] Gregorov. vi. 262; De Sade, ii. 48, seqq. Papencordt says that the Italians universally suppose Rienzi to be the subject of Petrarch's sonnet, "Spirito gentil," but that the doubts raised by De Sade (t. i, Notes, 61, seqq.) are still entertained by many German writers. Dean Milman (v. 243), Gregorovius (vi. 202), and Ré (Appendix) think the reference certain, but Von Reumont is undecided. (ii. 120). After Rienzi's fall, Petrarch wrote, "Vir unus obscurissimæ originis et nullarum opum, atque ut ratio docuit plus animi habens quam constantiæ, reipublicæ imbecilles humeros subjicere ausus est, et tutelam labentis imperii profiteri;" and from the measure of success which such a person had obtained he argues the capacity of Rome for a revival of her greatness. Apol. c. Galli Calumnias, p. 1181. Cf. Ep. Famil. xiii. 6, pp. 231-5, 237.

[b] P. 106.

[c] Letter in Broughton's Italy, ii. 514, 516. He speaks of the Jubilee as having been obtained by his own influence. Papenc. Urk. 21.

[d] "Notario de la cammora di Roma." (Fragm. 401.) His petition to the pope for this office (which he represents himself as seeking chiefly for the sake of security against the enmity of the nobles) is printed for the first time by Gregorovius, vi. 230.

[e] Fragm. 107-9.

[f] Ib. 405, seqq.; Gregorov. vi. 236.

about to sink.[g] On the first day of Lent, 1347, he announced Feb. 15. by a placard on the church of St. George in the Velabro that the Romans would "soon return to their ancient good estate;"[h] and after having held many meetings on the Aventine, in order to prepare the minds of the citizens,[i] he May 20. gave out at Whitsuntide that this good estate was come. Rienzi, at the Capitol, assumed the title of tribune, with the pope's legate, Raymond bishop of Orvieto, for his colleague;[k] the laws of his government were proclaimed, and forthwith he entered on the administration of the republic.[m] A strict and rigid system of police was enforced without respect of persons;[n] the fortresses of the nobles, both in the city and in the Campagna, were demolished; the owners were compelled to swear to the observation of peace, and long and bitter feuds were extinguished by a forced reconciliation of enemies.[o] The streets of Rome and the highways of its neighbourhood became, for the first time since many years, safe;[p] the Romans, in the enjoyment of the unwonted security, fancied themselves once more free.[q] The tribune's authority was respected far beyond the bounds of his jurisdiction; his announcement of his elevation, and his invitation to the Italian cities to combine for their common country, were received with a respectful welcome;[r] it is said that even the soldan of Babylon was affected by the change which had taken place in the government of Rome.[s] Petrarch, watching with enthusiastic delight the course of affairs in the city, congratulated the tribune and his people on having thrown off the domination of foreigners, and exhorted them to profit by their opportunities.[t]

But very early Rienzi began to show that his mind, vain, fantastic, and unsteady from the first, had become intoxi-

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[g] Fragm. 401; Papencordt, Urk. lvi.

[h] Frag. 409.

[i] Ib.

[k] Ib. 415.

[m] Ib. 413; Sism. iv. 221-3; Gregorov. vi. 244-6. The chronicler of Pistoia represents his elevation as the result of a popular impulse, occasioned by a scarcity, which then prevailed (Murat. xi. 519), while another chronicler says that the Romans chose him in consequence of having been warned that foreigners would not attend the jubilee for fear of being robbed. Cron. Est., ib. xv. 437.

[n] Fragm. 415-9, 421-3.

[o] Ib. 417, 427, 431-9; Papenc. Urk. xlvii.

[p] G. Vill. xii. 89.

[q] Sism. iv. 223.

[r] Fragm. 441-3; Hist. Pistol. in Mur. xi. 521; Chron. Mutin. ib. xv. 607-610. Cron. Sanese. ib. xiv. 128; Cron. Est; ib. 441; Chron. Reg. ib. xviii. 65; Gregorov. vi. 249-258. See his account of his successes in Papenc. Urk. pp. xxxiv.-v.

[s] Fragm. 423.

[t] Opera, 595, ed. Basil.; iii. 423, ed. Fracasetti; cf. iii. 409, where he describes to Rienzi the contrast between Avignon and Vaucluse. See Gregorov. vi. 260. John Villani reports calmer observers as already saying "che la detta impresa del tribuno era un opera fantastica, e da poco durare." Compare the story of the Franciscan weeping at his coronation, Papenc. Urk. lii.

cated by success. With the title of tribune he combined others at once pompous and inconsistent, including some which belonged to the imperial dignity.[u] He claimed a special influence of the Holy Ghost,—a pretension which, when taken in connexion with the oracles of Abbot Joachim and his school, was likely to awaken suspicions of heresy;[x] nay, he did not hesitate even to compare himself to the Saviour.[y] He levied new and heavy taxes,[z] the proceeds of which, and of the confiscations to which he subjected the wealthier citizens,[a] were spent in luxurious living, and on theatrical displays, in which he himself was the chief figure.[b] Among these exhibitions the most noted were his admission to the order of knighthood after having bathed in rose-water in the porphyry vessel which was traditionally believed to have been the font of Constantine's baptism,[c] and his coronation with seven crowns, each of which was intended to bear a particular symbolical meaning.[d] He promoted his own relations to all sorts of offices, in which they disgraced themselves and him by their unfitness, and by their extravagance of vulgar luxury;[e] and his own indulgences in food and drink were such that his figure became gross and bloated.[f] He kept a train of poets to celebrate his actions, and of jesters to amuse him.[g] Fancying himself seated on the throne of the Cæsars, he summoned the pope to return to Rome,[h] and the rival claimants of the empire, together with the electors, to submit themselves to his arbitration;[i] and although this was unheeded, Louis of Bavaria stooped to entreat his mediation, with a view to reconciliation with the church,[k] while Louis of Hungary and Joanna

Aug. 1.

Aug. 15.

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[u] Thus he styles himself, "Nos candidatus Spiritus sancti miles, Nicolaus severus et clemens, liberator urbis, zelator Italiæ, amator orbis, Tribunus augustus" (Chron. Mutin. 609); and he concludes a letter, "Datum in Capitolio urbis, ubi regnante justitia recto corde valemus, Nicolaus severus et clemens, libertatis, pacis, justitiæque, tribunus, et sacræ Romanæ reipublicæ liberator illustris." Hoesem. 505; cf. ib. 494; Hist. Pistol. 520.

[x] See the emperor Charles's letter in Papenc. Urk. xxxix. Rienzi boasted that through the influence of the Holy Spirit even a moral reformation had been wrought. Broughton, ii. 539-2.

[y] Papenc. 112, 116.

[z] Yet he tells the pope that he had done away with the usual *gabelle*, and had not imposed any new ones. Hoesem. 504.

[a] Fragm. 479.

[b] Ib. 425. 427, 453; Cron. Est. 439.

[c] Fragm. 418; G. Vill. xii. 89; Gregorov. vi. 269. He himself mentions this in a letter to the pope (Papenc. Urk. 6, p. x.), and vindicates it in another—"Numquid quod mundando licuit a lepra pagano, Christiano mundanti urbem et populum a leproso servitutis tyrannice non licebit?" (Ib. xxii.; cf. xxv.) Perhaps we might read "leprosa . . . tyrannide."

[d] Papenc. Urk. 10; Gregorov. vi. 281.

[e] Fragm. 431; Gibbon, vi. 382-3.

[f] Fragm. 475.

[g] Ib. 421.

[h] Matth. Neoburg. in Urstis. ii. 112.

[i] Ib. 451; Chron. Est. 440; Chron. Regiense, 65; Hoesem. 491, seqq.; Gibbon, vi. 381-2.

[k] Fragm. 443.

of Naples each endeavoured to enlist him as a partisan in their contest.[m]

But Rienzi's errors became more and more palpable, and speedily brought on his ruin. He treacherously arrested the chiefs of the adverse nobles, as if on suspicion of a Sept. 17. conspiracy; and, after having alarmed them with the expectation of death, he not only set them free at the intercession of some citizens,[n] but loaded them with offices and honours. The Colonnas[o] and others, having collected a force in their fastnesses among the mountains, attacked him under the walls of Rome; and, although their blunders gave him a Nov. 20. victory which his own ability could not have gained for him, he abused it by cruel insults to the dead, and was unable to profit by his success.[p] Although he had throughout professed the deepest reverence not only for religion, but for the papacy,[q] the pope had not unnaturally viewed his proceedings with jealousy. He was charged with heterodoxy, and even with magic;[r] and the legate, who had once been his colleague in power, but had separated from him, on finding that Rienzi intended to use him merely as a tool,[s] pronounced an anathema against him.[t] Pipin, Count Palatine of Minerbino and Altamura, a Neapolitan noble, who had been banished from his own country, and had become the head of a band of mercenaries, in consequence of having been summoned to appear before the tribune on account of his violent acts,[u] proceeded to attack him; and Rienzi, who had forfeited the affection of the people by his misconduct and tyranny,[x] did not venture to stand his ground, but fled in abject terror.[y]

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[m] Papenc. Urk. xxiii.; Hocsem. 503; Gibbon, vi. 378; Sismondi, iv. 229. See Ré, 206.

[n] G. Vill. xii. 104; Fragm. 453, 457; Hocsem. 497; Cron. Bologn. in Murat. xvii. 406; Gregorov. vi. 285. Petrarch blames him for having thrown away the opportunity of making them "urbi Romanæ vel de hostibus cives, vel de timendis hostibus contemnendos," by depriving them of their fortresses and of other means of doing mischief. Ep. Famil. xiii. 6 (t. ii. 236).

[o] Rienzi professed to have visions of Boniface VIII. animating him against the Colonnas. Hocsem. 508; Hist. Pistol. in Murat. xi. 521.

[p] G. Vill. xii. 104; Fragm. 467-9, 471-3. See his boasts in Hocsem. 907-8.

[q] See his letter in Hocsem. 498; Broughton, ii. 542; Papenc. 160.

[r] See them in Rayn. 1347. 17-20; Milm. v. 355; Gregorov. vi. 293. After his death a mirror of polished steel was found in his bedroom, and it was supposed that in it he kept a familiar spirit. Fragm. 545.

[s] Papenc. Urk. 8. The pope had confirmed Rienzi and the legate as "rectores" of the city, ignoring the title of tribune. Ib. 3-4. (June 26-7, 1347).

[t] Fragm. 475; G. Vill. xii. 104; Gregorov. vi. 293.

[u] G. Vill. xii. 104; M. Vill. vii. 102; Cron. Est. 415-7. He was afterwards hanged in his own town of Altamura. (Fragm. 479.) There is much about this man in Gravina, ap. Murat. viii. 551-6, 612, seqq. 659, 667, &c.

[x] Fragm. 475.

[y] Fragm. 477.

After having been sheltered for a time by the Orsini in the castle of St. Angelo, he privately made his escape Dec. 1347–Jan. 1348. from Rome, and found a refuge among the fanatical fraticelli of the Apennines, while the churches resounded with the papal denunciations of him,[z] and Rome relapsed into a state of anarchy worse than before.[a]

Two years and a half after his flight from Rome, Rienzi appeared at Prague, in consequence of a commission given to him by a hermit named Angelo, who believed that he and July or Aug. 1350. Charles IV. were destined to reform the world.[b] He obtained access to the emperor, and endeavoured to draw him into the hermit's schemes;[c] but the wildness of his talk, which savoured of the society in which he had lately been living, excited such suspicions, that Charles thought it well to commit him to the care of the archbishop of Prague, by whom, in compliance with a request from the pope, he was after a time July, 1352. sent to Avignon.[d] The charge of heresy, however, was not prosecuted against him. His life was spared, partly through the intercession of Petrarch, who, although grievously disappointed in his career, still regarded him with interest and sympathy,[e] and partly in consequence of a mistaken belief that he was entitled to the honours of a poet;[f] and he was kept in confinement, which, according to the notions of the time, was lenient, as he was bound only by a single chain, and was allowed the use of books, especially of the Scriptures and of Livy.[g] In this condition he remained until circumstances brought him once more into public life.

III.—About the same time when Rienzi was in power at Rome, a pestilence of oriental origin[h] made its appearance in Europe, and raged with unexampled virulence A.D. 1347-8. from Sicily to Ireland and even to Greenland.[1] This "Black

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[z] Papenc. 199.

[a] G. Vill. xii. 104; Gregorov. vi. 312-4, 325, 335. It has been supposed that Rienzi was present at the jubilee in disguise (Papenc. 214; Ré, 251); but there is no warrant for this. Gregorov. vi. 537.

[b] Baluz. V. P. Aven. i, 256; Fragm. 511; Palacky, II. ii. 310.

[c] Papenc. 217, and Urk. ii. It was at this time that he invented the story of his connexion with the imperial family (see p. 116). Gregorov. vi. 339.

[d] Rayn. 1350. 5; Papenc. Urk. 17. Palacky, II. ii. 310-1; Gregorov. vi. 340, 344. The author of the Hist. Rom. Fragm. says that he begged the emperor to send him to the pope (511). The Este chronicler tells us that he was drawn into writing down his opinions, and that the paper was sent to Avignon (460).

[e] See his letters, Rer. Fam. vii. 7; xi. 16; xiii. 6; Sine Tit. pp. 789-793; Papencordt, Urk. 28.

[f] Petr. Epp. ed. Franc. ii. 238-9.

[g] Fragm. 511-3.

[h] For its ravages at Constantinople, see J. Cantacuzene, iv. 8. It was brought into the west by Genoese vessels. Ist. di Parma in Murat. xii. 746. See M. Vill. i. 2; And. Dei in Murat. xv. 120; Chron. Est. 448-9; W. Nang. cont. 110.

[1] See "The Epidemics of the Middle

Death" (as it was called) is said to have carried off at least a fourth of the population[k] in the countries which it visited. Among the places which most severely felt its ravages was Florence, where the historian John Villani was among its victims,[m] and where its tragic details furnished an incongruous framework for the lively and licentious tales of the 'Decameron.'[n] At Marseilles it carried off the bishop and all his chapter, almost all the Dominican and Minorite friars, and one-half of the citizens.[o] At Avignon, three-fourths of the inhabitants are said to have died,[p] among whom was Cardinal Colonna, the chief patron of Petrarch, with several other princes of the church, and the lady whom the poet has made for ever famous under the name of Laura.[q] So great was the mortality at Avignon that the living were insufficient to bury the dead, and the pope had recourse to the device of consecrating the Rhone in order to receive the bodies which could find no room in the cemeteries.[r] In England the pestilence raged violently, and among its victims was John de Ufford, whom the king, in his anger against the Canterbury monks for having elected the learned schoolman Thomas Bradwardine without the royal license, had begged the pope to appoint by provision to the archbishoprick. After the death of his rival (who had not been consecrated) Bradwardine was promoted by the consent of all parties, and received consecration from the pope; but within a few days after landing in England he too was carried off by the plague.[s]

Ages,' translated from Hecker by Dr. B. G. Babington, ed. 3, Lond. 1859. The visitation had been preceded by a scarcity (Hist. Pistol. in Murat. xi. 518), and was accompanied by earthquakes, floods, &c. See Hecker, 14-15. Rome suffered especially from earthquakes (Gregorov. vi. 316). For the ravages of the Black Death in Greenland, see vol. ii. p. 491; Hecker, 28.

[k] This is Hecker's estimate, and he puts the whole loss at 25,000,000 (29). Others say a third, three-fifths, or more (Sism. R. I. iv. 252; Martin, v. 111), The 'Eulogium Historiarum' makes the loss in England one-fifth, iii. 213. Cf. Cron. Senese, 120; Matth. de Griffonibus, in Murat. xviii. 167; Henr. Hervord. 303-4.

[m] M. Vill. i. 1. Anon. Italus c. 29, in Mur. xvi; Chron. de Pisa, ib. xv. 1020. J. Villani himself gives an account of it in its earlier stages, xi. 113; xii. 83. Cf. Antonin, 357. For Siena, see the Cron. Sanese in Murat. xv. 123. The writer says that he had buried five of his children with his own hands.

[n] Boccaccio supplies a remarkable hint as to the looseness of medieval statistics—"Oltre a centomilia creature umane si crede per certo dentro alle mura della città di Firenzi essere stati di vita tolti, che forse anzi l' accidente mortifero non si saria estimato tanti avervene dentro avuti."—*Introd.*

[o] Matth. Neoburg. in Urstis. ii. 147.

[p] The Pistoian Chronicle says that 120,000 died in three months, Murat. xi. 524. Henry of Hervorden speaks of 100,000 from Feb. 1 to Oct. 1, 274.

[q] Tiraboschi, v. 462-3. Petrarch has a Latin poem on the pestilence, 1311-2.

[r] J. Vitodur. 1921; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 254; Hecker, 21. See a list of the towns in which the mortality was greatest, ib. 22-3.

[s] W. de Dene, Hist. Roffensis, in Wharton, i. 375; Lingard, iii. 151, seqq.; Hook, iv. 103, 106, 109, 115, seqq. It was noted that in Ireland, although

The moral effects of this visitation were not altogether favourable. In many it produced a spirit of selfishness and covetousness and a decay of charity.[t] In Italy, it is said that many of the survivors, finding themselves easier in their circumstances through the consequences of the pestilence, ran into all sorts of dissoluteness and self-indulgence; while the lower classes of society, for a like reason, gave themselves up to idleness and dissipation.[u] In England, when such persons of the labouring-classes as had escaped death demanded an increased price for their services, a royal decree forbade all servants, artisans, &c., to receive higher pay than in former years. In consequence of this, such persons found that, as the cost of living was increased, their state was worse than before; and their discontent was shared by the lower clergy. For a time the survivors of this class had found their services so much in request, as curates or chaplains, that they had insisted on receiving four or five times as much as before; and, in consequence of this, many laymen who had lost their wives by the pestilence pressed into the ministry of the church, without any other qualification than an imperfect knowledge of reading.[x] But through this multiplication of their numbers, combined with the increase of prices, and with the diminution of fees which followed on the decrease of population, the condition of the lower clergy speedily became worse than it had ever been before.[y] Even on monastic discipline it is said that the Black Death told unfavourably; as in many places the older and more experienced monks were carried off, and those who succeeded them were unable or unwilling to enforce the rules with the strictness of former times.[z]

This great calamity was naturally followed by outbreaks of superstitious terror. The Jews were suspected of having poisoned the wells and infected the air; some of them were tortured into

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the English suffered, the natives were exempt. (Ling. iii. 155.) The authority belonging to the prior and convent of Christchurch, Canterbury, during a vacancy of the see, is remarkably shown in a letter of this date, where they charge the bishop of London to enjoin on other bishops of the province the observation of prayers, masses, processions, &c., for deliverance from the plague. Wilkins, ii. 738.

[t] W. Nang. cont. 100.

[u] M. Vill. l. c.

[x] Knighton in Twysd. 2600; W. de Dene, in Wharton, i. 375

[y] See Steph. Birchington, in Wharton, i. 42; W. Dene, l. c.; Bergenroth's Essay on Wat Tyler (appended to Mr. Cartwright's Memoir of him, Edin. 1870.) In 'Pierce the Ploughman's Vision' we read :—

> "Parsons and parisshe preestes
> Pleyned them to the bishope,
> That hire parisshes weren povere
> Sith the pestilence tyme,
> To have a licence and leve,
> At London for to dwelle,
> And syngen ther for symonie;
> For silver is swete."
> (165 seqq. ed. Wright, London, 1842.)

Wadding, A.D. 1348, 2. (from Antoninus.)

a confession of these crimes, and multitudes of the unfortunate people suffered death.[a] In some places the Jews were driven by despair to attack the Christians; at Mentz they killed about 200, and the act was followed by a butchery of 12,000 Jews.[b] The persecution raged especially in the towns along the Rhine; and when the pope threw his protection over the Jews, the age was so little able to apprehend any good motive for such humanity that he was commonly supposed to have been bribed.[c] The end of the world was believed to be at hand. The fanaticism of the Flagellants, which had been first known in the preceding century,[d] and of which there had since been some smaller displays,[e] was now revived. The Flagellants professed to have come into Germany from Hungary,[f] and displayed a letter which an angel was said to have brought down to Jerusalem, declaring the Saviour's wrath against mankind for profanation of the Lord's day, for neglect of fasting, for blasphemy, usury, adultery, and other sins.[g] They went about half-naked, singing, and scourging themselves, and declaring that the blood which was thus shed was mingled with that of the Redeemer and that it superseded the necessity of the Sacraments.[h] When the Saviour's passion was mentioned in their hymns, they threw themselves on the earth "like logs of wood," with their arms extended like a cross, and remained prostrate in prayer until a signal[i] was given to rise. They were under "masters" of their own, to whom all that joined them were required to swear obedience, and their behaviour towards the clergy was hostile and menacing[k] From Germany

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[a] Froissart, iii. 22; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 255, 314; Gesta Abbat. Trudon. in Pertz, x. 432; C. Zantfl. in Mart. Coll. Ampl. v. 253; Hecker, 38, 43. The continuer of William of Nangis says, "Sed revera tales intoxicationes, posito quod factæ fuissent, non potuissent tantam plagam et tantum populum infecisse" (110). See too the remarks of Herman of Lerbeke, a Dominican of the 15th century, in Leibnitz, ii. 291.

[b] H. Rebdorff, 441.

[a] Matth. Neoburg. 147-9; Baluz. i. 882-3. Andrew of Ratisbon argues that a persecution of the Jews in 1338 was clearly a matter of the Divine vengeance, because princes and officials failed in their endeavours to stop it. (Eccard, i. 2104.) On a return of the pestilence in 1362, more than 1000 Jews were slain in Poland, although the king in consideration of their gifts wished to save them. M. Vill. ix. 107,

[d] See vol. iii. p. 454.

[e] As in Italy in 1310 (Ptol. Luc. in Murat. xi. 1223), again in 1333-4 (Gregorov. vi. 190), and at Avignon in 1334 (Petrarc. Senil. ix. 2, p. 949). See Förstemann, 'Die Christl. Geisslergesellschaften,' Halle, 1828, 51, 63.

[f] This, however, according to Förstemann (70), is stated only by the later writers, as Trithemius.

[g] Matth. Neoburg. 149, 150; Förstemann, 70, seqq.; Giesel. II. iii. 314. (As to such letters, see vol. iii. 262-3.) D'Argentré is very full on this case of flagellancy, i. 361, seqq.

[h] Chron. Elwac. A.D. 1348-9, in Pertz, x.; Gesta Abb. Trud., ib 632; W. Nang. contin. 111; H. Rebdorff, 439; H. Corner, 1083-4; Th. Niem in Eccard, i. 1504.

[i] Henr. Hervord. 281. See Förstem. 75.

[k] Gesta Abb. Trud. l. c.; Matth. Neoburg. 150; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 320·

the movement spread into France, but the king forbade the Flagellants to approach the capital, and the university of Paris pronounced their practices to be a "vain superstition." At the instance of the university, flagellancy was condemned by the pope,[m] and at his desire it was forbidden by the royal authority.[n] Some of the Flagellants carried their fanaticism from the Low Countries into England; but the English looked on their wild exercises without sympathy, and suspected them of heresy.[o]

In many places the parochial clergy fled from the pestilence, and their places were taken by the more courageous friars, who visited the sick, administered the last sacraments, and performed the offices of burial.[p] This devotion was rewarded with large bequests, especially from persons who had lost their natural heirs;[q] and a complaint was made to the pope by the cardinals and the secular clergy, who desired that the mendicant orders should be suppressed for interfering with the parochial system of the church. But Clement, according to a writer who himself belonged to the mendicant brotherhood of Carmelites, rebuked the objectors severely. He asked them what they themselves would preach, if the monks were silent? He told them that if they were to preach humility, poverty, and chastity, their exhortations would be vitiated by the glaring contrast of their own pride and luxury, their avarice and greed, and the notorious laxity of their lives. He reproached them for closing their doors against the mendicants, while they opened them to panders and buffoons.[r] If, he said, the mendicants had got some benefit from those whose death-beds they had attended, it was a reward of the zeal and the courage which they had shown when the secular clergy fled from their posts; if they had erected buildings with the money, it was better spent so

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Giesel. ii. 315. In a town of the diocese of Bamberg, the Jews attacked the Flagellants, killed about fourteen, and set fire to the place. H. Rebd. 440.

[m] Oct. 20, 1349. Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 316; Mansi, xxv. 1153; Matth. Neoburg. 150, 159; W. Nang. cont. l. c.; D'Argentré, i. 364. The Flagellants invited the pope to join them. Mailáth, Gesch. v. Oestreich, i. 142.

[n] Froissart, iii, 21-2.

[o] Froissart, iii. 21-2; Pauli, iv. 418. The pope had desired Edward either to keep them out of England, or, if they were admitted, to compel them by moderate means to give up their follies and errors (Rayn. 1349. 22). Archbishop Islip, although urged by Clement to proceed against them, let them alone. Hook, iv. 118-121.

[p] W. Nang. contin. 110; Martin, v. iii. The Franciscans are said to have lost 124,434 members in Germany, and 30,000 in Italy by the pestilence. Hecker, 23 (quoting, however, an author, who describes many of them as lazy "Tropfen.")

[q] W. Nang. cont. 110. The annalist of Parma, however, says that the sick were abandoned by friars as well as by servants, doctors, notaries, and priests, "tal che non potevano testare, nè confessi o contriti assoluti morire." Murat. xii. 746.

[r] "Truffatores."

than in worldly and sensual pleasures; and he declared the opposition to the friars to be merely the result of envy,[s] The rebuke carried weight from its truth, if not from the character of the pope who uttered it.

IV.—Although the death of Louis of Bavaria had removed a great obstacle from the path of his rival Charles, the "priests' emperor" found that his difficulties were not yet ended. In going about the cities of Germany, attended by clergy who offered the pope's absolution from ban and interdict, on condition that the people should renounce the late emperor and all his family, he met with hostile demonstrations in some places.[t] Thus at Basel, when the bull announcing the terms of absolution was read, the mayor of the city[u] stood forward, and, addressing the pope's commissioner, the bishop of Bamberg, declared that the citizens of Basel did not believe the emperor Louis to have been a heretic; that they were resolved to acknowledge as king and emperor any one who should be chosen by the electors, or by a majority of them, without requiring the pope's confirmation of the choice; that they would do nothing contrary to the rights of the empire, but were willing to accept the pope's forgiveness of all their sins, if he should be pleased to bestow it. By this firmness an unconditional absolution was extorted.[x] In other towns the emperor's arrival was the signal for scenes of disorder.[y] Many of the most religious persons, such as the famous mystic John Tauler, of Strasburg,[z] regarded the pope's proceedings against Louis as unjust and invalid;[a] and, as at some earlier times, the impatience of the papal rule gave rise to a popular expectation that the Emperor Frederick II. would reappear to destroy the clergy and the friars, and to restore the glories of the empire.[b]

The Bavarian party, headed by Henry of Virneburg, who was still acknowledged by most of the Germans as archbishop of Mentz, endeavoured to set up an emperor of its own.[c] The

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[s] W. Nang. contin. 112.

[t] Matth. Neoburg. in Urstis. ii. 142. Disgust was caused by the high fees which the clergy exacted for the reconciliation of interdicted towns. J. Vitodur. 1925.

[u] "Magister civitatis." M. Neob. 143.

[x] Matth. Neob. 143; Olensl. 382. On Christmas-day Charles at Basel read the Gospel of the decree of Cæsar Augustus at early mass, "alta voce habens in manu evaginatum gladium." M. Neob. l. c.

[y] Matth. Neob. 144.

[z] See below, ch. x.

[a] Giesel. II. iii. 83.

[b] It was said that, although the emperor might be cut into a thousand pieces, or even burnt to dust, this must be fulfilled, because it was 'God's decree. J. Vitodur. 1928; Giesel. II. iii. 85; cf. ii. 650.

[c] Schmidt, iii. 606.

crown, after having been declined by some German princes, was offered to Edward of England, whose fame had lately been enhanced by the victory of Cressy;[d] but Edward, in deference to the opinion of his parliament, and fearing that the offer might be intended to divert him from the prosecution of his designs on France, refused it.[e] At length a champion was found in Count Gunther of Schwarzburg, in Thuringia, a man of great renown for prowess, but of no considerable territory or power.[f] Gunther was elected by his partisans on the 30th of January, 1349, was displayed on the high altar of St. Bartholomew's at Frankfort as king, and was enthroned in the same city;[g] but he found few adherents, and after a time his chief supporters were gained over to the side of Charles by means of matrimonial alliances or other inducements.[h] Gunther himself, who had been attacked by a hopeless illness, was persuaded, although unwillingly, to resign his pretensions, chiefly in consideration of a large sum of money.[i] The Bavarian party was conciliated by Charles's undertaking to get the papal sanction for the marriage of Louis of Brandenburg with Margaret of the Tyrol;[k] and Louis made over to Charles the insignia of the empire, which had come into his hands at his father's death.[m] Thus Charles acquired peaceable possession of his dignity, to which, according to some writers, he submitted to be again elected, so that the honour of the empire might be formally saved, although the acceptance of the pope's nominee proved that the electors were no longer inclined to oppose the papacy.[n]

A.D. 1348.

The character of Charles as a sovereign is very differently estimated by the Germans and by the Bohemians; but their estimates are not inconsistent. To the Germans he appeared to neglect the empire for the interests of his family, which he

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[d] Knighton (in Twysden, 2596) says that some of the electors wished to choose him, "velut dignissimum, strenuissimum, et validissimum militem sub Christianismo."

[e] Knighton, 2597; G. Vill. xii. 105; Matth. Neob. 115; Olensl. 385-9; Pauli, iv. 415.

[f] Matth. Neob. 150; Olensl. 399; Palacky, II. ii. 283.

[g] See Olensl. Urk. 101-2.

[h] Olensl. 406.

[i] Matth. Neob. 152; Henr. Hervord. 276; Olensl. Urk. 105-6. Gunther died on the 12th of June, 1349,—of course not without suspicion of poison. Annal. Ensdorf. in Pertz, xvi. 7; Matth. Neoburg. 151; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 251; Trithem. Chron. Spanh. A.D. 1349; Palacky, II. ii. 286; Olensl. 407.

[k] Her divorce from her first husband was soon after pronounced by the bishop of Chur. H. Rebd. 445. See p. 104.

[m] H. Hervord. 258, 276. In consequence of this, Charles persuaded the pope to institute a festival in honour of the signs of the Saviour's passion. H. Rebd. 441, 446, 452; Balbinus, Miscell. Hist. xlvi.

[n] Palacký, after Pelzel, indignantly denies the new election, and says that Charles was crowned a second time merely in connexion with the crowning of his queen at Aix. H. ii. 287.

laboured to secure by marriages and peaceful negotiations rather than by the more brilliant exploits which accorded with the taste of the age;[o] while in his hereditary kingdom, which he had governed as his father's deputy while John was seeking adventures all over Europe,[p] his name is honoured above those of all other sovereigns for his good administration, and for his patronage of literature and the arts. To him Prague was indebted for its splendour as a capital and for the foundation of its university,[q] which drew to it a vast concourse of students, not only from the Slavonic countries but from all parts of Germany, as in that country no such institution yet existed.[r]

V. Notwithstanding the late mortality and the dangers which in a time of such disorder beset the ways, the jubilee of 1350 drew vast multitudes of pilgrims to Rome. Many persons of the higher classes, indeed, availed themselves of the dispensations which the pope offered to those who should be prevented from undertaking the journey.[s] And Edward of England, although he granted licenses for the pilgrimage,[t] forbade his subjects in general to undertake it, alleging the necessities of war in answer to Clement's remonstrances on the subject. Yet Matthew Villani states that the number of those who visited Rome from Christmas to Easter was 1,000,000 or 1,200,000, and that in the season of the Ascension and Whitsuntide there were 800,000 more.[u] The same writer tells us that the streets leading to the churches which were to be visited—St. Peter's,

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[o] Aventinus, 639; See Schmidt, iii. 616; Sism. R. I. iv. 379; Hallam, M. A. 447; Bryce, 260.

[p] See his Autobiography in Böhmer, Fontes i. 247-264.

[q] Baluz. iv. 313. The pope's charter is given by Rayn. 1347. 11.

[r] Aen. Sylv. Hist. Bohem. c. 33; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 322; Matth. Neoburg. 155; See Palacky, II. ii. 197, 294-8, and the concluding chapter of the volume. Also J. Trithem. Chron. Spanh. A.D. 1360; Chron. Hirsaug. 1360. Balbinus calls him "patriæ pater, at verius mater." (Epit. Rer. Bohem. Prag. 1677, p. 350; cf. 353, 358, 381.) Charles is also lauded for having enriched Bohemia with many precious relics. See a list in Acta. SS. Jan. t. i. 1084; also Balbinus, Misc. Hist. Dec. I., Nos. xlii.-xlvii., &c.

[s] M. Vill. i. 56. See the bull "Unigenitus," in Extrav. Comm. 1 v. De Pœnit. c. 2. Another bull, "Cum natura humana," is famous as making the pope assume a power over the angelic hierarchy ("Mandamus angelis paradisi, quatenus animam illius . . . . in paradisi gloriam introducant." P. Herentals, in Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 313). But these words are wanting in some copies, and the genuineness of the whole bull is questioned, as by Baluze in his notes. Wyclif speaks of the passage with doubt (Trial. iv. 32, p. 357), but Hus and others near the time assume its genuineness. (Hus de Eccles., Opera, I. 219.) See on the whole question, Gieseler, II. iii. 290-2, who thinks that the bull is certainly spurious, and that it was probably forged in the interest of the Romans, who wished to attract pilgrims for the sake of their money.

[t] Rymer, iii. 200, 203.

[u] i. 56. See as to this estimate Murat. VIII. ii. 159; Gregorov. vi. 318, who think it exaggerated; also Baluz. i. 316.

St. Paul's, and St. John Lateran—[x] were so crowded as to admit of no movement except with the stream of the multitude; and that the Romans were extortionate as to the prices of lodging, food, fodder, and other necessaries.[y] Another chronicler, who was present, tells us that at the exhibition of the Veronica many were crushed to death.[z] The numbers of the pilgrims must probably have been swelled by the serious impressions of the late calamity; and while Matthew Villani describes them on their journey as cheerfully braving the inconveniences of an unfavourable season,[a] the interest with which the more pious might view the decayed but venerable city, and the relics of especial fame for holiness which were displayed before their eyes, may be conceived from the fervent language of Petrarch.[b] Yet as to the result of the pilgrimage, we may probably believe a contemporary chronicler's statement, that many came back from Rome worse than before.[c]

On the 6th of December, 1352, Clement suddenly died in consequence of the bursting of a tumour,[d] having in the proceeding year mitigated the law of papal elections by allowing that the cardinals, when shut up in conclave, should have their portions of the room separated by curtains; that each of them might have two attendants, who might be either clerks or laymen; and that the rigour of the regulations as to the supply of food should be abated on the third day.[e]

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[x] The Lateran was now for the first time included in the list. Gobel. Persona, in Meibohm. i. 291.

[y] i. 56. Petrarch says that, although the lands about Rome had not been tilled, and the vines had generally been destroyed by frost, there was greater plenty after the vast multitude had been fed than before. Epp. Senil. vii. p. 910.

[z] Rebdorff, 440.

[a] i. 56.

[b] Ep. Famil. ii. 9; see Rayn. 1350. 1. Rome had been much damaged by an earthquake in the preceding year. H. Rebd. 406.

[c] Limburger Chronik, quoted by Giesel. II. iii. 285.

[d] Baluz. i. 318.

[e] Ib. 261; Rayn. 1351. 39; Cartwright on Papal Conclaves, 105.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE ELECTION OF POPE INNOCENT VI. TO THE DEATH OF GREGORY XI.

A.D. 1352—1378.

At the death of Clement VI., the cardinals had reason to suppose that John, who in 1350 had succeeded to the crown of France, would endeavour to set up a pope of his own nomination; and, notwithstanding their devotion to the French interest, they resolved to preserve a show of independence by making their election before any intimation of the royal will could reach them. It seemed as if John Birelli, general of the Carthusian order, were about to be chosen; but Cardinal Talleyrand warned his brethren that the Carthusian, if he were to become pope, would reduce them to the primitive simplicity of living, and would degrade their splendid horses to drag the waggon or the plough.[a] The cardinals then determined to elect one of their own number, under a system of capitulation such as had sometimes been practised in elections of bishops, and had lately been usual in the elections of emperors. Every member of the college was to swear that he would make no new cardinals until the college should be reduced to sixteen; that he would never raise their number to more than twenty; that he would not create, depose, or arrest any cardinal without the consent of the whole body; and that he would make over to the cardinals one half of the revenues of the Roman church.[b] By these terms the future pope would have bound himself to become a tool of the cardinals; and, although all took the oath, some of them did so with the reservation "provided that these laws be agreeable to right."[c]

On the 18th of December the choice of the cardinals fell on Stephen Aubert, a Limousin, bishop of Ostia, a man eminent for his learning in civil and ecclesiastical law, who styled himself Innocent VI.[d] Soon after his election, the new pope took ad-

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[a] Rayn. 1352. 25.

[b] Ib. 1352. 26; Planck, v. 384-6.

[c] Rayn. 1352. 27.

[d] Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 321, 357. "Homo bonus, simplex, et justus." W. Nang. cont. 112.

vantage of the reservation which he had made in swearing to the late agreement, by declaring that he had found such engagements to be contrary to the decrees of some former popes; and also that they were void for attempting to limit the power which God had bestowed on St. Peter and his successors. And the cardinals, who seem to have become aware of the evils which might result from such capitulations, acquiesced in this determination.[e]

Innocent betook himself earnestly to the work of ecclesiastical reform. He did away with the system of reserves, and in his bull for that purpose he dwelt on the mischiefs which had arisen from them, such as the neglect of pastoral care, the dilapidation of churches, and the decay of hospitality.[f] He abolished many of the corruptions of the court, and did much to restrain the extortion of his officials.[g] He did away with the scandalous abuse by which prostitutes had been allowed, on payment of a tax to the papal treasury, to ply their trade at Avignon. He insisted on a reform of the excessive luxury in which the cardinals had indulged, and himself set an example in this respect;[h] and those members of the college who offended him by their laxity of life were awed by threats that he would remove the court to Rome.[i] The bishops who haunted Avignon were compelled to return to their dioceses.[k] He discouraged pluralities; there is a story that when a favourite chaplain, who held seven benefices, asked for some preferment in behalf of a nephew, Innocent desired him to give up to the young man the best of his own preferments; and, as the chaplain showed dissatisfaction at this, he was further required to resign three other livings, each of which the pope bestowed on a poor clerk.[m] Innocent was careful in the disposal of his patronage; and, although he is charged with too great fondness for advancing his own relations, it is admitted that in general the kinsmen whom he promoted did him no discredit.[n]

Innocent was able to act with an independence unknown to

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[e] Baluz. i. 357; Schröckh, xxxi. 202; Planck, v. 306-7.

[f] Baluz. i. 357; M. Vill. ix. 93; Matth. Neob. 156.

[g] Baluz. i. 313. Platina tells us that he assigned salaries to the auditors of the court—"Dicebat enim famelicos non facile etiam ab alieno cibo abstinere, si sit oblata quovis modo edendi facultas." 261.

[h] Baluz. i. 357; Döllinger, ii. 271.

[i] M. Vill. iv. 298.

[k] It has been supposed that this order was very little enforced, because 70 or 100 bishops are said to have died at Avignon during a renewed visitation of the plague in 1361; but Matthew Villani states the mortality of "prelates [under which name others than bishops are included] and great clerks" at somewhat more than seventy, x. 46. See Hist. Langued. iv. 313; Schröckh, xxxi. 203.

[m] Baluz. i. 361-2.

[n] Ib. i. 313.

the earlier Avignon popes; for King John, weakened by the Sept. 19, 1356. disastrous war with England, in which he himself was made a captive at Poitiers, was unable to exercise a control like that of Philip the Fair, or of his own father, Philip of Valois.[o]

In the meantime Italy was a prey to disorder. While every division of the country had its own little tyrant,[p] the Milanese family of Visconti[q] had gained such a predominance in the north that the ancient parties of Guelfs and Ghibellines forgot their enmities in order to combine against a foe who threatened them all.[r] On the death of Lucchino Visconti, in 1348, the lordship of Milan fell to his brother John,[s] who was already archbishop of the city.[t] By violently seizing on Bologna, a city which belonged to the pope, he incurred threats of excommunication and deprivation from Clement VI.;[u] but by bribing the king of France and other powerful intercessors, including that pope's favourite the Countess of Turenne,[v] he was afterwards May 5, 1352. able to make terms, and was allowed to retain the place for twelve years, on condition of paying tribute.[x] It is said that, when required by a legate to choose between the characters of archbishop and secular prince, he desired that the message might be repeated in the face of his clergy and people; and when this was done on the following Sunday, after he had celebrated mass with great pomp, he rose from his throne, holding in one hand his crosier, and in the other his drawn sword—"These," he said, "are my arms spiritual and temporal; and with the one I will defend the other." He signified, however, his willingness to appear at Avignon; but the proceedings of his harbingers, who set about hiring all the houses that could be got in the city and for leagues around it, as if to

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[o] Martin, v. 377.

[p] Rayn. 1350. 6.

[q] For curious legends as to their origin, see Andr. Ratisb. in Pez, IV. iii. 602.

[r] Sism. iv. 352. Mansi notes that the old party names subsided about this time. N. in Rayn. t. vi. 53.

[s] P. Azarius, 11 (Murat. xvi.) Matthew Villani habitually calls John "il tiranno" (i. 95, &c), "Hic fuit potentissimus tyrannus totius mundi" (Chron. Regiense, in Murat, xviii. 76.).

[t] St. Antoninus styles him "præsul et tyrannus," 357; cf. 355, 359, 361). There is a curious mixture of eulogy on the bishop's secular pomp and on his ecclesiastical merits in his chaplain, Gualv. Fiamma (Murat. xii. 1016. Cf. Murat. Annal. VIII. ii. 15; Petrarc. Variar. 7, ed. Fracassetti). He had been made a cardinal by the antipope Nicolas at the request of the emperor, but had afterwards resigned the title, and submitted to John XXII. Cron. di Bologna, in Murat. xviii. 352.

[u] Rayn. 1350. 7; 1351. 27, seqq.

[v] M. Vill. iii. 2.

[x] Ib. iii. 4; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 252. The archbishop was supposed to have been concerned in a letter which mysteriously made its way into the papal consistory—written in the name of the "Prince of Darkness," and strongly reproving the vices of the court. M. Vill. ii. 48.

lodge an overwhelming train, alarmed the pope to such a degree that the archbishop's visit was excused.[y]

The citizens of the Italian republics, devoting themselves to the accumulation of wealth, ceased to cultivate the art of war, and relied for their defence on the mercenary bands which now, under the name of Free Companies, overran both France and Italy.[z] These companies were at first composed in great part of soldiers who, by the conclusion of peace between France and England, had found their occupation gone.[a] They admitted into their ranks men of various nations, and enlisted themselves in the service of any power that could afford to hire them—keeping their contract faithfully so long as it lasted, but holding themselves free to go over to an opposite party at the end of the term;[b] and when not thus engaged, they plundered and ravaged on their own account. Among the captains of such mercenaries (*Condottieri*) the most famous was Sir John Hawkwood, an Englishman, who, after having distinguished himself in the French wars, passed into Italy, and there served for thirty years under the Visconti, the pope, and lastly under the republic of Florence, which at his death commemorated him by a colossal equestrian portrait, still existing in the cathedral.[c] Hawkwood had the reputation of being the most skilful commander of his age;[d] and in our own day he has been charac-

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[y] These stories rest on the authority of Corio's 'History of Milan.' See Murat. Ann. VIII. ii. 68; De Sade, iii. 172-3; Sism. iv. 276-7.

[z] G. Vill, x. 112; Leonard Aretin. in Murat. xix. 949; Hist. Pistoles. in Mur. xi. 489; Antonin. 364-5; Gregorov. vi. 401-412; see Hallam, M. A. i. 332-4. Leonard of Arezzo (l. c.) adds that in his own youth (towards the end of the century), the Italian cavalry again became famous, and the foreign mercenaries were no longer employed.

[a] W. Nang. cont. 128-9; Froissart, iii. 283-4. See Edw. III. A.D. 1361, in Rymer, iii. 630. These companies occupy much space in the later books of M. Villani.

[b] See Macaulay, 'Essay on Macchiavelli,' Works, v. 58, ed. 1866.

[c] Froissart, vii. 211; Antonin. 371-2, 376, 384, &c. He died in 1393. Annal. Mediol. in Murat. xvi. 821. A cenotaph preserves his memory in his native place, Sible Hedingham. See Nichols', Bibl. Topographica, vol. vi. For an engraving of the Florentine picture, see Tartini's Continuation of Muratori's 'Scriptores,' ii. 663.

[d] Antonin. 378, 426. Hawkwood's name appears under various disguises—some of them, such as *Kauchouod Kauchouvole*, &c., arising from the copying of MS. without any regard to sound, while others, such as *Aucud*, *Aguto*, *Augudus*, *Acutus*, *Achus* (Antonin. iii. 481), are attempts to approach the pronunciation. From this last class (connected with *acus*, a needle), may have come the name by which Matthew Villani styles him—*della guglia*, and the idea of his having in early life been a tailor (M. Vill. ix. 37)—an idea which seems inconsistent with the fact that "Johannes de Haukwode, *armiger* de comitatu de Essex" was one of those who were summoned to join Edward III. in France. A.D. 1315 (Rymer, iii. 52). Peter Villani speaks of him as "Inglese, gran maestro di guerra, di natura a loro [i.e. the English] modo volpigna ed astuta." and tells us that his name means *Falcone in Bosco*, and was given to him because his mother caused herself to be carried into a wood that she might give birth to him (xi. 79). Hawkwood married an illegitimate daughter of Bernabò Visconti

terised as "the first real general of modern times; the earliest master, however imperfect, in the science of Turenne and Wellington."[e] Avignon was repeatedly threatened by these companies, which laid waste the country around it; and the popes endeavoured to protect themselves, sometimes by uttering anathemas,[f] sometimes by engaging the aid of princes and nobles,[g] but more successfully by the payment of large sums of money,[h] by which the adventurers were persuaded to transfer themselves to some other quarter. Thus Innocent, in 1362, bought off the "White Company," which thereupon crossed the Alps, at the invitation of the Marquis of Montferrat, and engaged in the wars of Italy.[i] With a view to defence against such assailants, Innocent fortified his palace and the city of Avignon—enclosing within the walls an extent of ground which left room for the future increase of the place.[k]

Rome had been in a state of confusion since the time of Rienzi's withdrawal, in January, 1348.[m] With a view to recovering his power over the city, and over the territory of the church, Innocent in 1353 sent into Italy an army under Giles Albornoz, cardinal of St. Clement, a Spaniard, who had been a knight in his youth, and afterwards archbishop of Toledo—a man eminent both for military and for political talents.[n] With this legate was joined Rienzi, who had been released from prison,[o] and invested with the dignity of senator, in the hope that he might be able to resume his influ-

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(Annal. Mediol. 763). He was employed by the English government in Italian negotiations, and in 1388 was made vicar-general of Richard II. for Provence and Forcalquier. (Rymer, vii. 307, 458, 569.) As a specimen of his discipline it is related that that, seeing two of his band fighting for a beautiful maiden who had been found in a nunnery on the taking of Faenza, and being unwilling to lose either of them, he solved the difficulty by plunging his sword into her breast, "E in questo modo la Vergine Maria conservò la verginità d' essa fanciulla, e fu martire." Nero Donati in Murat. xv. 221.

[e] Hallam, M. A. i. 335.

[f] M. Vill. vii. 87; x. 24; W. Nang. Cont. 129; Froissart, iv. 141. See as to the bull of Urban V., in 1366 (Bul. iv. 414), Gregorov. vi. 411-2. When the count of Narbonne and others had fallen captives to a company, Urban forbade them to pay the stipulated ransom, and declared them absolved from their promise. Froiss. iv. 344. Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 350, 351, 354.

[g] Innoc. vi. Epp. 8, 9, 12-5, &c. (Mart. Thes. ii.).

[h] Froiss. iii. 284, 286; iv. 123-145. One of the companies threatened Strasburg, but was driven off by the emperor Charles, ib. 164. Trithem. Chron. Hirsaug. A.D. 1362.

[i] Petrarc. Ep. Famil. xxiii. 1; M. Vill. x. 43; Froiss. iv. 143; Hist. Langued. iv. 310-2; Martin. v. 236.

[k] Epp, 29, 226-7; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 342; Eulog. Hist. iii. 229, where it is added "Et nisi morbo hydropisi fatigaretur, non ibi moraretur; sed quia debilior, factus est audacior."

[m] M. Vill. iii. 57-8, 78, 91. See Gregorov. vi. 332, seqq.

[n] Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 323, 336, 358, &c.; Hist. Rom. Fragm. Murat. Ant. Ital. iii. 493; Rayn. 1353. 2. See Ciacon. ii. 500; Gregorov. vi. 331.

[o] Rè dates his release on July 1, 1353.

ence over the Romans, and that he would use it in the interest of the papacy.[p] But although the citizens, weary of anarchy, appear to have begged that their former tribune might be restored to them, and received him with enthusiasm,[q] he speedily forfeited their favour by his misconduct. The faults which had led to his earlier fall were repeated in a worse degree than before. The people were oppressed by heavy taxes levied on the necessaries of life. His power was exercised with caprice and cruelty; and especial distrust was excited by the death of one Pandulf whose only crime was the possession of influence,[r] and by that of Walter de Montréal, a famous Provençal condottiere, who, from having been formerly a knight of St. John, was commonly styled Brother Moreale. This man had offended against the public peace by acts which Pope Innocent describes as worse than the outrages of Holofernes or of Totila;[s] but his brothers had laid Rienzi under great obligations by advancing sums of money which were necessary to the fulfilment of his mission; and when Rienzi, in disregard of this, treacherously decoyed Moreale into his power, tortured him, and put him to death, the victim's faults were forgotten in indignation at the manner of his end.[t] Meanwhile the senator's personal habits became grossly sensual; he fed immoderately on sweetmeats, drank strong mixed wines at all hours,[u] and showed the effect of these indulgences in the swelling of his body, which a contemporary likens to that of a fatted ox or of an abbot of Unreason.[x] His reputation was lowered by failure in an attempt to take the fortress of Palestrina from the Colonnas.[y] Rome became impatient of his yoke, and his oratory had lost its power over the multitude. A rising took place,[z] there were cries for his death, and Rienzi was arrested while attempting to escape in disguise. For an hour he was exposed to the derision of the mob, who then fell upon him, cut

Aug. 1, 1354.

Oct. 8.

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[p] Fragm. 513, 519. There are two letter from Rienzi to the Roman people, written from Avignon, in Baluz. Miscell. iii. 136-7.

[q] M. Vill. iv. 23; Fragm. 513, 522.

[r] Fragm. c. xxii.

[s] Rayn. 1354.4.

[t] As to Fra Moreale, see Fragm. 511-3, 529, 531-5; M. Vill. i. 93; iii. 89, 108; iv. 23, 26; Cron. d'Orvieto, in Murat. xv. 675-7; Hist. Pistol. ib. xii. 513; Gregorov. vi. 319, 356-9; Reumont, ii. 909.

[u] Fragm. 523.

[x] "Grasso era horribilmente . . . . Tanto era la sua grossezza, che parea uno smesurato bufalo, o vero vacca a maciello." (Fragm. 543.) "Havea una ventresca tonna, trionfale, a modo de uno abbate Asiano"—or, according to another reading, (Ib. 523), which seems preferable, *Asinino*,—meaning a mock abbot in a burlesque festival. Compare the scene between Roland Graeme and Abbot Howleglass, 'Waverley Novels,' xx. pp. 205, 213, ed. 1829.

[y] Fragm. 527.

[z] M. Vill. iv. 26.

him to pieces, and treated his remains with indignities which showed the violence of their exasperation against him.[a] Although, however, the attempt to turn Rienzi to account had utterly failed, the legate Albornoz, a man of a very different stamp, conducted his affairs with such skill that he succeeded in recovering Bologna and the Romagna,[b] with almost all the other ecclesiastical territories.

A.D. 1354-1367.

In 1354 the emperor Charles, with the pope's sanction, proceeded into Italy for his coronation. He found that the formidable archbishop of Milan, John Visconti, had died in consequence of a surgical operation,[c] and had been succeeded in his secular power by his three nephews, of whom the eldest, Matthew, was soon after poisoned by his brothers, Bernabò and Galeazzo, because his excessive dissoluteness endangered the interests of the family.[d] Charles received the iron crown at Milan on the Epiphany, 1355;[e] and, leaving Bernabò Visconti as his vicar (an appointment which greatly offended the pope)[f] he continued his progress towards Rome. The smallness of the force by which he was accompanied—a mere escort of three hundred horsemen[g]—disarmed the suspicion of the Italians,[h] and, because of his very weakness, Charles was everywhere received with an extraordinary show of respect; even the rigid Guelf republicans of Florence did homage, and bound themselves to the payment of tribute.[i] At Pisa he was strengthened by the arrival of those Germans whose duty required them to attend the emperor on such expeditions, so that he found himself at the head of a considerable force, composed of the flower of the German nobility.[k] A condition by which he had pledged himself not to enter Rome before the day of the coronation[m] had been in so far relaxed by the pope that, on arriving on Thursday in the holy week, he was allowed to visit the churches and the cardinals as a pilgrim.[n] But his solemn entry was

Oct. 4 or 5.

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[a] Fragm. 513; M. Vill. l. c.; Gibbon, vi. 390; Gregorov. vi. 362-5.

[b] Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 357; M. Vill. vii. 56, 100; Cron. d'Orvieto, 681-6, 692; Gibbon, vi, 389; Gregorov. vi. 383-5. &c.

[c] M. Vill. iv. 25; Antonin. 364; Murat. Ann. VIII. ii. 87.

[d] M. Vill. iv. 28; v. 81.

[e] Rayn. 1355. 1; Murat. Ann. VIII. ii. 92. Matthew Villani places the coronation at Monza, iv. 39.

[f] N. Donati, 195.

[g] M. Vill. iv. 39 (where there are the readings *trecento* and *ottocento*); Sism. iv. 382; Palacky, II. ii. 319.

[h] M. Vill. v. 2.

[i] Ib. iv. 41, 49, 53-4, 67, 73, 75-6; Antonin. 363; Schröckh, xxxi. 208-9. See M. Villani, c. 63.

[k] "4000 cavalieri della più bella e ricca baronia del mondo." M. Vill. iv. 56.

[m] See p. 110.

[n] M. Vill. iv. 92; Albert. Argent. in Urstis. ii. 163; Gregorov. vi. 377-81.

deferred until Easter-day, when he and his empress were crowned in St. Peter's by the cardinal-bishop of Ostia,[o] and on the same day, agreeably to his engagement, he again left the city.[p] Without having made an attempt to recover any rights of the empire which had been invaded, or to establish any authority over Rome, Charles returned northward so hastily, and with so little display, that his journey almost resembled a flight;[q] and Petrarch,[r] who had urged him to revive the glories of Rome,[s] and had been summoned to meet him at Mantua on his way to the coronation, expressed strongly the bitter disappointment of the hopes which he had rested on the emperor.[t] In July, 1355, Charles arrived again in Germany, enriched by the money which he had levied on the Italian cities, but without having increased his reputation.[u]

April 5.

Charles had announced from Piacenza that, if he should be permitted to return to Germany, he intended to do some good thing for the benefit of the kingdom;[x] and, in fulfilment of this promise, he summoned a diet to meet in January, 1356, at Nuremberg, where the document known as his Golden Bull was enacted as a fundamental law of the empire.[y] By this bull many circumstances of the election to the crown were settled[z] —the forms to be observed, the duties of the chief officers, the time within which an election must take place after a vacancy, the election at Frankfort and the coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle. By a provision which doubtless originated in Charles's own rare knowledge of languages,[a] it was ordered that, whereas the

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[o] It had been usual that on such occasions the bishop of Ostia should attend at his own expense, and that two others should attend at the expense of the church. But the pope and cardinals found it inconvenient at this time to pay the additional bishops, and Charles was willing to do without them. (M.Vill. iv. 71.) Albornoz had been joined in the commission, but was too busy elsewhere. (Rayn. 1355. 2, 5, 11.) M. Villani is mistaken in saying that Charles was crowned by the prefect. Rayn. 1359. 3; Gregorov. vi. 377.

[p] M. Vill. v. 2; Rayn. 1355. 3, seqq.; Baluz.V. P. Aven. i. 328, 346; Gregorov. vi. 377; Palacky, II. ii. 323. Petrarch is indignant at this restriction. Ep. xxiii. 2 (t. iii. 193, ed. Fracass.); De Vita Solitaria, l. II. sect. iv. 3 (t. i. 305, ed. Basil.).

[q] See as to troubles at Pisa, Palacky, II. ii. 325-7.

[r] *E. g.* Epp. x. 1.

[s] See his letters in Goldast, ii. 1350; Gibbon, vi. 391. Petrarch had been invited by Charles to accompany him to Rome, but had found it necessary to refuse. Epp. xii. 522.

[t] In Ep. xix. 12, he reproves Charles for having a soul unequal to his dignity. "Tu imperii dominus Romani nihil nisi Bohemiam suspiras," &c. Cf. xix. 3; xx. 1-2; xxiii. 2; xxxiii. 15, 21, &c.

[u] "Cum magna pecunia, sed majori infamia," says a biographer of Clement VI. in Baluz. i. 322. Theodoric of Niem styles Charles "hypocrita insignis, et avaritiâ alter Marcus Crassus." (Nem. Un. vi. 33, p. 362.) See N. Donati, in Murat. xv. 206, as to his extracting money from the Sienese.

[x] Schmidt, iii. 633.

[y] It was afterwards ratified at Mentz. Palacky, II. ii. 342.

[z] See Olenslager, 'Neue Erläuterung der Goldenen Bulle Karls IV.' Frankf. 1766. The bull is also printed in the Fascic. Rer. Exp. et Fug. i. 108, seqq.

[a] See above, p. 109.

empire consisted of various nations, the sons of the lay electors should, from their seventh to their fourteenth year, be instructed in Italian and Slavonic.[b] But the Bull was chiefly important as determining to whom the right of sharing in the election should belong. For as to this there had been much difficulty and uncertainty, from the circumstance that the rule of inheritance by primogeniture had not been established in the families of the lay electors, and that consequently their territories were liable to be broken up among several heirs, each of whom might claim the electoral suffrage. By the Golden Bull it was settled that in every case the vote should be attached to a certain portion of territory which was to be regarded as the electoral land, and that this portion should descend according to the order of primogeniture.[c] The claim of the pope to interfere with the election was not mentioned at all; and it was assumed that in Germany, at least, the king or emperor had full power from the time of his election. The "priests' emperor" had secured the crown against the pretensions of the papacy; and Innocent was greatly annoyed at the result.[d]

Oct 18.
1362.

After a pontificate of nearly ten years, Innocent died on the 12th of September, 1362. Twenty cardinals assembled for the choice of a successor; but they were unable to agree as to the promotion of one of their own body, and their choice fell on William de Grimoard, a native of the diocese of Mende, and abbot of the Benedictine monastery of St. Victor at Marseilles.[e] The new pope, Urban V., who was supposed to have been elected under a special influence of the Holy Ghost,[f] had attained the age of sixty, was respected alike for his sanctity and for his learning, and had exerted himself greatly in the service of the church.[g] Like his predecessor, he showed himself an enemy to the corruptions of the court, to simony, pluralities, and non-residence. He took away from the houses of the cardinals the privilege of sanctuary, which had been much abused.[h] While pope he retained the monastic dress, and the

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[b] c. 30.

[c] Cc. 20-5. See Olensl. Erläuterungen, 173, seqq.; Hallam, M. A. i. 445-8.

[d] Schmidt, iii. 633, 639; Palacky, II. ii. 339-347; Milm. v. 378.

[e] Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 363; M. Vill. xi. 26.

[f] Baluz. l. c. See Petrarc. 902-3. The Meaux chronicler says that he was chosen by a compromise between the parties of the last two popes, and that on this was made the line:—

"Hunc patrem patrum fecit discordia fratrum."
— iii. 155.

[g] Baluz. i. 413; Froissart, iv. 149. Cardinal Talleyrand is reported to have said, "Modo habemus papam. Alios ex debito honoravimus, at istum necesse est nobis timere et revereri, quia potens est opere et sermone." Baluz. i. 423.

[h] Petrarc. Senil. p. 898-9; Baluz. i. 394.

simplicity of monastic habits;[i] but, while thus sparing of expense on himself, he laid out vast sums for the benefit of the church, as on the restoration of the Roman churches and palaces,[k] the erection and endowment of a monastery and a college at Montpellier,[l] and the encouragement of learning by maintaining a thousand students in various universities, and by liberally supplying them with books.[m] He chose his cardinals for their merit alone, whereas the late popes had limited their choice to such persons as were devoted to the French interest.[n] Nor did he fall into the usual fault of enriching his own kindred, whether laymen or clergy, at the expense of the church; two only of his near relatives were advanced to the prelacy, and of these it is said that both were deserving, and that one was promoted at the special request of the cardinals.[o]

The south of France continued for a time to be infested by the Free Companies; but at length they were put down in this papacy.[p] In Italy, however, the evil endured longer,[q] and the country suffered greatly from the power, the tyranny, and the ambition of Bernabò Visconti, who was now the head of his family. Innocent had proclaimed in 1356 a crusade against the Visconti for detaining certain cities which belonged to the church; but the design was marred by the misconduct of the preachers, who endeavoured to make a profit for themselves out of the indulgences which they were authorised to offer, and the payments for exemption from service.[r]

Bernabò showed himself especially hostile to the clergy. For instance, it is said that he seized a priest who had been sent to preach the crusade, put him into an iron cage, and roasted him to death on a gridiron;[s] and that he caused some Franciscans to

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[i] Baluz. i. 414; Hist. Langued. iv. 423. Yet it was this pope who added a third crown to the tiara—probably with a symbolical meaning. Schröckh, xxxi. 229.

[k] Baluz. i. 392-4, 396. The Lateran church had been again burnt in 1363. M. Vill. x. 69.) It is said that when the abbot of St. Paul's without the walls offered a large sum in order to be made a cardinal, Urban took the money, and spent it on the repairing of St. Paul's, leaving the abbot as before. Ib. 415.

[l] Baluz. i. 374, 395, 415.

[m] Ib. i. 395, 416.

[n] Chron. Meld. iii. 156.

[o] Baluz. i. 397, 417.

[p] Ib. i. 369. It is said that, in consequence of the pope's curse, those who were slain in an engagement lay "supino corpore, et facie versus terram, in signum maledictionis;" while the soldiers who had fallen on the other side appeared "facie erecta ad cœlum, et corpore adverso." Ib. 421.

[q] Gregorov. vi. 401-411. Theodoric of Niem probably had these companies in view when, in the beginning of the following century, he recommended a crusade as a means of ridding Italy and the neighbouring countries of "many bad men who are in them." De Necess. Reform. in V. d. Hardt, i. 292.

[r] See Rymer, iii. 509, 623. There is much about Bernabò in Innocent's letters. Martene, Thes. ii.

[s] M. Vill. vi. 28.

A.D. 1362.

be shod with iron, like horses, the nails being driven into their feet.[t] He declared himself to be both pope and emperor within his own dominions;[u] he tore up papal letters, and imprisoned the bearers of them; Urban himself, when sent to him as legate by Pope Innocent, had been forced to swallow the bull which he carried, with the leaden seal and the string by which it was attached to the parchment;[x] and he compelled a priest of Parma to utter an anathema against Innocent and the cardinals.[y] The pope denounced him excommunicate, authorised his wife to separate from him as a heretic and unbeliever,[z] formed an alliance against him with the emperor and with some Italian states, and put off, in favour of a crusade against Bernabò, one in which King John of France and many of his nobles had enlisted themselves for the recovery of the Holy Land.[a] But Bernabò was able to hold his ground, and the pope was glad at length to conclude a peace with him, by which Bologna was recovered for the papacy, while Urban undertook to mediate for him with the emperor.[b]

Urban before his election had been strongly in favour of restoring the papal residence to Rome, and he was now entreated to act on the desire which he had expressed.[c] The Emperor Charles urged him;[d] the Romans invited him to take up his abode among them; Peter, a prince of Aragon, who had become a Franciscan, brought the authority of visions in support of the return;[e] and Petrarch renewed the suit which he had so often made to preceding popes.[f] The poet represents the desolate state of Rome, where the holiest and most venerable buildings lay in heart-rending decay, while the pope lived in ease and splendour on the banks of the Rhone.[g] He dwells on the beauty of Italy,

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[t] Herm. Corner, 1148. See Chron. Reg. in Murat. xviii. 78; Annal. Mediol. Ib. xxii. 794; Rayn. 1360. 9; 1362. 12; 1373. 10, seqq.; Froissart, xiii. 339; Gregorov. vi. 400. The Milanese annalist, however, mentions some redeeming qualities; and another writer says, "Est enim Dominus Bernabos veridicus, amans justitiam, constans, impatiens [*qu.* patiens?], et nimium virtuosus." Pet. Azarius, in Murat. xvi. 385.

[u] Froiss. l. c.

[x] J. Trithem. Chron. Spanh. A.D. 1369; Chron. Rimin. in Murat. xv. 911; Annal. Mediol. ib. xvi. 801. St. Catharine of Siena pathetically entreats Bernabò to leave his evil ways. i. 115.

[y] Rayn. 1360. 9; 1362. 13.

[z] M. Vill. xi. 41; Rayn. 1363. 2.

[a] Baluz. i. 401; Rayn. 1362. 1. The king of Cyprus visited Avignon in 1363, for the purpose of getting up a crusade. (Froissart, iv. 155, seqq.) He was able to collect only a small force, with which he surprised Alexandria, in October, 1375, but could not hold it (Sism. R. I. v. 119.) Chaucer says of his knight.

"At Alisandre he was whan it was wonne."

[b] P. Azar. in Murat. xvi. 401; Baluz. i. 402; Rayn. 1361. 4. The pope was much blamed for this. Cron. Bologn. in Murat. xviii. 84; P. Villani, in continuation of M. Vill. xi. 61.

[c] Petrarc. 902; Schröckh, xxxi. 221-2.

[d] Palacky, II. ii. 364.

[e] Wadding. A.D. 1366. 11.

[f] Senil. pp. 897-914.

[g] "Lapideis quoque pectoribus suspiria exterquens." p. 931,

which wanted nothing but peace, while he sneers at Avignon as the "native country of the winds."[h] He even argues from Urban's name the duty of returning to the city.[i] He endeavours to gain over the cardinals whom he supposes reluctant to tear themselves away from the wines of Burgundy, by assuring them that Italy too has its delicious wines, and that in any case they will be able to import the other vintages.[k] In a loftier strain Petrarch admonished Urban by a comparison between the ancient capital of Christendom and the French city which had become infamous for its vices from the time when the popes made it their residence; and, after setting forth the terrors of the judgment-day and of the account to be then exacted, he asks the pope whether he would rather choose to rise with the notorious sinners of Avignon, or with St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Stephen and St. Laurence, and the thousands of other saints whose relics or whose memories were connected with Rome.[m]

On the other hand, Nicolas Orême, an ecclesiastic attached to the French court,[n] argued in behalf of Avignon and of France, insisting especially on the superiority of that country in literary fame.[o] But Petrarch indignantly rejoined that many of the men to whom France owed its fame in letters were of Italian birth, as Peter Lombard, Thomas of Aquino, Bonaventura, and Giles Colonna;[p] and, as he had been blamed for calling Gaul a place of exile, he justified the phrase by referring to the banishment of Herod and of Pilate.[q]

In May, 1365, the Emperor Charles visited Avignon, professedly in order to concert measures for the crusade; but the visit resulted in an agreement that both the pope and the emperor

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[h] pp. 908-9, 913. The violence of the wind at Avignon must be felt in order to be understood. (See De Sade, i. 25.)

[i] "Quomodo enim, quaeso, et Urbanus diceris, et nominis hujus originem Urbani fugis?" (p. 902). Elsewhere he says—"Fama est esse palatii tui partem quæ Roma dicitur, quam ingressus sponsæ tuæ te redidisse, totumque prorsus implesse Romani papæ officium videare. Noli cum Domino tuo ludere." p. 913.

[k] pp. 909, 910. He refers to this at pp. 934-6, 938, 943, 948, 1183-5, 1173. The wine which he represents as the special favourite of the cardinals is the "Besuense"—that of Bèze, near Dijon, or more generally the wine of Beaune, which, says Dr. Henderson, "must now be placed in the second rank." (Hist. of Wines, 162.) It proved, after all, that when the court retired to Rome, the Italian wine was not liked, and Urban had to order supplies of various kinds from France. Gregorov. vi. 416.

[m] p. 914.

[n] He afterwards became bishop of Lisieux. Some of his writings are in the Lyons Biblioth. Patrum.

[o] Bal. iv. 396-412. Cf. "Galli cujusdam anonymi in F. Petrarcham Invectiva," in Petrarch's works, 1169, seqq.

[p] "Contra Galli Calumnias," ib. 1192. Elsewhere he says "De moribus vulgaribus fateor Gallos et facetos homines, et gestorum et verborum levium, qui libenter ludant, læte canant, crebro bibant, avide conviventur; vera autem gravitas ac realis moralitas apud Italos semper fuit." p. 907.

[q] Ib. 1190-1.

should go to Rome in the next year but one.[r] The cardinals were opposed to the removal of the court; but Urban, who had never been a member of the college, set light by their opposition,[s] and is said to have made two new cardinals by way of April 30, 1367. showing his power over them. On this they took alarm, and while some of them reluctantly accompanied him, breaking out into lamentations and reproaches as they put to sea, others made the journey by land, although five stubbornly remained at Avignon.[t]

On landing at Corneto he was met by the legate Albornoz, July 4. to whose prudence and warlike skill the papacy had been indebted for the recovery of much of its temporal power;[u] but this eminent man died at Viterbo during Urban's Aug. 24. stay there, which was also disturbed by a serious tumult, in which there were cries of "Death to the church!"[x] At Rome Urban was welcomed with enthusiasm;[y] Oct. 14. and within a year from the time of his arrival there March, 1368. he received the homage, not only of the queen of Naples and of the king of Cyprus,[z] but of the emperors both of the west and of the east. John Palæologus, whose object Oct.–Dec. 1368. was to obtain the aid of the western Christians against the Turks, acknowledged in all points the faith of the Roman church and the claims of the papacy.[a] Charles behaved towards the pope with the deepest show of reverence: he led his horse from the gate of St. Angelo to St. Peter's, and then officiated as deacon at a mass celebrated by Urban, who placed

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[r] Cron. Bolon. in Mur. xviii. 477; W. Nang. cont. 137; Baluz. i. 370, 981.

[s] Milm. v. 368. The Bolognese chronicle says that he threatened to depose them, and to make Italian cardinals in their stead (Murat. xviii. 481). Another saying ascribed to him is, "Et siquidem me sine cardinalibus abire permittatis, scitote quoniam in sinu meo gero cardinales sufficientes." Chron. de Melsa, iii. 90.

[t] See Petrarc. pp. 934-7; Baluz. i. 406, 411. In Baluze, ii. 768, seqq., there is an account of Urban's journeys and residence in Italy by an attendant Garosius de Ulmoisca Vetere.

[u] See Cron. Orviet. in Murat. xv. 692; Baluz. i. 377-8, 404-5; Gregorov. vi. 421-2; Reumont, ii. 949.

[x] Baluz. i. 410; W. Nang. cont. 139. This affair arose out of the washing of a cardinal's dog in a public fountain. (Cron. Bologn. 483.) It is said that the tumult was got up by the cardinals, for purpose of disgusting the pope with Italy. Cron. d'Orvieto, 693; Gregorov. vi. 423.

[y] Garos. 769; Gregorov. vi. 424. Although the city was then in a melancholy state of decay (see Murat. Annal. VIII. ii. 156), the statement of some writers, that it had only 17,000 inhabitants, is mistaken. Ib. 427, 429. See Hefele, vi. 616.

[z] Urban gave the golden rose to Joanna, "tanquam notabiliori, majori, et excellentiori" of the persons then at Rome." (Baluz. i. 381.) [The golden rose is consecrated on the fourth Sunday in Lent, and is given by the pope to such princes as have rendered signal services to the church. The origin of this custom is uncertain, but is commonly referred to Leo IX. See Herzog, art. *Rose, die Goldene.*]

[a] Baluz. i. 387, 410; Garos. 772-3; Rayn. 1369. 1-4; 1370. 1. See below, c. IX.

the crown on the head of the emperor's fourth wife.[b] But we learn from an eye-witness that, while the clergy were exulting over this subordination of the temporal to the spiritual dignity, other persons viewed with deep disgust a scene which they regarded as a humiliation of the empire.[c] The pope himself was disappointed at finding that Charles, instead of carrying out an alliance against Bernabò Visconti, made peace with him on condition of receiving a large sum of money.[d] In like manner the emperor allowed himself to be bought off by various cities on his way homewards; and, as after his former visit, he returned to Prague with the general contempt of the Italians.[e]

Urban's favourite place of residence was Monte Fiascone, which he preferred to Rome on account of its quiet and of its more salubrious air;[f] and there, in September, 1368, he increased the preponderance of the French party among the cardinals by adding to the college six Frenchmen, while of other nations there were only one Italian and one Englishman.[g]

After three years spent in Italy, the pope announced his intention of returning to Avignon. To the Romans, who remonstrated, he expressed gratitude for the peace which he and the members of his court had enjoyed among them, and assured them that he would still be with them in heart; but he alleged the necessity of public affairs[h]—a plea which, although it might have been warranted by the renewal of war between France and England, is supposed to have really meant that the French cardinals would no longer endure to be at a distance from the delights of Avignon.[i] St. Bridget of Sweden, whose oracles exercised a powerful influence on the age, solemnly warned the pope that, if he returned to France, it would be only to die;[k]

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[b] Baluz. i. 409; Garos. 771. The emperor, however, did not read the Gospel in the mass, as the privilege of doing so was confined to Christmas. See above, p. 126.

[c] Colluccio Salutati, quoted by Schröckh, xxxi. 225. (Salutati has not yet been published.)

[d] J. Trithem. Chron. Spanh. A.D. 1364; Schmidt, iii. 658.

[e] Chron. Est. in Murat. xv. 491; Murat. Ann. VIII. ii. 167; Gregorov. vi. 433.

[f] Cron. d'Orvieto, in Murat. xv. 693.

[g] Garos. 770; Döllinger, ii. 274.

[h] Baluz. i. 424; Garos. 774; Rayn. 1370. 19.

[i] See Petrarc. ed. Fracass. iii. 311; Senil. xiii. p. 1026, ed. Basil.; Schröckh, xxi. 226.

[k] Rayn. 1370. 9; Baluz. i. 414; Gregorov. vi. 436-7. For St. Bridget, see the Acta Sanctorum, Oct. 8; as to her revelations especially, pp. 409, seqq., 513. These were examined by order of Gregory XI. both during her lifetime and after her death, and were approved by him and by later popes. Bridget, who was of the royal blood of Sweden, and had been married to Ulph, prince of Nericia, lived chiefly at Rome from the jubilee of 1350 until her death in 1373, daily visiting churches on foot through all the inclemencies of weather, &c. She founded an order which had its chief seat at Wadstena, in Sweden, but spread beyond the bounds of Scandinavia; and in the headship of this she

Peter of Aragon added his monitions to the same purpose;[m] and these prophetic threats were supposed to be fulfilled when Urban's arrival at Avignon was followed within three months by his death.[n] Dec. 19, 1370. In his last sickness he formally retracted anything (if such there were) that he might have taught or said contrary to the faith of the church.[o] The general reverence for his character was expressed in a belief that miracles were done at his grave;[p] and it is supposed that his canonization, which was solicited by Waldemar III. of Denmark and the others, was prevented only by troubles which soon after came on the papacy.[q]

On the 30th of December, Peter Roger, cardinal of Sta. Maria Nuova, was elected to the vacant chair, and took the name of Gregory XI. He was a nephew of Clement VI., by whom he had been advanced to the cardinalate at the age of seventeen or eighteen;[r] but Clement, "lest he should seem to have conferred with flesh and blood,"[s] had been careful to place the young cardinal under the best tutors, so that Gregory was respected for his learning in civil and in canon law, as well as for his modesty, prudence, and generosity.[t] The chief defect noted in him was that same regard for family interests to which he had owed his own early promotion.[u]

Gregory took an active part in the affairs of Italy, where Bernabò Visconti and his brother Galeazzo continued to be formidable.[x] In 1372, a bull was issued by which they were excommunicated, their subjects were released from allegiance, and all Christians were invited to take part in a holy war against them.[y] There were serious commotions in the papal

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was succeeded by her daughter St. Catharine. The order combined members of both sexes, who lived in separate cloisters, but had their church, their cellar, and their kitchen in common (Antonin. 414). Bridget was canonized by Boniface IX. Rayn. 1391. 29.

[m] Wadd. 1367. 1; 1370. 20; Gobel. Persona in Meibohm. i. 292.

[n] Rayn. l. c. He is reputed to have said on his deathbed, "Merito hoc patior quia reliquimus sedem patrum nostrarum." C. Zantfl. in Mart. Coll. Ampl. v. 292.

[o] Baluz. i. 413.

[p] Ib. 430.

[q] Döllinger, ii. 277.

[r] Baluz. i. 225, 275, 425. Among his preferments was the archdeaconry of Canterbury. Baluz. i 1061.

[s] (Galot. i. 163;) Baluz. i. 478.

[t] Baluz. i. 125-6, 442-479.

[u] Ib. 441; Schröckh, xxxi. 230.

[x] See for a curious character of Galeazzo, Pet. Azarius in Murat. xvi. 403; also his directions for torturing conspirators, ib. 410. A course of forty-two days is ended with "in rota ponatur." A Piacenza chronicler, John de Mussis, defends the Visconti in their relations with the church. It is true, he says, that they tax the clergy heavily and take away their revenues; but this, instead of being the cause, is the consequence, of the wars which the popes make against the family. Murat. xvi. 523.

[y] Chron. Bolon. 492; Baluz. i. 431; Rayn. 1372. 1-2. By one document, all marriage with female members of the family was forbidden; but this proved ineffectual. (Milm. v. 310.) There are two letters against a projected marriage

states, where eighty towns threw off their subjection to Rome. Robert, cardinal of Geneva, was sent into the Romagna as legate, with a band of Breton mercenaries, whose acts of license excited the detestation of the people.[z] At Cesena a rising took place, in which some hundreds of them were killed,[a] and the rest were driven from the town. The legate, having secured the co-operation of the famous condottiere Sir John Hawkwood, persuaded the citizens to admit him peaceably, allowing that they had received great provocation from his troops, and even (it is said) swearing that no vengeance should be taken if they would lay down their arms. Having thus lulled them into security, he then gave loose to a massacre in which, according to some writers, three thousand perished, while others reckon the number at four, five, or even eight thousand.[b] A thousand women were saved by the humanity of Hawkwood, who furnished them with an escort;[c] but atrocious acts of cruelty were committed by the infuriated Bretons; and it is said that the cardinal overcame the scruples of Hawkwood and his men by desiring that all the inhabitants might be killed indiscriminately.[d]

Feb. 1377.

The Florentines, for their resistance to the papal authority, against which they had formed an extensive league,[e] were put under ban and interdict in March, 1376.[f] It was even declared that they might be made slaves, and advantage was taken of this against many of them who were in England,[g] while their old rivals of Genoa and Pisa, by scrupling to act on the permission, incurred the penalty of interdict against themselves.[h]

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between Albert of Austria and a daughter of Galeazzo (1374). Such a marriage, it is said, would be null beforehand; the children would be illegitimate; and Albert is threatened with anathema if he should go on with it (Mailáth, i. 183). Bernabò offered one of his daughters to Richard II. of England, "cum incredibili auri summa." Walsingh. ii. 46.

[z] Antonin. 380-2; Schröckh, xxxi. 232-3.

[a] The Rimini chronicler says "more than 100" (Murat. xv. 917); the chronicler of Bologna, "more than 300" (ib. xvii. 510), while others make the number 800.

[b] See N. Donati, 253; Th. Niem, ii. 1; Chron. Regiense, in Murat. xviii. 87; Cron. Bolon. 510; Chron. Rimin. 917-8; Annal. Mediol. 761-7; Murat. Ann. VIII. ii. 202. See also a French poem by William de la Perenne, on the exploits of the Bretons in Italy, Martene, Thes. iii. 1467-9.

[c] Cron. Est. 500.

[d] Antonin. 383. Nero Donati says that when Hawkwood, on being asked to co-operate with the cardinal, offered to bring the citizens to a peace, the reply was, "No! blood, blood, and justice!" (252). "Nedum prælatum ecclesiasticum, vices tenentem vicarii Jesu Christi, sed Herodem et Neronem dedecuisset tam sævissima scelestaque vindicta." (Ant. l. c.) The Rimini chronicler says, "Questo cardinale era uomo di Diavolo." (Murat. xviii.)

[e] Annal. Mediol. 761, 763.

[f] Baluz. i. 434. Antonin. 378-9; Rayn. 1376. 1-5; Gregorov. vi. 461.

[g] Walsingh. ii. 323.

[h] N. Donati, 249; Gregorov. vi. 462-3; At Avignon, the Florentines were driven out, and their property was seized. Baluz. i. 452.

The Florentines entreated the mediation of St. Catharine of Siena, whose austerities were supposed to be connected with prophetic insight;[i] and she, having repaired to Avignon for the purpose of pleading their cause,[k] used the opportunity to set before the pope the misgovernment of the ecclesiastical states, and to urge his return to Rome.[l] The voice of Petrarch was no longer to be heard in the cause which he had so often advocated;[m] but St. Bridget of Sweden, who had seen the beginning of Gregory's pontificate, had solemnly warned him, on the ground of revelations, that, unless he returned to Rome within a certain time, the states of the church would be rent asunder, even as her messenger was charged to rend the letter which he conveyed;[n] and her prophetical authority had been inherited by her daughter, St. Catharine of Sweden, who now joined her representations to those of the virgin of Siena.[o]

June, 1376.

It is said that Gregory had vowed that, if he should be chosen pope, he would return to Rome;[p] and, in addition to all other

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[i] Rayn. 1376. 6.

[k] Lettere di S. Cat. 230, 232, &c.

[l] Rayn. 1376. 70; Gregorov. vi. 452, 465. See S. Cat. Lett. 125, 131, 185, &c. In Lett. 229, she exhorts him to come quickly, "da parte di Cristo crocifisso"—"E guardate per quanto voi avete cara la vita, non veniate con sforzo di gente, ma con la croce in mano, come agnello mansueto!" In Lett. 239, she begs him to disregard the hints of poison; there is poison (*i. e.* wine) on the tables of Avignon and other cities, as well as on those of Rome. There are many other letters of free advice to the pope, *e. g.* 133, 218, 233, 238, 255, 267. For St. Catharine of Siena, see the Acta Sanctorum, April 30; Hase, 'Caterina von Siena,' Leipz. 1864; Capecelatro, 'Storia di S. Cat. da Siena,'; Milman, v. 391-3; Reumont, ii. 973; and her letters, edited by Tommaséo, 4 vols. Florence, 1860. She was the daughter of a dyer, whose family name was Benencasa, and was born in 1347. We are told by her confessor, Raymond of Capua (afterwards general of the Dominicans), that she had visions from her sixth year; that in her seventh year she vowed to the Blessed Virgin that she would have no other bridegroom than the Saviour. (Vita, 29, 35-6, in Act. SS.) She refused all offers of marriage, and lived a life of extreme asceticism, even for a time abstaining from all food and drink—of which abstinence the biographer says "non video quod sit possibile per naturam" (60). Later in life, she used to live for many weeks without any other sustenance than the Holy Eucharist, and when she ate, it was with pain, and for the sake of overcoming obloquy which her severities raised against her (166-176). She became a sister of penance of the order of St. Dominic (69). Her mystical marriage with the Saviour is related in cc. 111-5; and it is said that she always saw the ring which He placed on her finger, while to others it was invisible. Among other tokens of special favour, we are told that in a vision the Saviour opened her side, took out her heart, and after some days put his own heart in its place—a scar being left in witness of the operation 179); that, at communion, she often saw Him entering her mouth in the form of a child (181); and that she received the stigmata, which, although invisible, were felt by the pain which they caused (192-4). Catharine died in 1380, and was canonized by Pius II. in 1461. (See the 'Processus,' in Martène, Coll. Ampl. vi. 1237-1386.) On the development of the marvellous in her story, see Hase, xi.-xii. 25.) Strange as much of that story is to us, we cannot but admire the spirit of love to God and man which animates her letters.

[m] He died July 18, 1374.

[n] Gobel. Persona, 202; Rayn. 1379-10.

[o] For St. Catharine of Sweden, see Acta SS., May 24; Gregorov. vi. 446.

[p] Baluz. i. 401.

incitements, he was now convinced that his interest in Italy suffered, and was even in danger of being absolutely ruined, through his absence.[q] The Bolognese had driven out the legate and all the papal officials; the sovereignty of the church was hardly anywhere acknowledged throughout the ecclesiastical states.[r] It is said, too, that the pope was much influenced by the repartee of a bishop, who, on being asked by him why he did not go to his diocese, retorted the question on Gregory himself.[s] In 1376, Gregory announced his intention of returning to Rome; and, although it was opposed by the French king, by his own relations,[t] and by many of his cardinals,[u] six of whom refused to leave Avignon, he set out on the 13th of September.[v] After a tedious journey, performed partly by land and partly by sea, he landed at St. Paul's on the 15th of January, 1377, and his entrance into Rome was welcomed with great demonstrations of joy.[w] The "Babylonian Captivity" of seventy years was ended.

Gregory, however, soon found that his course was beset with difficulties. Although the hostility of the Visconti had been appeased by a compact that Galeazzo should retain certain towns on consideration of paying a sum of money to the papal treasury,[x] the differences with Florence still remained, and the

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[q] Baluz. i. 437. The Romans are supposed to have designed to set up the abbot of Monte Cassino as antipope. Ib. 1194.

[r] N. Donati, in Murat. xv. 247, who regards this as a just judgment on the faults of the prelates and clergy. Cf. Annal. Mediol. ib. xvi. 761. John de Mussis traces the frequent rebellions to the circumstance that the popes were in habit of bestowing governments on their own relatives, who, knowing that their tenure would end with the life of their patrons, had no other object than to extort as much money as possible within the time. Ib. 527.

[s] Baluz. i. 479.

[t] Charles V. sent the Duke of Anjou to Avignon for the purpose of remonstrating. (Froiss. vii. 67.) A biographer says that, as the pope set forth, his mother threw herself down on the threshold of the palace, and, baring her breast, exclaimed in piteous tones, "Whither goest thou my son? I shall never see thee more." To which Gregory replied, "corpore tamen trans passum non calcato,"—"It is written, 'Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis.'" (Ps. xc. 13.) Baluz. i. 481 But his mother had really been long dead. (Ib. 1234.) Another writer says that he left Avignon in order to escape from the importunities of his kinsmen. Ib. 483.

[u] See Rayn. 1379-10; S. Cater. Lett. 231.

[v] Baluz. i. 438, and note. In consequence of the assumptions of the elder cardinals, Gregory made twelve new ones. (Ib. 481.) It is said that the pope's horse would hardly allow him to mount, and afterwards refused to move, so that he was obliged to get another; and hence many inferred that he was acting against God's will. Ib. 483.

[w] Baluz. i. 438, 455. There is a strange poem (?) by Peter, bishop of Sinigaglia, entitled 'Itinerarium D. Gregorii Papæ XI.'—of which a small specimen will be enough;—

> "Facta visitatione S. Pauli palatii, ordinataque
> processione domum Præsul egreditur,
> Via incepta obviant pontifici histriones, cum
> filozis [*distaffs*] via tractatur,
> Læta sunt nimia, infinitus est apparatus, chorizantes in Jubilo omnes progrediuntur,
> Tuba clangente, convocataque acie mirabili,
> vexilla eriguntur."

(Ciacon. ii. 585, or Murat. III. ii. 690, seqq.) As to the *histriones*, see Gregorov. vi. 471-3.

[x] Schröckh, xxxi. 233.

nobles of Rome and of the ecclesiastical states were insubordinate.[y] He could not feel himself at home in his capital. The ruinous state of the walls, the churches, the palaces, and other buildings, depressed him. The long absence of the court, and the anarchy of Rome, had produced an offensive rudeness in the manners of the citizens.[z] Even his want of acquaintance with the language of his subjects—the meaning of which he could only guess at by the help of Latin, French, and Provençal—aggravated not a little the discomfort of his position.[a] It is believed that he meditated a return to Avignon, when he was seized with an illness, which, acting on a weak constitution, carried him off on the 27th of March, 1378, at the age of forty-seven.[b] His feeling towards the saints whose prophetical admonitions had influenced him in his removal to Rome, is said to have been remarkably shown on his death-bed, when, holding the holy eucharist in his hands, he warned those who stood around against the pretensions of enthusiastic men or women who uttered as revelations the fancies of their own brains.[c]

A Florentine embassy had been well received at Rome, but the terms of reconciliation which Gregory proposed were too severe to be accepted; and when the pope in turn sent some envoys to Florence, the citizens not only refused to submit to their propsals, but compelled the clergy to defy the interdict, which had until then been so far respected that the offices of religion had been performed with closed doors.[d] The pope retaliated by aggravated denunciations; but at length certain terms of peace had been agreed on, when the death of Gregory put an end to the negotiation.[e]

The eagerness of Charles IV. to secure the imperial crown for his own family had furnished Gregory with an opportunity for asserting the papal claim to a control over elections to the empire. On the emperor's proposing that his son Wenceslaus, then only seventeen years of age, should be chosen as king of the Romans, some of the electors (perhaps from a wish to hide their own dislike of the scheme) expressed an apprehension that the pope might object; and Charles, in contradiction to the

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[y] Baluz. i. 439.

[z] "Labefactati etiam ita civitatis mores erant ut nihil urbanitatis habere viderentur; utque illi mores aliunde petendi essent quæ totum orbem quondam ad urbanitatem redegerat." Platina, 266.

[a] Tommaséo, n. on S. Cater. iii. 284.

[b] Baluz. i. 441-2; Gregorov. vi. 482.

[c] Gerson. Opera, i. 16 (who has much to say against such prophecies). Mansi questions the story (n. in Rayn. t. vii. 299). Boniface IX. regards the deaths of Urban and Gregory as tokens of Divine Providence in favour of Rome. Dach. Spicil. i. 767.

[d] N. Donati, 256.

[e] Antonin. 381-8; Baluz. i. 441. Chron. Rimin. 918.

principles asserted by the union of Rhense in 1338,[f] and afterwards in his own Golden Bull,[g] applied for the pope's consent.[h] The election of a son during his father's lifetime was opposed to the Roman policy, which discouraged the idea of inheritance in the imperial crown, and even Rudolf of Hapsburg had failed in a similar request.[i] But Gregory, in consideration of the advantage which the papacy might derive from the acknowledgment that his sanction was necessary, assented after some delay, although with the warning that his assent was not to become a precedent.[k] Although Charles himself, in his Golden Bull, had charged the electors to give their votes gratuitously, and had prescribed that they should swear to do so, he was obliged to pay heavily, both in money and in capitulations, for his son's election, and even to pledge or alienate some cities and territories which belonged to the imperial crown.[l]

A.D. 1376.

In another quarter Gregory obtained a success which was rather apparent than real. The long contest between the Angevine dynasty of Naples and the house of Aragon for the possession of Sicily was ended in 1372 by a treaty which Frederick of Sicily concluded with Joanna and her husband Louis. By this, the island was to be held under the Apulian crown, on condition of paying tribute, and of furnishing soldiers in case of war; and the title of king of Sicily was to belong to the sovereign of Apulia, while the actual ruler was to style himself king of Trinacria. The "Sicilian monarchy,"[m] which, although originally sanctioned by a pope, had been a grievous offence to his successors, was to be abolished; and in other respects the treaty was greatly in favour of the papacy.[n] But these terms were never carried into effect. The papal confirmation was not sought either by Frederick or by his daughter Mary, who succeeded him in 1377. Sicily never performed the feudal obligations which had been stipulated; and its sovereigns, so long as the island remained a separate kingdom, bore in their title the name, not of Trinacria, but of "Sicily beyond the Strait."[o]

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[f] See above, p. 101.

[g] See p. 138.

[h] Baluz. i. 439, 1202; ii. 793; Rayn. 1376. 13.

[i] See vol. iii. p. 497.

[k] Rayn. l. c.; Schröckh, xxxi. 236-7; Giesel. II. iii. 96; Palacky, II. ii. 388. For the election, see Baluz. ii. 794.

[l] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Boh. c. 33; J. Trithem. Chron. Spanh. A.D. 1378; Theod. Niem, ii. 25.

[m] See vol. ii. 702.

[n] Baluz. i. 431; Giesel. II. iii. 96. See M. Vill. iv. 3, as to an earlier treaty.

[o] Giann. iv. 92; Schröckh, xxxi. 239.

CHAPTER V.

THE GREAT SCHISM OF THE WEST, TO THE END OF THE COUNCIL OF PISA.

A.D. 1378–1409.

At the death of Gregory XI. the Romans were resolved to put an end, if possible, to the residence of the popes in France, by insisting that one of their own countrymen should be chosen.[a] Gregory, foreseeing the danger of a schism, had, in the last days of his life, made a decree that a pope chosen by a majority of the cardinals should be acknowledged, March 19. whether the election were made in Rome or elsewhere, and although the usual formalities of the conclave were not observed.[b] But the Romans were bent on carrying out their purpose. In order that the cardinals might not escape from the city, they took the keys of the gates from the officials of the church, and replaced the sentinels by partisans of their own; they expelled the nobles, and, with a view to overawing the electors, they called in a multitude of armed and half-savage peasants from the neighbouring mountains,[c] while Italian prelates, within and without the city, were busily employed in stirring up the people.[d] The number of cardinals then at Rome was sixteen—four Italians, a Spaniard (Peter de Luna), and eleven Frenchmen, of whom seven were Limousins; while of the other seven members of the college one was employed as legate in Tuscany, and the rest had remained at Avignon.[e] It was with difficulty that the electors were able to make their way through the threatening crowd which beset the Vatican, April 17. and as they entered the chamber appointed for the conclave, they were alarmed by a violent thunderstorm,[f] which

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[a] Platina, 267.

[b] Baluz. i. 442; Rayn. 1378. 2; Gregorov. vi. 480; Cartwright on Conclaves, 81.

[c] "Rusticos homines effrænatos, utique bestiales ac ratione carentes, eorum vocabulo *montanarios* appellatos." Baluz. i. 444-5.

[d] Letter of Cardinals, Aug. 2, in Baluz. ii. 824-5.

[e] Ib. 825-6; Th. Niem de Schismate, i. 1. There are many documents relating to this time in Rayn. A.D. 1378, in Martene, Thes. iii., and in Du Boulay. The various accounts are carefully compared by Bp. Hefele, vi. 630, &c., although perhaps with something of a bias in favour of Urban. See, too, Schwab, 'Joh. Gerson,' i. 3.

[f] Baluz. i. 456; Theod. Vrie, in V. d. Hardt, i. 39.

seemed like an omen of coming evil. But they were yet more terrified by the behaviour of the multitude, which had forced its way into the palace, clamouring furiously "We will have a Roman, or at least an Italian!"[g] After a time, the greater part were turned out, but about forty persisted in remaining; they searched the beds of the cardinals and the most secret corners of the apartment, in order to discover any men who might be hidden, or any private outlet by which the electors might escape; and as the Romans had not allowed the usual form of walling up the entrance to be observed, the intruders were able to terrify the cardinals by their menaces and by their display of force.[h]

The French cardinals, although more than twice as many as all the rest, were weakened by a division among themselves; for the Limousins, who for six and thirty years had enjoyed the papacy and its patronage, wished to choose one of their own number, while the other section, headed by Robert of Geneva, was resolutely opposed to the election of a Limousin. Each of these factions, if unable to carry a candidate of its own, would have preferred an Italian to one of the rival French party; and thus the Italians, although few, found that they held the balance in their hands.[i]

As the tumult increased, two bannerets of Rome (the chiefs of the regions into which the city was divided) asked admittance, and urged the expediency of yielding to the wishes of the people. But they were told that the election was a matter with which no personal regards must interfere; that the cardinals, after having celebrated the mass of the Holy Ghost on the morrow, would be guided by Him alone in their choice.[k] All through the night the uproar waxed wilder and wilder. The ruffians who had remained in the palace, after having unwillingly consented that the conclave should be shut, took up their position in the room below; they plundered the papal stores of food and wine;[m] in their heightened excitement, they dashed their swords and lances against the ceiling, so as to add to the terror of the cardinals, and even made preparations as if for burning the palace; while the multitude without kept up their cries for a Roman or an Italian, mingled with shouts of "Death to the cardinals!" The great bells of St. Peter's

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[g] Baluz. i. 445.

[h] Ib. 457; ii. 826.

[i] Pileus de Prata, in Dach. Spicil. iii. 744; Sism. iv. 180; Schwab, 107.

[k] Baluz. i. 446-7, 459.

[m] Th. de Acerno (Bp. of Luceria) in Murat. III. ii. 720.

[n] Baluz. i. 447; ii. 826-7.

and of the Capitol were beaten with hammers as if the city were on fire.[o]

In the morning, the numbers of the mob were greater than ever. April 8. When the cardinals were at mass, the words of the service could not be heard for the noise without; and now the cry was for a Roman only.[p] The cardinals again met for the election, while the door of the conclave was assailed with violent blows, and the noise became louder every moment.[q] It was suggested that some one should be declared pope, in order to appease the multitude, and that another should be privately chosen, with a view to his being afterwards substituted for the first.[r] The cardinal of Florence proposed Francis Tibaldeschi, cardinal of St. Sabina[s] and archpriest of St. Peter's, the oldest member of the college; but the motion met with no support; and on a second vote, all, with the exception of James Orsini, who declined to act under such coercion,[t] agreed in the choice of Bartholomew Prignani, archbishop of Bari, who was not a member of the college, but, as being at once an Italian and a subject of the French sovereign of Naples, might be supposed to be acceptable to both parties. On the announcement of the election, an accident led the multitude to believe that it had fallen on Tibaldeschi. They plundered his palace, according to the custom on such occasions, forced a way into the conclave, and overwhelmed the old man with violent congratulations, while he strove to make them understand their mistake, and desired them, even with curses, to let him go.[u] In the meantime the cardinals dispersed in terror, leaving their hats and cloaks behind them, and some of them were severely handled by the mob.[x]

Next day, however, they met again; and, although the an-

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[o] Baluz. ii. 840; i. 461.

[p] Ib. i. 448, 460; ii. 827.

[q] Ib. i. 449.

[r] Antoninus (iii. 389) ascribes this suggestion to the archbishop of Bari himself.

[s] Ciacon. ii. 570. [It may be well to note that, while the church of St. Sabina, on the Aventine, gave the title to a cardinal presbyter, the "Episcopus Sabinensis," who was one of the cardinal-bishops, took his title, not from any town, but from the province of Sabina, his see being at Magliano (Ughelli, i. 154). The name of Sabina was also connected with the bishoprick of the Marsi, as the bishop, having no proper cathedral, made use of a church of St. Sabina, near the eastern shore of the lake of Celano. Clement VIII., about the year 1600, sanctioned the transfer of the see to Pescina, in the same neighbourhood. Ib. 883, 914-15.]

[t] Thom. de Acerno in Murat. III. ii. 719. Yet Orsini is charged with having originally got up the cry for an Italian (Th. Niem, i. 2). The cardinal of Florence, finding the archbishop of Bari chosen by the rest, joined in the election. Th. de Acerno, 720, 722.

[u] Baluz. i. 461; ii. 842, 1093; Pileus de Prata, in Dach. Spicil. iii. 741.

[x] Baluz. i. 162-3; ii. 842; Pileus, l. c.

nouncement of the archbishop of Bari's election caused some tumult, as his title was mistaken for the name of James of Bar, a Limousin of the papal household,[y] he was peaceably invested with the mantle of office. It is said that, in answer to his doubts as to the validity of his election, the cardinals assured him that all had been rightly and fairly done.[z] He received their homage, and they all took part in his coronation, which was solemnly performed on Easter-day.[a] The election was announced to the sovereigns of Europe, not, as had been usual, by the pope himself, but by the cardinals; and they also reported it to their brethren at Avignon in a letter which declared that their choice had been made unanimously, and (as they professed to believe), under the direction of the Holy Spirit.[b]

April 9.

Urban VI. (as the new pope styled himself) was a Neapolitan of humble birth, and a man of strictly ascetic life. He was deeply read in ecclesiastical law, but was more especially respected for his devotion to the study of Scripture, and for the humility, the disinterestedness, the equity, and the compassion which were supposed to mark his character.[c] But almost immediately after his elevation, it began to appear that some of the virtues by which he had been hitherto distinguished were exchanged for qualities of an opposite kind. He was open to flattery, while, in dealing with his cardinals and with other high ecclesiastics, he behaved with a haughtiness and a rudeness which called forth open remonstrances and were felt to be intolerable.[d] Even his good actions were so done as to produce an unfavourable impression. He announced reforms of an

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[y] Baluz. ii. 829, 1215; Theod. Niem, i. 2.

[z] Pileus, in Dach. Spicil. i. 744.

[a] Ib. 744-5; Baluz. i. 463; Theod. Niem, i. 3; Th. de Acerno, 723.

[b] Baluz. i. 540-2; Dach. Spicil. i. 764.

[c] Th. Niem,' i. 1. Theodoric or Dietrich of Niem (Neheim, in the diocese of Paderborn), one of the chief authorities for this time, was secretary for briefs to Gregory XI., whom he accompanied from Avignon to Rome, and continued to hold his office under popes of the Roman line until 1410. Boniface IX. appointed him to the see of Verdun, but he was kept out by a rival; nor was he able to get possession of Cambray, to which he was afterwards nominated. He accompanied John XXIII. to the council of Constance, and died while it was sitting. He wrote four books, 'De Schismate'—the IVth, which bears the title of 'Nemus Unionis,' being subdivided into six tracts; also a 'Life of John XXIII,' which is printed by Von der Hardt, Magn. Concil. Constant. t. ii. The first three books on the Schism are here cited without the title. Chron. Epp. Verdun. in Leibn. ii. 221; Lenfant, Hist. du Conc. de Const. i. 577, (where the identity of the writer with the bishop designate of Verdun is questioned); Herzog, art. *Dietrich von Niem.*

[d] Th. Niem. i. 1.; Gobelin. Persona, 295: "Fuit in homine illo natura inquieta et dura. Nulla patribus gratia qui se potissimum delegissent, nulla humanitas, nulla conciliatio animorum; sed contumax et minabundus et asper, malebat vitari et metui potius quam diligi." Letter of the cardinals in Baluz. ii. 829.

unpopular kind, without any consideration for the prejudices or the interests which might be affected by them. He threatened to reduce the luxurious cardinals[e] to one dish at table, after his own example; to overwhelm the French influence in the college by the addition of Romans and Italians;[f] and he further provoked the French cardinals by absolutely refusing to go to Avignon. Preaching in his own chapel, he denounced the bishops who were at the court as perjured for neglecting their dioceses; to which the bishop of Pampeluna replied at once that the charge was in his case untrue, as he was there on diocesan business.[g] The pope desired the cardinals to repair to the churches from which they took their titles, and to reside at them. At a consistory, he charged such of them as had been sent on embassies with having allowed themselves to be bribed; to which James de la Grange, cardinal of St. Marcellus, retorted "As archbishop of Bari you lie;" and the cardinal, who was one[h] of the French king's councillors, went off to use his influence with Charles V. in opposition to Urban.[i] Joanna of Naples had celebrated the election of the Neapolitan pope by public festivities;[k] she sent him magnificent presents of money, food, and wine, and deputed her husband, Duke Otho of Brunswick,[m] to convey her congratulations and respects to him; but Urban, although he had formerly been on terms of friendship with the duke, now treated him with such discourtesy that Otho returned to Naples indignant and alienated.[n] St. Catharine of Siena, although she adhered zealously to Urban in the differences which afterwards arose, found herself compelled to remonstrate with him on his irascibility and on the impolicy of his behaviour.[o]

The majority of the cardinals, angry and disgusted at his

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[e] There is a curious invective against the habits of the cardinals by a writer on Urban's side, John de Lignano, in Rayn. t. vii. 636.

[f] Th. Niem, i. 5; Sism. R. I. iv. 188, &c.

[g] Th. Niem, i. 4.

[h] Ad. Murimuth. Cont. 231.

[i] Walsingh. i. 381-2. One version of the saying is that given in the text; another is, "I cannot answer you as pope; but if you were still the *archiepiscopellus* of Bari, I would tell the archbishop that he lied in his throat." See Baluz. i. 1158-9.

[k] Gobel. Pers. 296.

[m] For the queen's fourth marriage, A.D. 1376, see Murat. Ann. VIII. ii. 194, 199.

[n] Th. Niem, i. 6–8, who styles Otho "ille quondam pater principum et norma nobilium." A Neapolitan diarist, however, says that Otho was well received, but was provoked by the pope's refusal to let him be crowned (Murat. xxi. 1039). Otho is said to have revived the old joke of calling Urban Turban. (See vol. ii. p. 668.) Th. Niem, i. 8; cf. Baluz. i. 433.

[o] *E.g.* Lett. 305-6, 370. Döllinger, ii. 277; Gregorov. vi. 497. She is said to have predicted the schism, which she ascribed to the unwillingness of the clergy to endure correction. Raym. Capuan. Vita S. Cath. c. 286; (Acta SS. April 30;) cf. cc. 287, 333-4.

treatment of them, and the more so because they saw that he endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the people of Rome, began to question the soundness of the pope's mind,[p] and to consider how they might rid themselves of him. One by one they made their way out of the city, and assembled at Anagni, where they invited Urban to join them.[q] Instead of complying with this request, he summoned them to Tivoli, where he was with the four Italian cardinals; but they answered that they could not conveniently leave Anagni, as they had laid in large stores of provisions there.[r] Their design, which had probably been nothing more than to draw Urban into a capitulation, was now carried further. In the presence of three of their Italian brethren, who had conveyed the pope's invitation, they swore on the Gospels that their consent to Urban's election had been extorted only by the fear of death;[s] and on the 9th of August, after having celebrated a solemn mass, they sent forth a letter in which they renounced him as an apostate and a deceiver—professing to have chosen him in the trust that, as a man of integrity and acquainted with the canon law, he would feel himself bound to regard as null an election which had been made under constraint, and to take the earliest safe opportunity of declaring its nullity.[t]

Yet although the election had unquestionably been influenced by fear of the Roman populace,—although the cardinals, if they had been free, would probably have chosen otherwise,—their choice of Urban had really been rather a compromise than a compliance with the will of the multitude, who had cried out for one of their own fellow citizens, and, far from wishing for the archbishop of Bari, had been eager to enthrone the cardinal of St. Peter's.[u] And, whatever might have been the original defects in Urban's title, the cardinals appear to have debarred themselves from insisting on these. They had, it would seem, gone through a second form of election, in order to make the matter sure;[x] they had accepted him after the restoration of peace in the city; they had with apparent willingness taken part in all the forms which were necessary in order to put him completely into possession of the papacy; they had announced his elevation to the Avignon cardinals and to the

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[p] Theod. Niem, i. 7.

[q] Baluz. ii. 461; Chron. Rim. in Murat. xv. 919; Theod. Niem, i. 7.

[r] Baluz. ii. 461; Th. de Acerno, 727.

[s] Bul. iv. 587; Hef. vi. 667.

[t] Baluz. i. 450, 465, 472; ii. 831; Dacher. Spicil. i. 764; See Hefele, vi. 656. For an earlier declaration (Aug. 2) see Baluz. ii. 822, and cf. Bul. iv. 467.

[u] See Baluz. i. 551; and a letter of 1407 in Murat. Coll. Ampl. vii. 749.

[x] See Hefele, vi. 657.

sovereigns of Christendom as having been made in due form, and even under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit.[y] They had assisted at his celebration of the most solemn rites. They had solicited and received preferment at his hands, for themselves or their friends, even since their withdrawal to Anagni.[z] In all possible ways they had acknowledged him, until driven by his outrageous behaviour to seek for pretexts which might warrant them in forsaking and superseding him.[a]

The cardinals now hired a band of Breton and Gascon soldiers to protect them.[b] They got possession of the papal jewels and insignia, which had been deposited in the castle of St. Angelo.[c] They entered into an understanding with the queen of Naples, and removed from Anagni to Fondi, Aug. 27. within the Neapolitan territory, where the count of the place, a turbulent man of the Gaetani family, who had long held the government of Campania under the Roman church, was induced by his enmity against Urban to support them.[d] They persuaded three out of the four Italian cardinals to join them—it is said, by holding out to each the hope of being chosen as pope.[e] They endeavoured to fortify their cause by procuring the opinions of eminent lawyers; but in this their success was imperfect, as the jurists in general held that the election of Urban had been regular, or that, if it were not so, the power of amending it belonged, not to the cardinals, but to a general council.[f]

The aged cardinal of St. Peter's was the only member of the

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[y] See Baldus in Append. to Rayn. t. vii. They afterwards said that Urban had forced them to this, and that their continued insecurity made them submit to him (Baluz. ii. 931; Th. Vrie. in V. d. Hardt. i. 11); but their whole proceedings are inconsistent with the assertion (Dölling. ii. 277). Cardinal Zabarella speaks of their "longa, dissimulata, tardaque allegatio sui metus." V. Hardt. i. 511.

[z] Th. de Acerno, 74; Pileus de Prata, in Dach. Spicil. i. 745; Gobel. Pers. 294.

[a] Planck. v. 319-23; Hefele, vi. 644, 659-60. "This," says Mr. Hallam, "opens a delicate question in jurisprudence; namely, under what circumstances acts, not only irregular, but substantially invalid, are capable of receiving a retro-active confirmation by the acquiescence and acknowledgment of parties concerned to oppose them" (Middle Ages, ii. 39). But the final criterion in all questions of papal legitimacy had been that of general acknowledgment by the church; so that, if no objection had been raised against Urban in his own time, he would have been an undisputed pope for ever.

[b] Froiss. vii. 194.

[c] Urban in Mansi, xxvi. 612.

[d] Baluz. i. 477; Th. Niem. ii. 7; Giorn. Napol. in Murat. xxi. 1039; Sism. v. 189; Hefele, vi. 670.

[e] Theod. Niem, i. 9.

[f] Rayn. I. 378. 30-9 Append. to vol. vii. (for John of Lignano and Baldo); Dölling. ii. 278. The famous Baldo, of Perugia, gave an opinion favourable to Urban (Mansi in Rayn. t. vii. 321; Append. ib. 613), but is commonly said to have afterwards gone over to the other side. (Giesel. iii. 134; Milm. v. 404.) But Savigny denies his change, and says that a second opinion, two years later, agreed with the first, vi. 207-9.

college who still adhered to Urban; but he did not long survive.[g] Urban now announced an intention of creating nine cardinals; but in the Ember-week of September he proceeded to bestow the dignity at once on twenty-nine persons—a number which exceeded that of the French and the Italians together. Many of these were Neapolitans like himself, and recommended by powerful family connexions or by other circumstances which might enable them to exercise an influence in his favour among their countrymen.[h]

Sept. 18.

On the 20th of the same month, the rebellious cardinals at Fondi renewed their declarations against Urban, and, although the Italian members of the college withdrew before the election, chose as pope Robert of Geneva, cardinal of the Twelve Apostles and bishop of Cambray, who took the name of Clement VII.[i] The antipope, who was recommended to them by his enterprising spirit, as well as by his birth, which connected him with almost all the chief princes of Europe, was only thirty-six years of age. His qualities were rather those of a warrior than of a prelate; he had been the leader of a company of Breton mercenaries, and had been deeply concerned in the massacre of Cesena, and in other barbarities by which the late contests of Italy had been stained.[k] The election of Clement was accepted by the cardinals of Avignon;[m] and thus was begun the great schism of the West, which for nearly forty years distracted Western Christendom between rivals who hurled against each other the spiritual weapons of excommunication and anathema,[n] while each loaded the other with charges of the worst of crimes. France declared for Clement, although not until 1379, when Charles V. requested the university of Paris to give a judgment on the question. The faculties of theology, law, and medicine, with the French and Norman nations in the department of arts, pronounced for Clement, and the neutrality

May 22, 1379.

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[g] He died on the 7th of September. Hefele, vi. 671.

[h] Some make the number 26 or 27. See Baluz. i. 478; Theod. Niem, i. 12. N. Donati in Murat. xv. 261; Chron. Est. *ib.* 503; Annal. Mediol. *ib.* xv. 770-1; Chron. Rimin. xv. 9-20. Among the new cardinals was one Englishman, Adam Easton (Godwin, 793). Some of them soon dropt the title (Baluz. i. 489). St. Catharine, although she is said to have suggested the creation of these cardinals (Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. xv.), speaks unfavourably of some of them, Lett. 364.

[i] Baluz. i. 477-8.

[k] Ib. i. 488, 1084–5; ii. 837; Cron. di Bologna in Murat. xviii. 505, 510; Urban in Mansi. xxvi. 611; Antonin. 382; "Giovane uomo, e bello di sua persona, salvo che era alquanto zoppo e un poco guercio." (Chron. Rim. in Murat. xv. 920; cf. Chron. Est. 503). He took great pains to conceal his lameness. Th. Niem, ii. 1.

[m] Baluz. ii. 845-7.

[n] Ib. i. 496; Urb. in Rayn. 1378. 103-111, &c.

of the English and Picard nations of "artists" was overpowered.[o] England was on the side of Urban, because France was with Clement; and Scotland was for Clement, because England was with Urban.[p] Germany and Bohemia,[q] Hungary, Poland, and Portugal, tired of the long series of French popes, were in favour of Urban; so too was all Italy except the Neapolitan kingdom, which he had alienated by his behaviour to Queen Joanna's husband, and by showing an inclination to favour the pretensions of Charles of Durazzo as a rival claimant of her throne.[r] Castile and Aragon were brought, after some delay, to declare for Clement, in great measure through the skilful negotiations of his legate, Cardinal Peter de Luna.[s]

Within a short time, after the beginning of the schism, changes occurred by which the chief thrones of Europe were transferred from experienced sovereigns to princes whom a writer of the time describes in general as voluptuous youths,[t] and whose authority was not such as to exercise much influence in the question. Sept. 16, 1380. In France, Charles V., a king distinguished for his prudence and for his love of learning and the arts,[u] was succeeded by his son Charles VI., a boy of fourteen, who from his early manhood became subject to fits of lunacy, in consequence of which the kingdom fell a prey to the rivalries of the princes of the blood.[v] In England, Edward III. had been

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[o] Bul. iv. 566. The French king allowed the English nation in the university to acknowledge the pope who was owned in England (Bul. v. 65; Giesel. II iii. 134). See decrees of the university of Paris in favour of Clement in Baluz. ii. Nos. 220-1; Wilkins iii. 138, and see the invective against the French king for taking part with Clement, in Walsingh. i. 393. The abbot of Citeaux was for Clement, and the popes of the Roman line found themselves obliged to devise means for holding the general chapters of the order, and keeping up discipline in it. See Rymer, vii. 523. Chron. Mels. iii. 258, 266.

[p] See Edward III.'s letter in Baluz. i. 557. The marriage of Richard II. with Anne of Bohemia had also a share in determining the policy of England. Th. Niem, i. 17. Richard, in 1379, granted to the pope two-thirds of the income of benefices held in England by the rebel cardinals, the remaining third being retained for repairs, &c. Rym. vii. 222.

[q] See Baluz. i. 557; Schröckh. xxxi. 259; Palacky, III. 1.

[r] Froiss. vii. 195-7; x. 35-6; Gobel. Pers. 297; Baluz. i. 472. Theodoric of Niem says that Joanna joined Clement against her husband's will. i. 17.

[s] Martene, Thes. ii. 1083-98; Coll. Ampl. vii. xx. See Baluz. i. 493, 502-3, 517-19, 1283; ii. 920-8; Mansi, xxvi. 659, 684, 733; Mariana, xviii. 4; &c. John of Aragon, in giving his adhesion to Clement, Feb. 21, 1387, says that he had been restrained from publicly doing so while his father lived. Baluz. Collect. No. 227.

[t] Th. Niem, i. 18. In the letter of advice addressed by the Count Palatine Rupert to Wenceslaus, when about to go to a conference at Reims (see below, p. 176), it is said that, as Charles was a widower, the cardinals offered him the papacy. Martene, Thes. ii. 1174.

[u] Sism. xi. 3, seqq.; Martin, v. 239, 242-3, 299, 300; Hallam, i. 61. See the "Livre des Fais et bonnes Mœurs du sage roy Charles V.," by Christine de Pisan, in Petitot, v., vi.

[v] Martin, v. 431, 441; Hallam, i. 61, 66. These fits began in 1392. (Mon. Sandionys. l. xiv. 5; Juv. des Ursins, 91). "Et n'y trouvoit on remède si non prier Dieu. Et estoit belle chose et piteuse

succeeded in 1377 by the young and feeble Richard II. In Germany and Bohemia, Charles IV. was succeeded by his son Wenceslaus, whose slender capacity was obscured by continual debauchery.[x] Nor, while the power of sovereigns was thus ineffective, was there any predominant saint who, like Bernard in an earlier age, could, by throwing his influence into the scale of one of the claimants of the papacy, have made the other to be generally regarded as an antipope. On each side there were saints and prophets whom their contemporaries regarded with veneration; while Urban had with him Catharine of Siena,[y] Catharine of Sweden,[z] and the royal friar-prophet, Peter of Aragon,[a] Clement was supported by the great Spanish Dominican preacher, Vincent Ferrer, and by a prince of Luxemburg, Peter, bishop of Metz and cardinal, who, although he died at the age of eighteen in 1387, continued after death to throw over the cause of the Avignon popes the lustre

Nov. 1378.

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des devotions qu' avoient toutes gens; et faisoit-on aumosnes à eglises, hostels-Dieu, et pauures gens" (Juv. des Ursins, 117). For the miseries of France, see Nic. de Clemangiis, De Lapsu et Reparatione Justitiæ.

[x] "Ineptus, probrosus, sævitia et ignavia infamis" (Avent. 610); "Voluptatum sequax et labores refugiens, vini quam prorsus regni curiosior" (Æn. Sylv. Hist. Bohem. c. 34). Cf. Andr. Ratisb. in Pez, IV. iii. 591-3; Palacky. III. 12, 67-9. The Jesuit biographer of St. John of Nepomuk says: "Qui cum princeps esset ignavissimus idemque in luto sanguine macerato sederet, *i.e.*, libidinose et crudeliter regnaret, &c." (Acta SS. Mai. 16, p. 668.) As to this very popular saint, see Pressel in Herzog, art. *Joh. v. Nepomuk*, and Hefele, vi. 694. The only foundation for the common story appears to be that Wenceslaus is said by Andrew of Ratisbon to have drowned a doctor of Divinity, named John, in the Moldau, for saying, "hunc esse dignum nomine regis qui bene regna regeret." (Pez IV. iii. 592). This John seems really to have suffered for being a partisan of the archbishop of Prague, with whom Wenceslaus had quarrelled; and the circumstances of the legend of St. John of Nepomuk,—that he suffered for refusing to disclose to Wenceslaus the queen's confession, &c.,—are imaginary. Moreover, the date is placed five years too early. Dr. Pressel states the various theories as to the origin of the legend, and is inclined to think, with Otto Abel (whose book was published at Berlin in 1855), that it was got up by the Jesuits after the triumph of Romanism in Bohemia in the thirty years' war, with the view of supplying a national hero in opposition to John Hus. It is said that many statues, &c., which bear the name of St. John Nepomuk were originally meant for Hus (Pressel, 752). In favour of the story, see Mansi in Rayn. t. viii. 74.

[y] See above, p. 151; also later letters, 310. 312, 313, 350, 351, 357, 362, 368, &c.; Rayn. 1379. 22, 55, 59, &c.; Hase, 'Cat. v. Siena,' 236. She died April 29, 1380.

[z] St. Catharine of Sweden died in 1381. (Rayn. 1381. 45.) See her evidence as to the election, *ib.* 1379. 28. Her mother, St. Bridget, is said to have foretold the schism, *ib.* 8.

[a] See above, p. 140; Wadd. 1380. 36-7; Bul. iv. 581; Mansi, xxvi. 657. In Pez, ii. 507 seqq. is a treatise by Henry of Hesse against a hermit named Telesphorus, who professed to have had a vision directing him to the books of Cyril and Joachim (c. 9). Henry says that many persons had taken occasion from the schism to set up for prophets, and to utter oracles which were soon falsified by (time cc. 6-8.) These prophets had said that the schism would be ended in 1383 by the slaying of the pseudo-pope [*i. e.* Urban] at Perugia (c. 25). It appears to be uncertain who was meant under the name of Cyril, c. 12.

of innumerable miracles.[b] Nor has the question as to the legitimacy of the two popes, and of the lines founded by them respectively, been ever decided by any authority which is regarded as final. It was carefully avoided by the councils which were assembled with a view to healing the schism; and in later times, while writers of the Roman communion in general have been in favour of the Italian popes,[c] the Gallicans have maintained the title of the French line.[d] As to the practical question of communion with the popes of one or the other party, the judgment of St. Antoninus of Florence appears to be generally accepted—that, while Christians in general are not bound to have such knowledge of canon law as would qualify them to judge of the elections, they are safe in following those who are set over them in the church.[e]

Soon after his election Clement proceeded to Naples, where he was received with great honour by the queen.[f] But the people were on the side of Urban, as being their countryman, and he had strengthened his interest by including several Neapolitans in his late creation of cardinals.[g] Cries of "Death to the antipope and the queen!" were raised in the streets; and Clement, after a time, found it expedient to make his way by Marseilles to Avignon, where he settled under the protection of the king of France, and found himself obliged to endure the miseries of a dependent position.[i]

In the mean time, Urban was successful in Italy. A mercenary force which he engaged, under a native captain, Alberic

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[b] Peter d'Ailly, when sent to Avignon in 1389, to urge in the name of the king, the university, and the church of Paris, the canonization of this young saint, stated that 2128 miracles were already recorded as having been done by him, and that among them were 73 raisings of the dead! Bul. iv. 655, 666, &c.; Mon. Sandion, t. i. p. 478; Juv. des Ursins, 61; Mart. Coll. Ampl. VII. Præf. xxix.; Ciacon. ii. 684.

[c] *E. g.* Rayn. 1409. 8. The names of Clement VII. and Benedict XIII., which were assumed by Avignon popes, have since been repeated in the undoubted series (Giesel. II. iii. 136). On the other hand, Alexander V., the pope chosen by the council of Pisa, seems to be acknowledge by the numbering of the next Alexander as the VIth. But Rinaldi makes light of this, 1409. 80.

[d] Schröckh, xxxi. 252-6.

[e] Antonin. 390; Schröckh, xxxi. 352. See Giannone, iv. 118-9

[f] Baluz. i. 491.

[g] A Cardinal de' Gifuni, who had received his hat from Clement, burnt it and his robes publicly at Naples, as having been given by a pretender. Giorn. Nap. in Murat. xxi. 1044.

[h] Cron. Bologn. in Murat. xviii. 520; N. Donat. 263.

[i] Baluz. i. 491-5 "Quid Clemente nostro, dum advixit, miserabilius? qui ita se servum servorum Gallicis principibus addiceret ut vix minas et contumelias quæ illi quotidie ab aulicis inferebantur, deceret in vilissimum municipium dici. Cedebat illi furori, cedebat tempori, cedebat flagitantium importunitati, fingebat, dissimulabat, largiter promittebat, diem ex die ducebat, his beneficia dabat, illis verba; omnibus quos aut ars assentatoria aut ludicra in curiis acceptos fecerat summopere placere studebat, eosque beneficiis promereri quo talium patrocinio dominorum gratiam et favorem assequeretur, &c. De Roma Eccles., c. 12, in Von der Hardt I. iii. 16.

of Barbiano, defeated and broke up the Breton and Gascon bands which were in the pay of the opposite party.[k] The castle of St. Angelo, which had been held for the cardinals, was now for the first time assailed by artillery, and fell into the hands of the Romans, who dismantled it and barbarously mutilated it by pulling down a large part of the marble facing, and employing the stones in paving the streets.[m]

April 29.

Urban was resolved to make Joanna feel the weight of his enmity. He stirred up Charles of Durazzo, the last representative of the Angevine dynasty, to make an attempt on the Apulian crown, instead of waiting until the course of nature should give it to him. The enterprise was favoured by the oracular utterances of St. Catharine of Siena,[n] and in order to contribute to the expenses of it, Urban sold the plate, the jewels, and other precious ornaments of churches, and even alienated ecclesiastical property without regard to the will of the incumbents.[o] In April 1380, he pronounced Joanna, as a heretic and schismatic, to be deprived of her kingdom, and of all fiefs held under the Roman see, released her subjects from their allegiance, and proclaimed a crusade against her.[p] Charles was received at Rome with great honour, was anointed as king of Sicily, and was invested in the dominion of all southern Italy, except the papal city of Benevento, with Capua, Amalfi, and other places, which Urban wished to form into a principality for his nephew, Francis Prignano.[q] On the other hand, Joanna resolved to call in to her assistance Louis, Duke of Anjou, a prince of warlike character, whom she adopted as her heir;[r] and the Avignon pope not only sanctioned this, but professed to bestow on Louis a portion of the Papal States, which was to be styled the kingdom of Adria, on condition that neither he nor his successors should accept an election to the German crown, or to the lordship of Lombardy.[s] The gift was one which cost Clement nothing, as the papal territory was in the hands of his rival, and

June 1, 1381.

June 29, 1380.

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[k] N. Don. 263; Sism. v. 213.

[m] Benven. Imol. in Murat. Antiq. Ital. i. 1070; Walsingh. i. 396; Froiss. vii. 199; Theod. Niem, i. 20; Gregorov. vi. 504-5. Boniface IX. repaired the damage with brick. Th. Niem, l. c.

[n] Rayn. 1380. 5; Giannone, iv. 108; Catharine had in vain admonished the queen. Lett. 312, 317, 318, &c.

[o] Theod. Niem, i. 22; Milman, from MS. Brit. Mus. v. 411.

[p] Th. Niem, i. 19; Rayn. 1380. 2.

[q] There were certain conditions, by failure as to which the kingdom was to revert to the Roman see; e.g. that it should not be in the same hands with the empire, that tribute should be paid, &c. (Rayn. 1381. 3—23.). Theodoric of Niem says that Urban intended to make his nephew king of Trinacria. i. 8.

[r] Mart. Thes. i. 1380; Baluz. i. 501; Antonin. 399.

[s] The bull is in Dachery, iii. 716. See Giann. iv. 110; and for the honours paid to Louis at Avignon, Mon. Sandion. i. 160; Juv. des Urs. 22.

there was a hope that, by professing to give a part, he might gain the assistance of Louis towards the acquisition of the rest.[t] But the plan failed. While Louis remained in France, busily engaged in securing the inheritance which had fallen to him by his brother's death,[u] Charles invaded southern Italy.[w] Otho, although distinguished for his military skill, was without money, and was unsupported by the people, who had been irritated by
June 28, the demand of a heavy war-tax; and Charles, after
1381. having defeated him at San Germano,[x] got possession of Naples. The queen was compelled to surrender herself
Aug. 26. to the victor, and it is commonly believed that by his command she was smothered or strangled in
May, 1382. prison.[y] Her death and the manner of it are said to have been determined by the advice of King Louis of Hungary, who thus avenged, even in its very circumstances, the murder of his brother Andrew.[z] When at length Louis of Anjou was able to enter Italy at the head of a powerful and brilliant army,[a] he found that the policy of Charles had raised up difficulties which beset him in his passage through Lombardy.[b] His troops suffered severely from the want of provisions and from the inclemency of the weather, while Charles declined meeting him in the field, and left these enemies to do their work,[c] so that the soldiers, according to the expression of a contemporary, "died
Sept. 21, like dogs,"[d] and Louis himself was carried off by a
1384. fever at Bari.[e] His force was utterly broken up, and gallant nobles, who had accompanied him in full confidence of victory,[f] were obliged to beg their way in rags back to France, while Charles remained undisputed sovereign of Naples.[g]

To Urban it seemed that the new king, of whose success he

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[t] Schröckh, xxxi. 267. [u] Schwab, 117.

[w] Giorn. Napol. 1041; Giann. iv. 111.

[x] It was supposed that the victory was gained by the help of sorcery. Theod. Niem, i. 21.

[y] Baluz. i. 501, 506; N. Donati in Murat. xv. 274. There are various accounts of Joanna's death. (See Gobel. Pers. 298; Giann. iv. 115-6; Murat. Ann. VIII. ii. 231, 236; Gregorov. vi. 514.) The Neapolitan diarist, in Murat. xxi. 1045, says that her body was publicly displayed, and that many persons nevertheless believed her to be still alive; but he says nothing of violence. According to Theodoric of Niem, she was strangled when at her devotions in a chapel (i. 25). As to the judgments passed on her character, see Milman, v. 413.

[z] "Nell' istesso modo." Giann. iv. 116.

[a] Froiss. ix. 105, 125-7; Gobel. Pers. 299; Giorn. Nap. 1046.

[b] Juv. des Ursins, 22.

[c] Mon. Sandion. i. 334-6; Sism. Hist. Fr. xi. 447-9. [d] Giorn. Napol. 1047.

[e] Mon. Sandion. i. 336; Giann. iv. 125-8. His will, dated Sept. 20, is in Martene, Thes. i. 1594, seqq.

[f] Mon. Sandion. i. 164.

[g] Baluz. i. 505, 510; Juv. des Urs. 44; Mon. Sandion. i. 358; Antonin. 394, 401; Sism. v. 267; Martin, v. 410. The English device of designating parties by red and white roses, was anticipated by the factions of Southern Italy at this time. Gobel. Pers. 304.

regarded himself as the author, was slow in showing the expected gratitude for his support, and especially in contributing to provide a territory for the pope's nephew, Francis (who was commonly called Butillo).[h] He, therefore, resolved to go in person to Naples, and when his cardinals endeavoured to dissuade him, he burst into a fury, which seemed to confirm their suspicions of his sanity, and threatened to depose them.[i] At Aversa he was met by Charles, who received him with a show of honour, and acted as his esquire;[k] but both at Aversa and Naples he was closely guarded, from fear that he might engage in political intrigues;[m] and when this restraint was about to be relaxed, a difficulty was caused by the misconduct of the foolish and profligate Butillo, who seduced and carried off a noble and beautiful nun of the order of St. Clare. For this he was condemned to death by the king's court of justice; but Urban (who usually excused his nephew's excesses by the plea of youth, although Butillo had reached the age of forty),[n] declared that he himself was suzerain of the Apulian kingdom, and that in his presence no other tribunal had jurisdiction over a grandee.[o] Charles, was unwilling to carry matters to an extremity, as the French invasion had not yet passed away.[p] The cardinals, therefore, were able to compound the dispute, by arranging that Butillo should marry a lady related to the king, and Urban withdrew with all his cardinals to Nocera.[q]

Oct. 1383.

May 16, 1384.

During his stay at Naples, Urban had deprived all such clergy of that city as were suspected of leaning to the opposite interest, and in filling up the vacancies, he had put many low men into dignities for which they were grossly unfit. He had promoted at once thirty-two Neapolitans to archbishopricks and bishopricks.[r] He now resolved on a new creation of cardinals, among whom he wished to include the three ecclesiastical electors of Germany; but these all declined to bind themselves to his fortunes by accepting the doubtful honour.[s] And when he offered it to a number of the Neapolitan clergy, he had the double mortification of finding that they refused from fear of

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[h] Chron. Regg. in Murat. xviii. 91; Sism. v. 268. Theodoric of Niem says that Urban would even have made his nephew sultan of Babylon. Nemus Unionis, vi. 39.

[i] Th. Niem, i. 28; Baluz. i. 1270; Walsingh. ii. 105, 121.

[k] "Rex vero praecedens pontificem egit officium scutiferi." Theod Niem, i. 29; cf. Giorn. Napol. 1018.

[m] Th. Niem, i. 31-2; Gobel. Pers. 299. Walsingham probably exaggerates the circumstances. ii. 121.

[n] Th. Niem, i. 33.

[o] Ib. 34.

[p] Hefele, vi. 683.

[q] Giorn. Nap. 1052; Theod. Niem, l. c. Theodoric's descriptions of Nocera (cc. 38-40) and of Naples (ii. 22) are remarkable.

[r] Th. Niem, i. 26.

[s] Gobel. Pers. 316.

offending the king, and that the cardinalate was discredited in the general estimation by the characters of those whom he had thought worthy of it.[t]

Charles invited Urban to a conference, but was told in answer that it was for kings to wait on popes, not for popes to wait on kings; and he was charged to relieve his subjects from the heavy taxes which he had imposed on them. On hearing this he indignantly exclaimed that the kingdom was his own,—that the pope had no concern with the government of any but the priests; and that he would go to Urban, but at the head of an army.[u] For some weeks the pope was besieged in Nocera, where he showed himself at a window three or four times a-day, pronouncing with bell and lighted candle the sentence of excommunication against his besiegers.[x] He even talked of deposing Charles in punishment for his ingratitude. The old man's perverseness, self-will, and irritability became intolerable even to the cardinals of his own promotion; and some of them submitted to an able, but somewhat unscrupulous, lawyer, Bartoline of Piacenza,[y] a set of questions, among which was this—whether, if a pope should conduct himself in such a way as to endanger the weal of Christendom by negligence, obstinacy, and engrossing all power, to the exclusion of the advice of the cardinals, these would not be warranted in placing him under the charge of curators.[z] Bartoline replied in the affirmative, and other opinions to the same effect were obtained, although some of those who were consulted thought otherwise. Urban, on being informed of this proceeding by a cardinal who
Jan. 11, 1385. was not concerned in it, caused six of the cardinals to be thrown into a dungeon which had been formerly used as a cistern,[a] and after a time brought them to trial before his consistory. By the application of torture, they were brought to confess anything that was required; and while Butillo stood by, laughing immoderately at their agonies and shrieks, his uncle walked up and down in the adjoining garden, calmly reciting his canonical hours in a loud tone, so that the executioners might be aware of his presence, and might do their work with vigour.[b]

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[t] Theod. Niem, i. 44.

[u] Giorn. Nap. 1052.

[x] Gobel. Pers. 299; Giorn. Nap. 1052; Antonin. 402; Giann. iv. 128-9.

[y] "Audaci et ingenioso, qui solitus erat plerumque defendere iniquas causas ut quomodolibet lucraretur." Th. Niem, i. 42.

[z] (Ib.) St. Antoninus says that they spoke of deposing him (102). Gobelinus Persona says that they had a scheme for bringing him to trial, and burning him as a heretic. 300-1.

[a] See C. Zantfliet in Murat. Coll. Ampl. v. 326; Walsingh. ii. 122-3.

[b] Theod. Niem, 51-2. Walsingham says that they were afterwards brought out in the public consistory, where all avowed the conspiracy except the cardinal of England, who admitted only

The cardinals were then remanded to their prison, where they suffered from hunger and thirst, from darkness, stench, and vermin; one of them, De Sangro, whose place of confinement was seen by Theodoric of Niem, had not room to stretch himself in any one direction.[c] At length Urban, for whose surrender 10,000 florins had been offered,[d] was rescued from his uneasy position by Thomas of San Severino,[e] and hurried, with his prisoners, across the country to a place on the Adriatic coast, between Trani and Barletta,[f] where he had arranged that a Genoese fleet should be ready to receive him.[g] The bishop of Aquila, who was unable from illness to ride so fast as the rest of the party, was put to death on the way by the pope's command.[h] The six cardinals were carried to Palermo, and thence to Genoa;[i] and there five of them were put to death, with circumstances Sept. 14, 1385. of mystery which have given rise to a variety of reports—that they were beheaded in prison, that they were buried alive, or that they were put into sacks and cast into the sea.[k] The sixth, Adam Easton, cardinal of St. Cecilia, was spared, at the intercession of his sovereign, Richard II., but was degraded from his dignity, and was kept in rigorous imprisonment until after the death of Urban,[m] by whose successor he was reinstated. Two other cardinals, alarmed by the fate of their fellows, made their way from Genoa to Avignon, where they were admitted into the rival college by Clement;[n] one of them Pileo de Prata, archbishop of Ravenna, having publicly burnt his official hat at Pavia.[o]

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that he had complained of the pope's pride. ii. 121.

[c] Ib. 43, 45, 50.

[d] Baluz. Collectio Nova, 225.

[e] Antonin. 391, 402.

[f] This flight is fully related by Gobelin Persona, who joined Urban on the way. 302-7.

[g] In consideration of this assistance, Urban had promised a gift of some lands, which Theodoric questions his right to alienate (i. 53). Gobelin says that the ships touched at Corneto, and that "the pope gave that place to the Genoese." 308.

[h] "Sed si papa potest mandare aut facere aliquem interfici absque irregularitatis nota, non recolo me legisse." Th. Niem, i. 56.

[i] G. Stella in Murat. xvii. 1127-8.

[k] See Th. Niem, i. 60; Gobel. Pers. 310; Giorn. Nap. 1052; Vit. I. Clem. VII. ap. Baluz. 513; Annal. Januenses, in Murat. xvii. 1127; Schröckh, xxxi. 274-5.

[m] Th. Niem, i. 57; Walsingh. ii. 197. Easton is described as learned not only in Greek, but in Hebrew, and a voluminous writer. He has been styled bishop of London and of Hereford, but wrongly. Godwin, 793; cf. Ciacon. ii. 618-9.

[n] Baluz. i. 515.

[o] Gobel. Pers. 309; see Mansi in Rayn. t. vii. 491. There is a letter from Pileo and four other cardinals to the Roman clergy, of date 1385, in Baluz. Coll. Nova, No. 226, setting forth Urban's misdeeds—"ut videatur insano similis et furenti,"—and promising to come speedily to Rome, and take measures for healing the disorders of the church by a general council or otherwise. After Urban's death Pileo was sent into Italy to oppose Boniface IX., but went over to him, and, from being once more created a cardinal, was styled the three-hatted. "Cardinalis de Tricapelli, hoc est trium capellorum, id est, a tribus capellatus," says one of Clement's partisans, who

Within little more than a year after his arrival at Genoa, Urban quarrelled with the doge, to whom he had been indebted for his safety; and he left the city in the middle of December 1386, for Lucca. There he was urged by envoys from the princes of Germany to take measures for ending the schism; but he answered that he was the true pope, and could not throw doubt on his title.[p] From Lucca he removed to Perugia, but he was compelled to leave that place by the scandal which had been occasioned by his nephew Butillo's licentiousness,[q] and in August, 1388, he returned to Rome.

Charles of Durazzo, having firmly established himself in the kingdom of Naples, set off, in compliance with an invitation from a party in Hungary, to assert his claims to the throne of that country, where Mary, the daughter of King Louis, notwithstanding a law which excluded females from the crown, had been chosen "king" on her father's death in 1382.[r] Charles had sworn that he would not disturb the daughters of Louis in their inheritance; but Mary was persuaded to resign, and he was solemnly crowned in her stead. He was not, however, long allowed to enjoy his new acquisition. Through the contrivance of the late king's widow he was treacherously attacked Feb. 1386. by assassins, and he died of his wounds soon after; when the Hungarian crown again fell to Mary, who had been betrothed to Sigismund, son of the emperor Charles IV.[s] Urban made difficulties as to allowing Christian burial to Charles, and refused to invest his son Ladislaus, a boy only ten years old, in the Neapolitan kingdom;[t] but by thus indulging his enmity against Charles and his family, he encouraged the interest of his own rival, who favoured the claims of the younger Louis of Anjou to the Neapolitan crown. The kingdom was for a time a prey to anarchy, while the effect of the schism in weakening the papacy aided the designs of John Galeazzo

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adds, "Utinam adhuc exstans sit a quarto, sic tamen quod capellus sibi tradatur de chalybe, ære, vel ferro candenti, ut sic extinguatur ejus ambitio, et protervitas confundatur" (Vita I. Clem. 524. See Baluz. i. 1359; Antonin. 414; Ciacon. ii. 637). The other cardinal, Galeotto Tarlati, of Pietra Mala, died of the stone, and thus became the subject of an epitaph by Nicolas of Clemanges—

"Cui Mala Petra dedit nomen, petra morbida lethum,
Nunc petra dat tumulum, da, petra Christe, polum."—Nic. Ep. xii. p. 50.

[p] Th. Niem, i. 66. While at Lucca he forcibly translated Serafino, bishop of Reggio to a poorer see, in punishment of misconduct, which is remarkable as related in the Reggio Chronicle, Murat. xviii. 95.

[q] Th. Niem, i. 67. For Butillo's end, see ib. ii. 31.

[r] Mailáth, i. 102-9

[s] Cron. Est. in Murat. xv. 512; Rayn. 1386. 1; Giann. l. xxiv. c. 2; Mail. i. 110-2; Aschbach, i. 31.

[t] Giorn. Nap. 1053; Giann. iv. 139; Schröckh, xxxi. 376.

Visconti—a deeply politic and utterly unscrupulous man, who had deposed and poisoned his uncle Bernabò[u]—to gain a predominating influence in Italy,[x] Urban, on A.D. 1383. his return to Rome, had been coldly received, and he afterwards increased his unpopularity with the citizens. With a view at once of conciliating them[y] and of bringing money into the treasury of the church, he announced a jubilee. Out of tenderness (as he professed) to those who might be too severely tried by the interval of fifty years between such solemnities, the time was to be reduced to thirty-three years, the length of the Saviour's earthly life; and by calculation he determined that the next celebration should fall in the year 1390.[z] But some weeks before the beginning of that year, the pope, who had been severely shaken by a fall from his mule, died;[a] and Oct. 15, 1389. the benefits of his preparations were reaped by his successor.

From time to time attempts had been made to put an end to the schism. Thus in 1381 the university of Paris, disgusted by Clement's proceedings, gave an opinion that a general council should be called for this purpose.[b] In 1387, Clement, feeling himself pressed by the authority of the university, professed himself willing to refer the question to a council, and offered, if Urban would submit to him, to give him the highest place among the cardinals.[c] Urban also professed his readiness to submit to a council; but he added a condition which made the offer nugatory—that he himself should in the meantime be acknowledged as the only pope. Clement is said to have induced persons of influence in the French court, by frequent and costly presents, to refrain from exerting themselves for the closing of the schism;[d] and, as the princes of Latin Christendom

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[u] Annal. Mediol. in Murat. xvi. c. 147; Cron. Bolon. ib. xviii. 525; Theod. Niem, i. 57.

[x] See Annal. Mediol. in Murat. xvi. 788, 821-830, &c.; Sism. R. I. v. 292-3, 351-3. Wenceslaus, finding that he could not form a league against John Galeazzo, gave him a legitimate title, by erecting Milan into a duchy, which was a fief of the empire, A.D. 1395. (Th. Niem, ii. 25; Antonin. 438.) This affair was partly negotiated for Galeazzo by Peter bishop of Vicenza, who afterwards became Alexander V. (Ann. Mediol. in Murat. xvi. 821.) A funeral sermon on the duke, by an Austin friar (in Murat. xvi. 1038-50), is a remarkable specimen of eulogy, and there is a curious character of him by the Monk of St. Denys, l. xxiv. c. 8. He used to say that a maiden might safely carry gold in her hand throughout his territories—he himself being the only robber in them. Ib.

[y] Antonin. 404.

[z] J. de Mussis, in Murat. xvi. 540; Th. Niem, i. 68; Thorn, in Twysd. 2195. The bull is in Andr. Ratisb., ap. Pez, IV. iii. 587.

[a] Th. Niem, i. 69; Antonin. 404.

[b] Henr. de Hassia, 'Consilium Pacis,' c. 13, in Gerson Opp. ii. 826.

[c] Bul. iv. 618.

[d] Bul. iv. 685; Lenfant, Conc. de Pise, i. 65.

had been guided by their former political connexion in the choice of sides as to the question of the papacy, it is remarked by a writer of the time, Richard of Ulverstone, that but for the quarrels of nations the schism would neither have been so lightly begun nor so long kept up.[e]

On the 1st of November the cardinals of Urban's party chose as his successor Peter Tomacelli,[f] cardinal of St. Anastasia, who took the name of Boniface IX. The new pope, according to some authorities, was only thirty years of age; but others, with greater probability, make him fourteen years older.[g] He is described as possessed of some showy personal qualities, but without any learning or any such knowledge of affairs as would have fitted him for his position, although this last defect was afterwards in some degree remedied by experience.[h]

The schism, by throwing on western Christendom the cost of maintaining a second pontifical court, added greatly to the burdens which had before been matter of complaint. Clement VII. endeavoured to swell his income by the most unscrupulous means, and the grievances of his administration excited loud outcries from the church of France. He surrounded himself with a body of no less than thirty-six cardinals, for whom he provided by usurping the patronage of all the church-preferment that he could get into his hands.[i] A new kind of document was introduced under the name of *Gratiæ exspectativæ*, by which the reversion of a benefice was conferred, and the receiver was authorised to take possession as soon as a vacancy should occur.[k] The old resources, such as reservations, tenths, dispensations of all kinds, and the *jus exuviarum* (which was now exercised on the property of abbots as well as on that of bishops), were worked to the uttermost, and were developed in ways before unknown.[m] Preferment was bestowed for money or other improper considerations, without regard to the merit or fitness of the receivers; and, as learning was no longer regarded as a qualification for preferment, schools and colleges

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[e] Ap. V. d. Hardt, i. 1170.

[f] G. Zantfliet calls him *Tornacellus*, i.e. a whipping-top, and plays on the name.

[g] Th. Niem, ii. 6. St. Antoninus says that he was thirty-four. See Rayn. 1389. 12; Schröckh, xxxii. 90; Gregorov. vi. 528.

[h] Th. Niem, ii. 6; Vita I. Clem. ap. Baluz. 524.

[i] Juv. des Ursins, 51; Mon. Sandion. i. 82, who says that in Urban's obedience churches were exempted from tithes and had free elections, and that there was no interference with the rights of patrons, while Clement was allowed by the king and nobles to oppress the church of France.

[k] Schröckh, xxxi. 279.

[m] Mon. Sandion. i. 82-3, 86, 398, 696; Gieseler, II. iii. 141-2; Dacher. Spicil. i. 780. As to Annates, see V. d. Hardt, i. 764.

were broken up, and even the university of Paris found itself comparatively deserted by students.[n] While the French church and people groaned under these evils, the pope, by bestowing a part of the spoil on princes and powerful nobles, contrived to secure their connivance;[o] but a royal edict of 1385 in some degree, although very imperfectly, corrected the abuses which had arisen.[p]

While the French pope was endeavouring to swell his revenues by simony and rapacity, Urban VI. was honourably distinguished by his freedom from such practices;[q] and his successor, Boniface, is said to have so far regarded the opinion of the elder cardinals that for the first seven years of his pontificate he refrained from open simony. But when the old men were dead, he entered on a course of rapacity grosser and more shameless than anything that had ever been known.[r] Boniface reserved to himself the first year's income of all bishopricks and abbeys. Persons who aspired to preferment of this kind were required to pay for it in advance, and, if unprovided with ready money, they were obliged to borrow at extravagant interest from the brokers who hung about the papal court.[s] Unions of benefices were simoniacally made,[t] and men utterly ignorant were allowed, if they paid sufficiently, to be exempt from the laws against pluralities.[u] Spies were sent throughout Lombardy and other countries of Boniface's obedience, to discover whither any incumbents of rich benefices were ill, and to give early notice of any vacancy to their employers.[x] The "spoils" of prelates and cardinals were plundered before the owners were actually dead. The same reversions were sold repeatedly, the last buyers having their papers marked for preference;[y] but as this practice became so well known that

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[n] Mon. Sandion. i. 86; Juv. des Urs. 11; Bul. iv. 884; Giesel. II. iii. 141; Martin, v. 349.

[o] De Corrupto Eccl. Statu, xxvii. 4, in Nic. de Clemangis Opera, p. 26 (but, perhaps, wrongly ascribed to him—See Giesel. II. iii. 208, although Schwab maintains the old opinion, 493-4); Baluz. i. 537; Mon. Sandion. i. 88.

[p] Lib. de l' Egl.-Gall. ii. 560; Mon. Sandion. i. 398. Charles himself taxed the clergy heavily, under the pretext that the schism put him to great expenses for embassies, &c. Hefele, vi. 742.

[q] See above, p. 168, note i.

[r] Th. Niem, ii. 7; Antonin. 404. "Erat enim insatiabilis vorago, et in avaritia nullus ei similis . . . nec credo quod unquam adeo inverecundus et ingeniosus quaestor pecuniarum repertus fuerit prout erat pontifex Bonifacius." (Th. Niem, 11.) It has been supposed that this writer, who had been the pope's secretary, was actuated by private malice in describing Boniface's character; but the suspicion appears to be groundless.

[s] Th. Niem, ii. 7; Id. Vita Johi XXIII. in V. d. Hardt, ii. 315-7.

[t] Th. Niem, ii. 7.

[u] Gobel. Pers. 317.

[x] Th. Niem, ii. 8. This practice had been anticipated by Clement. Bul. iv. 582.

[y] "Anteferri." Th. Niem. ii. 8, 9. Juvenal des Ursins speaks of this as practised by Clement also. 11.

after a time purchasers could not be found on such terms, a form of precedence over all other preferences was devised in order to attract and assure them, and was, of course, sold at a much higher price.[z] The pope affected to check these abuses by enacting rules, and found a new source of profit in granting exemptions from his rules.[a] By a like policy he revoked the indulgences, privileges, and other benefits which he had irregularly granted, and made the revocation a ground for fresh exactions.[b] Even after the first year's income of a benefice had been paid in order to secure the presentation, the purchaser was liable to see it carried off by a later comer who was willing to pay more highly; for in such cases the pope professed to believe that those who had made the lower offers intended to cheat him.[c] The system of corruption became continually more ingenious and refined.[d] Members of mendicant orders were allowed, on payment of a hundred gold florins, to transfer themselves to orders which did not profess mendicancy; and the world was astonished at seeing such payments made by persons who were bound by their rules to possess nothing.[e] The traffic in indulgences was carried out more thoroughly than before.[f] The pope himself was not above accepting the smallest gains,[g] and his mother, who is described as the greediest of women, with his three brothers, found opportunities of enriching themselves.[h] The theory which some had maintained at an earlier time,[i] that a pope could not become guilty of simony, was brought forward by Boniface's friends as the only plea by which his practices could be justified.[k] Among those who obtained preferment by such means as were then necessary were many worthless and unfit persons,[m] and for a long time afterwards the clergy of the "Bonifacian plantation, which the heavenly Father planted not," were noted as the least reputable of their class.[n] In some countries, such as England or Hungary, the extravagance of the charges exacted by the Roman court on preferment to ecclesiastical dignities produced an effect which Boniface had not reckoned on, as the clergy of those countries ceased to resort to Rome, and the connexion

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[z] Th. Niem, ii. 9.

[a] Schröckh, xxxi. 294.

[b] Gobel. Pers. 321-3.

[c] Th. Niem, ii. 9.

[d] Ib. 11-2.

[e] Gobel. Pers. 317.

[f] Antonin. 414.

[g] Th. Niem, ii. 12; Gregorov. vi. 529.

[h] Th. Niem, ii. 13. St. Antoninus says that the sons of the brothers came to poverty, "ut eorum exemplo discant cæteri de patrimonio Crucifixi nolle ditari." 414. Cf. Platina, 277; Rayn. 1397. 4.

[i] See vol. iii. p. 232.

[k] Th. Niem, ii. 32; See Giesel. II. iii. 149.

[m] Th. Niem, ii. 12.

[n] Gerson de Modis Uniendi, &c., Ecclesiam, Opera, ii. 194.

of the national churches with the papacy was practically suspended.[o]

Boniface, at his accession, found the jubilee of 1390 prepared for him by his predecessor; and, notwithstanding the difficulties of the time—the separation of France from the Roman papacy, and the consequent absence of French pilgrims, with the disturbed state of affairs, which placed extraordinary hindrances in the way of travellers—a large number of visitors appeared, and great sums were contributed to the papal treasury. In consideration of the impediments which made the journey hazardous, Boniface sent emissaries into the kingdoms which acknowledged him, with a commission to offer the benefits of the jubilee and a dispensation from the necessity of visiting Rome in person; and although it is said that much of the money paid for this indulgence was embezzled by the collectors, it brought in a large addition to the profits of the jubilee, which, while a portion of them was bestowed on the repairs of the Roman churches, were mostly retained for the pope's own use.[p] The difficulty as to Naples, which Urban had left to his successor, was overcome by Boniface's acknowledging Ladislaus as king, and thus securing himself against the risk that the kingdom might fall under the spiritual obedience of the Avignon pope, who had crowned the Nov. 1, younger Louis of Anjou as its sovereign.[q] Boniface 1389. also complied with the wishes of Ladislaus by sanctioning his groundless and scandalous divorce and re-marriage,[r] and by crowning him as king of Hungary. But in that country Mary and her husband Sigismund were so firmly established that Ladislaus withdrew from the attempt to dispossess them.[s]

With his own subjects Boniface had serious discords, which obliged him to leave Rome for Perugia in 1393; and from that time he lived in provincial towns until the approach of the jubilee of 1400, when the Romans, considering that the absence of the pope would probably reduce the number of pilgrims and

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[o] Th. Niem, de Necessitate Reformationis, in V. d. Hardt, i. 281-5. The English were especially irritated by the system of making the vacancy of a high dignity a pretext for promoting five or six persons—each gaining a step, and paying the dues on it. See Rymer, vii. 672; Eulog. Hist. iii. 368.

[p] Th. Niem, i. 68, who says that the 'quaestuaries' who were sent to hawk about the indulgences sold them to the credulous people without requiring any condition of repentance. Some of them were enriched, but many came to bad ends; "Justum enim erat ut hi qui taliter Christianum populum deceperunt, eorum avaritiae consulentes male perderentur." For a later preaching of indulgences under Boniface, see the same writer's Life of John XXIII., in V. d. Hardt, ii. 340-1.

[q] Baluz. i. 523; Th. Niem, ii. 11-17.

[r] Gobel. Pers. 323.

[s] Th. Niem, ii. 17; Antonin. 158.

the profits of the celebration, made overtures for his return. Boniface, although he had already benefited by the calculation which fixed a jubilee for 1390, was very willing to fall back on the scheme which allowed him to celebrate a second jubilee within ten years; and, feeling the importance of his presence to the Romans, he took advantage of it to make stipulations which, among other things, removed the democratic bannerets from a share of the government and placed the control of it in the pope's own hands.[t] The jubilee was attended by great multitudes; the French had been eager for it,[u] and flocked to Rome, notwithstanding their king's prohibition,[x] and in defiance of the dangers with which the journey was beset from robbers and the rude and licentious soldiery who swarmed in Italy.[y] From those who were unable or unwilling to undertake the expedition, Boniface contrived to draw large contributions by allowing them, on the payment of offerings, to commute it for the visitation of certain churches in their own neighbourhood.[z] By the wealth derived from the jubilee, and by the produce of the exactions already described, the pope was enabled to repair the fortress of St. Angelo and the harbour of Ostia, to fortify the Capitol and the Vatican, to recover some portions of the papal territory, and to gain such a power over Rome itself as no one of his predecessors in late times had enjoyed.[a]

Early in his pontificate Boniface endeavoured, by repeated letters and missives, to draw the French king into renouncing the obedience of Clement.[b] The university of Paris was diligent in endeavouring to heal the schism, and in January, 1394, obtained leave from the Duke of Berri, who was then in power during one of the king's attacks of lunacy, to give its judgment on the subject. A chest was set to receive the opinions of members of the academic body, and it is said that upwards of ten thousand papers were thrown into it.[c] The plans proposed in these opinions were found to be reducible to three—

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[t] Platina, 275; Gregorov. vi., 533-4, 537-8.

[u] Th. Niem, ii. 28.

[x] Lenfant, Conc. de Pise, i. 125. The prohibition is in Lib. de l' Egl. Gall. ii. 462.

[y] Th. Niem, ii. 28; From the concourse at this jubilee a plague was spread all over Europe. Monstrel. i. 80; Bardin, in Preuves de l' Hist. de Langued. iv. 32.

[z] This was, for example, first allowed as to Cologne, and afterwards was extended to insignificant towns or monastories of Germany (Gobel. Pers. 320). For the special privilege granted to the Bolognese, see Cron. Bolon. in Murat. xviii. 553-4.

[a] Th. Niem, ii. 13-4; Antonin. 111; Gobel. Pers. 316; Gregorov. vi. 510, 547-8, 677.

[b] Dach. Spicil. i. 768-770 (A.D. 1391-3).

[c] Mon. Sandion. 1. xiv. 10; Dach. Spicil i. 769 (where there is a blank for the number); Schröckh, xxxi. 283

that both popes should abdicate; that they should agree, by a compromise, on a list of persons to whose arbitration the matter should be committed; and that it should be referred to a general council.[d] On this basis the judgment of the university was drawn up by Nicholas of Clemanges (who was styled the "Cicero of his age"), with the assistance of Peter d'Ailly and Giles Deschamps; and it was submitted to the king, who had again become capable of attending to business.[e] But Charles, although he thanked the members of the university for their pains, was persuaded by Cardinal de Luna and other friends of Clement to desire that they would not concern themselves further with the matter; and the professors suspended their teaching until their representation should receive due attention.[f] The judgment was forwarded to Pope Clement,[g] who declared it to be defamatory of the apostolic see, full of venom and detraction, and unfit to be read; but on finding that his cardinals were inclined to the opinion of the university, he was thrown into an agitation which in a few days put an end to his life on the 16th of September, 1394.[h]

June 30, 1394.

On this, Charles of France, at the instigation of the university of Paris, and with the hope of bringing the schism to an end, wrote two letters to the cardinals of the Avignon Court, desiring that they would not be in haste to elect a new pope.[i] But his first letter found them already assembled in conclave, although not yet shut in; and, suspecting its purport, they resolved to leave it unopened until the election should have been decided.[k] Each member of the college took an oath that, if elected, he would labour for the extinction of the schism, even to the extent of resigning, if such a step should be for the benefit of the church, or if the cardinals, or a majority of them, should think it expedient;[m] and they chose Peter de Luna, cardinal of St. Mary in Cosmedin, who styled himself Benedict XIII.[n] The new pope, a Spaniard, had been noted for his

Sept. 22-4.

Sept. 26.

Sept. 28.

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[d] Dach. Spicil. i. 777-8; Mon. Sandion. l. c.

[e] Mon. Sand. l. xv. c. 3; Dach. i. 777, seqq.; Bul. iv. 687.

[f] Mon. Sandion. l. xv. 4; Bul. iv. 710.

[g] Spicil. i. 785; Bul. iv. 699-700.

[h] Mon. Sand. l. xv. 5. See Bul. iv. 701.

[i] Mon Sand. xv. 6, 7; Dacher. Spicil. i. 770; Lenfant, i. 73.

[k] Mon. Sandion. xv. 8; Dach. Spicil. i. 711.

[m] Ib.; Baluz. i. 567. Lenfant remarks that these conditions left room for evasion. Conc. de Pise, i. 75.

[n] Dach. Spicil. 771; Mon. Sandion. l. xv. 8. Froissart says that the election was made subject to the French king's approval, and cries out against the subserviency to which the church had been reduced. (xiii. 190.) The election had taken place a fortnight, when Boniface wrote from Rome, to beg that the French king would prevent such a proceeding. Dach. Spicil. i. 787.

ability as a negotiator; he had obtained for Clement the adhesion of Castile, and at Paris had raised up a party in opposition to the university.[o] Although he was one of those who had begun the schism by the election of Clement at Fondi, he had been accustomed to lament that step, to blame Clement for the policy by which the separation was continued, and to profess an eager desire for the reunion of the church at whatever sacrifice.[p] But it soon became evident how little he was disposed to act sincerely on his former professions. He had at the election avowed an opinion that the oath which was proposed could not bind the pope except so far as every Catholic was bound by right and conscience; [q] and although he still continued to speak as before—declaring that, if he himself only were concerned, he would put off the papacy as readily as if it were a cloak; that he would rather spend his remaining days in a desert than give occasion for prolonging the schism [r]—he was now able to put his own interpretation on his late engagement.

The university of Paris took continually a more active part in endeavouring to heal the schism. It offered its advice to Benedict, and requested him to exert himself for the union of the church, but the letter received only an evasive reply.[s] The leaders of the university, Peter d'Ailly, Nicolas of Clemanges, and John Gerson, were opposed alike to the papal despotism and to any schemes which would have proposed to remedy this by a revolution in the system of the church. But in the meantime the increasing pressure of the evils which arose out of the schism drove others into speculations as to the means of healing it which touched the very foundations of the papal power.

Feb. 2.

On the Festival of the Purification, 1395, a national council was held at Paris. The king was prevented from attending by an attack of his terrible malady; but the princes of the royal house were present, and among the clergy were the titular patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem, seven archbishops and a great number of bishops, with representatives of the monastic orders and of the universities. Simon de Cramault, patriarch of Alexandria and administrator of the

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[o] See above, pp. 158, 172; Baluz. ii. 925-6; Mariana, t. ii. 209; See Baluz. i. 1182, seqq.

[p] Th. Niem, ii. 33; Lenf. Conc. de Pise, i. 70.

[q] Baluz. ii. 1107-8. "Whatsoever promises might be made [at elections] the pope could never be bound by the oaths of the cardinal." Gibbon, vi. 397.

[r] Mon. Sandion. l. xv. 9; Joh. Parvus, ap. Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. Præf. xlii. Hefele, vi. 705-6.

[s] Dacher. Spicil. i. 772-3; Juv. des Urs. 106; Mon. Sandion. l. xv. 10; Bal. iv. 713-6, 721.

June 20.

diocese of Carcassonne, presided.[t] Before this assembly was read the judgment of the university in favour of the plan that both popes should resign. It was adopted by a majority of 87 to 22;[u] and, after it had been formally reported by the prelates to the king,[x] a mission, headed by the Dukes of Berri, Burgundy, and Orleans, proceeded to Avignon, for the purpose of laying before Benedict the various courses which had been proposed with a view to end the schism, and of recommending the way of cession as the speediest and most dignified.[y] At the same time a letter of similar purport was addressed to Benedict by the university of Paris.[z] The cardinals, although it is said that high words passed among them,[a] for the most part declared themselves in favour of the proposed scheme;[b] but Benedict, after much delay and many evasions, professed to think that a conference between himself and his rival would be more hopeful;[c] while to one who visited him he declared that he would rather be flayed alive than resign,[d] and he wrote letters of remonstrance both to King Charles and to the Duke of Burgundy.[e] The representatives of the university were indignant at the rudeness which they experienced from the pope's servants and at his refusal to receive them publicly, and the embassy left Avignon in disgust,—the Duke of Berri, in the name of the rest, refusing an invitation to the pope's table.[f] The proposal of a conference was received with general disfavour, as it was suspected that such a meeting

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[t] Mon. Sandion. t. ii. 218; Juv. des Urs. 167; Dach. Spicil. i. 773-4; Mansi, xxvi. 773, seqq.; Bul. iv. 732; Hefele, vi. 708. Peter d'Ailly had shortly before been sent by the king to Avignon, but the answer which he brought back is unknown. (Spicil. i. 773; Mon. Sandion. t. ii. 218, 224.) Schwab describes Cramault as a man who spoke loudly for unity, but in reality looked only to his selfish objects; who agitated the university on the question until, after the council of Pisa, he got the archbishoprick of Reims and the dignity of cardinal (135). Benedict styles him and the abbot of St. Michel, "tocius perturbacionis et discordie auctores." Mon. Sandion. t. ii. 756.

[u] Mon. Sandion. l. xv. 11-2; Spicil. i. 774; Mansi, xxvi. 785.

[x] Mansi, xxvi. 786.

[y] Informatio seriosa in Baluz ii. 1110; Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. 437, 487; Mansi, xxvi. 787, 795-6. Cf. Mon. Sandion. l. xvi 1; Juv. des Urs. 108.

[z] Mansi, xxvi. 798; Bul. iv. 740.

[a] Juv. des Urs. 111.

[b] Dach. Spicil. i. 791-4; cf. Baluz. ii. 1113; Mart. Coll. Amp. 530, seqq.; Mon. Sandion. l. xvi. 4, 10. While the princes were at Villeneuve, on the opposite side of the Rhone, the bridge which connected it with Avignon was partly burnt; and this was generally supposed to have been done by Benedict's contrivance, in order to check the frequency of their negotiations with those around him. He denied on oath that he had any concern in it, and perhaps it may have been the work of persons who wished to keep the dukes at a distance from him. See Mon. Sandion. xvi. 7; Juv. des Urs. 111; Hist. Langued. iv 409.

[c] Dach. Spicil. i. 789; Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. 528; Mon Sandion. xvi. 2-6, 13.

[d] Mansi, xxvi. 870.

[e] Dach. Spicil. i. 794; Bul. iv. 748.

[f] Juv. des Urs. 113; Mon. Sandion. l. xvi. 11.

would result in an agreement for the partition of Christendom between the two popes, and consequently would prolong the schism.[g]

Still eager to bring the schism to an end, the king of France endeavoured to enlist other princes in the same cause, while the university of Paris entered into correspondence with universities of other countries on the subject.[h] From Cologne a letter had been received, exhorting the Parisians to labour for peace, but showing an inclination to the side of Boniface.[i] From Oxford came a declaration in favour of a general council;[k] but King Richard of England preferred the scheme of a cession, and wrote to both popes in recommendation of it.[m] The university of Toulouse maintained, in opposition to that of Paris, that not even a general council has authority to judge the pope;[n] and in this, as in other matters, the Dominicans held against the Parisian university, from which they had been excluded some years before on account of their resistance to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.[o] Provoked by opposition, Benedict condemned some members of the university to the loss of their preferments; whereupon the academical body appealed against him to a future, sole, and real pope; and when he declared appeals from the pope to be unlawful, it repeated the act, asserting that schismatical and heretical popes were subject in life to the judgment of general councils, and after death to that of their own successors.[p]

In March, 1398, the Emperor Wenceslaus and the king of France met at Reims, with a view to settling the termination of the schism.[q] It was agreed that abdication should be recommended both to Benedict and to Boniface, with a view to the appointment of a new pope, who should be chosen by the cardinals of both parties; and, if this recommendation should be

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[g] Schmidt, iv. 38.

[h] Mon. Sandion. xvi. 11; xvii. 1; Schröckh, xxxi. 315-6; Martin, v, 445.

[i] Dacher. Spicil. i. 782-3 (with the answer.) Cf. Bul. iv. 703.

[k] Bul. iv. 776, seqq. See Goldast, i. 229-232, for the opinions of universities to this effect.

[m] Mon. Sandion. xvii. 11; Bul. iv. 755, seqq.; Milm. v. 445. Richard styled Benedict cardinal, but gave Boniface the title of sovereign pontiff.

[n] Hist. de Langued. iv. 410.

[o] See below, c. XI. iii. 4.

[p] Bul. iv. 803, 825, &c.; Schröckh, xxxi. 317; Schwab, 113.

[q] Froissart mentions the splendour of the reception. (l. iv. c. 62.) Wenceslaus disgusted the French king by his coarse excesses. When engaged to dine with Charles, as he did not appear, he was sent for, and was found to be already drunk and asleep. (Mon. Sandion. xviii. 10, 112.) Rupert, count Palatine, whose son, of the same name, afterwards superseded Wenceslaus as king of the Romans, had endeavoured in a letter to dissuade him from going to Reims, at the same time advising him as to the course which he should take if he went. Martene, Thes. ii. 1172; Lenf. Conc. de Pise, i. 105.

neglected, each of the sovereigns undertook to depose the pope to whom he had before adhered.[r] Peter d'Ailly, now bishop of Cambray, was sent to the courts of Rome and Avignon with a charge to announce this resolution; but the mission was ineffectual, as each pope, although he did not absolutely reject the proposal, insisted that his rival should be the first to resign.[s]

Another national council was held at Paris in May, 1398, under the presidency of the patriarch of Alexandria.[t] The question was proposed, whether, if Benedict should obstinately refuse to resign, the French should withdraw their obedience from him entirely, or whether they should do so only in so far as regarded the patronage and temporalities which he had usurped? A committee of twelve, chosen equally from among the friends and the opponents of Benedict, drew up a statement of the reasons on either side. After a discussion of twelve days, two hundred and forty-seven members out of three hundred pronounced for a total withdrawal,[u] and, some weeks later, this resolution was confirmed by the king, who had then recovered in some degree from an attack of madness. The subjects of the crown were forbidden to obey Benedict, or to pay any of the ecclesiastical revenues to him. The king declared that capitular and monastic elections should be free from the control which popes had exercised over them, and he annulled the "expectative" presentations which Benedict had granted.[x] But Benedict, on being informed of the resolutions of the council, declared that nothing should make him resign the dignity which God had been pleased to bestow on him.[y]

June 3–July 28.

On this, the marshal of France, Boucicault, was sent with a force to Avignon, where the citizens admitted him within their walls, while the cardinals withdrew across the Rhone to the French town of Villeneuve, leaving one of their number, whose tastes and habits were military, in command of Avignon.[z] The pope was besieged in his palace, but on each side there was an unwillingness to proceed to extremities; the besiegers, although they tried to enter the papal fortress by

A.D. 1398.

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[r] Mon. Sandion. p. 570.

[s] Mansi, xxvi. 1198; Froiss. xiv. 126-135; Hefele, vi. 726. Similar answers had already been given to deputations. Antonin. 416.

[t] Mon. Sandion. l. xix. 2.

[u] Ib. l. c.; Gersoniana, 20; Juv. des Urs. 133; Bul. iv. 829, seqq.; Lenf. Conc. de Pise, i. 110; Hefele, vi. 729.

[x] Mon. Sandion. l. xix. 5; Lib. de l'Egl. Gall. ii. 439, seqq.; Bul. iv. 853; Baluz. ii. 1131; Dach. Spicil. i. 799; Mansi, xxvi. 839-910.

[y] Schröckh, xxxi. 320.

[z] Informatio Seriosa, in Baluz. ii. 1122. 3; Froiss. xiv. 137, seqq.; Mon. Sand. xix. 8; Lenfant, Conc. de Pise, i. 111; Schröckh, xxxi. 320.

various ways,[a] refrained from attempting to take it by storm; and Benedict, in the hope of profiting by the intrigues of the parties which surrounded the throne of the unfortunate Charles VI., refrained from uttering the usual denunciations against the French.[b]

The plans which had been arranged for bringing the influence of sovereigns to bear on the popes, and compelling them to resign, were foiled by the deposition of Richard of England in 1399, and by that of the voluptuary Wenceslaus, who in the following year was set aside, as having shown himself unworthy of his office, by alienation of the imperial territory and rights, cruelty, misgovernment, ill behaviour towards the church, gross personal misconduct, and general neglect of his duties.[c] The king of Aragon, on being requested by Benedict to assist him, had answered, "Does the pope think that, in order to keep up his tricks, I shall go to war with the king of France?"[d] But he exerted himself as a mediator, and through his influence a compromise was arranged after Avignon had been besieged for seven months. The pope, who had been reduced to great distress, was to be allowed to receive provisions into the palace, but a strict watch was kept lest he should escape with his treasures;[e] and this state of partial imprisonment continued from April, 1399, until March, 1403, when Benedict, by the aid of a Norman gentleman, Robinet de Braquemont, escaped from Avignon, and made his way down the Rhone to Château Renaud. There he was under the protection of Louis of Sicily and Provence,[f] and his cardinals returned to their obedience.

Aug. 20, 1400. Rupert, count palatine of the Rhine, had been chosen king of the Romans on the deposition of Wenceslaus; and Boniface, although he acted with caution, had given the electors reason to suppose that he would sanction the change.[g] But Rupert, although personally far superior to Wenceslaus, found the force of circumstances too strong to admit of his asserting the rights of the empire with effect; for the princes of Germany, by weakening the power of the crown,

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[a] Inform. Ser. 1125.

[b] Milm. v. 437-8.

[c] Urstis. ii. 182; Antonin. 417; Mart. Thes. i. 163; Coll. Ampl. iv. 3, seqq., 16-21; Aschbach, i. 138, seqq. Wenceslaus had not received the imperial crown—having spent on other objects the ecclesiastical tithe which Urban VI. had granted him for the expedition to Rome. Th. Niem. ii 5.

[d] Froiss. xiv. 110.

[e] Mon. Sandion. l. xix. 12; Froiss. xiv. 4; Baluz. ii. 1127; Lenf. Conc. de Pise, i. 115.

[f] Mon. Sandion. l. xxiii. 16; xxiv. 4-5; Juv. des Urs. 152. He now shaved his beard, which he had sworn to wear until he should get his liberty. Mon. Sandion.

[g] Rayn. 1401. 2, 9; Palacky, III. i. 121; Giesel. II. iii. 155; Hefele, vi. 731.

A.D. 1401–2.

Oct. 21, 1401.

had in reality caused the anarchy for which they now blamed the individual sovereign.[h] On going into Italy, to which he had been urgently invited by the Florentines,[i] he found that his citations were little heeded, while his authority was openly treated with contempt by John Galeazzo of Milan, who declared that he had received his duchy from a legitimate emperor, and would not give it up.[k] Discouraged by such manifestations of the temper of the Italians, by a defeat in an encounter with Galeazzo near Brescia,[m] and by the defection of some princes who had accompanied him across the Alps, Rupert returned to Germany without having advanced beyond Padua, and without having obtained even a promise of the imperial crown from Boniface.[n] Boniface, however, soon after condescended to confirm the election;[o] for, while his own position was in jeopardy, he continued to hold the lofty language of Hildebrand and of the Innocents.[p] The death of John Galeazzo, who was carried off by a plague in September, 1402, threw the north of Italy for a time into frightful anarchy;[q] but although circumstances seemed to invite Rupert to a second Italian expedition, and Boniface granted him a tenth of the ecclesiastical income for the expenses of his coronation, the clergy refused to pay this impost, and the king felt himself compelled to remain at home.[r]

In the meantime circumstances had favoured Benedict. The king's brother, the Duke of Orleans, espoused his cause, in the hope of being able to use the papal name as a counterpoise to the influence of his kinsmen, the Dukes of Berri and Burgundy.[s] The most eminent theologians, Peter d'Ailly, Nicolas of Clemanges (who had even become the pope's secretary),[t] and John Gerson, were on his side.[u] The university of Toulouse, which had always been with Benedict, urged a return to his obedience.[x]

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[h] Sism. R. I. v. 387.

[i] Antonin. 448.

[k] Schmidt, iv. 49, seqq.

[m] Ib. iv. 55.

[n] Mon. Sandion. xxi. 8; Antonin. 449, 450.

[o] Th. Niem, ii. 14; Rayn. 1403. 1-2.

[p] Schmidt, iv. 57. See Planck, v. 347.

[q] See Th. Niem, ii. 29.

[r] Sism. R. I. 396; vi. 48; Schmidt, iv. 59. Theodoric of Niem censures Rupert strongly, and perhaps unjustly, for "desidia." Nemus Unionis, vi. 32-3.

[s] Mon. Sandion. xxiii. 16; Bul. v. 56.

[t] It was with reluctance that he consented, and he expresses joy at being released from the service, although he speaks with gratitude of the pope's considerate behaviour towards him. The tone of the papal court, he says, was better than that of secular courts. Ep. 14 (Opera, ed. Lydius, Lugd. Bat. 1613); cf. Ep. 54.

[u] Gerson, Trilogus—(Opera, ii. 83) of date 1402-3, although referred by Dupin to 1407 (Schwab, 160); Lenf. Conc. de Pise, i. 118; Neand. ix. 91-2; Schröckh, xxxi. 322.

[x] See Bul. v. 4-21 (A.D. 1401), and the Paris replies, 25 seqq., 30 seqq.; Mon. Sandion. xxiii. 1.; Rayn. 1403. 18; Schwab, 153.

Even in the university of Paris, the French and Picard nations were for a return, while the Normans were against it and the Germans were neutral.[y] It was urged that the withdrawal of obedience had been ineffectual, inasmuch as no one of the powers which acknowledged the rival pope had taken a like step; that Benedict had deserved well by accepting the scheme of abdication, while Boniface had rejected it. A national May 30, 1403. assembly resolved that France should return to the obedience of Benedict, and the king, who was enjoying an interval of reason, was brought forward to take part in the solemnity by which the return was celebrated.[z] It was agreed that Benedict should resign in case of Boniface's resignation, deposition, or death; that ecclesiastical appointments which had been made during the suspension of obedience should be ratified; and the pope promised that he would speedily call a general council, and that he would carry out the resolutions which it might decree.[a] But he soon showed an inclination to evade these terms, and the royal authority was found necessary to enforce the article as to the confirmation of benefices.[b]

In 1404 Benedict sent a mission to his rival with proposals for a conference. But Boniface refused to allow any equality of terms,—speaking of himself as sole pope, and of Benedict as an antipope; and, although they had a safe conduct from the Romans, and even from Boniface himself, he required them to leave the city. "At least," said the envoys, provoked by this treatment, "our master is not a simoniac;" and it is said that Oct. 1. the words affected the pope so strongly as to produce an illness which carried him off in three days.[c] Thus had occurred one of the contingencies in which Benedict had pledged himself to resign; and the Roman cardinals asked his representatives whether they were furnished with authority for that purpose. The envoys could only reply that their com-

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[y] Mon. Sandion. xxiv. 5. The university had been disgusted at finding that the bishops, who exercised the papal patronage during the withdrawal, were unfavourable to its members. Hefele, vi. 743. See Schwab, 152.

[z] Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. 677; Bul. v. 66; Lib. de l'Egl. Gall. ii. 468; Gerson de Restit. Obedientiæ, Opera, ii. 32; Juv. des Urs. 151; Mon. Sandion. xxiii. 14; xxiv. 5-6. See Gerson's sermon, Opera, ii. 35; his sermon at Marseilles, before Benedict, Nov. 9, 1403, ib. 43, &c.; Hefele, vi. 715-6. D'Ailly preached at the ceremony. Mon. Sand. xxiv. 6.

[a] Lib. de l'Egl. ii. 463-470; Mon. Sandion. xxiv. 6.

[b] Mon. Sandion. xxiv. 16; Juv. des Urs. 154; Bul. v. 67; Mart. Thes. ii. 1266; Dach. Spicil. i. 799 (Dec. 19); Schröckh, xxxi. 324.

[c] Th. Niem, ii. 23-4; Mon. Sandion. xxv. 22. Gobel. Persona, gives another account of his death, 323. It is said that, when asked on his death-bed how he felt himself, he characteristically answered, "If I had money, I should be well." Th. Niem, ii. 22.

mission did not reach so far; but they entreated that the cardinals would refrain from any fresh election. This request, however, was treated as a jest,[d] and the cardinals proceeded to choose Cosmato Migliorati, cardinal of Holy Cross, who took the name of Innocent VII. Every one of the electors had bound himself by oath that, if chosen, he would Oct. 17. labour in all possible ways for the healing of the schism, and, if necessary, would even resign his office; but the value of such oaths had by this time come to be generally understood.[e]

Innocent VII. was a native of the Neapolitan kingdom. He had been eminent as a canonist, had been employed by Urban VI. as collector of the papal revenue in England, and had afterwards been promoted to the bishoprick of Bologna.[f] In himself he was a mild and unassuming old man, free from the pontifical vice of rapacity, an enemy to the pontifical practice of simony, and most especially desirous of a quiet and easy life.[g] He attempted to begin a reform by making his secretaries dismiss their concubines;[h] but the greed and the ambition of his kinsmen were too strong for him, and abuses which Innocent had at first reprobated were afterwards adopted into his own practice.[i] His short pontificate, while uneventful in other respects, was full of trouble for himself. The Romans attempted to recover the power which Boniface had wrested from them;[k] the Colonnas renewed the turbulence by which their family had been marked under earlier pontificates;[m] above all, Ladislaus of Naples played an equivocal and alarming part. To the scheming and perfidy of John Galeazzo Visconti, Ladislaus added the quality of personal courage; he was animated by an ambition which exceeded that of John Galeazzo, so as even to aspire to the imperial dignity;[n] and, while affecting to protect the pope, there was reason to believe that, with a view to his own interest, he secretly incited the citizens of Rome to

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[d] "Trufatiæ." Th. Niem, ii. 24. Benedict's envoys were imprisoned by the commandant of St. Angelo, a relation of Boniface, and a large ransom was extorted. (Th. Niem, ii. 24; Mon. Sandion. xxv. 22.) Charles VI. wrote to complain of this, and against the election of a successor to Boniface. Spicil. i. 804. See Innocent's explanations, ib, 802.

[e] Mart. Thes. ii. 1274; Gobel. Pers. 323; Antonin. 460. [f] Th. Niem, ii. 39.

[g] Ib.; Leonard. Aretin. in Murat. xix. 922. [h] Th. Niem, ii. 4.

[i] Ib.; Nemus Unionis, vi. 39.

[k] Th. Niem, ii. 34; seqq. Gobelin Persona says that Innocent gave it up to them, and that therefore they became insubordinate. 324.

[m] Leon. Aretin. 922.

[n] Th. Niem, Nemus Unionis, vi. 31, p. 350; Gobel. Pers. 326; Sism. vi. 123. When in possession of Rome in 1408, Ladislaus had his robe embroidered with the words "Aut Caesar aut nihil." But Giannone is mistaken in saying that he styled himself, "Rex Romæ," as the real word was *Ramæ*, meaning Rama in Dalmatia. Gregorov. vi. 582.

rebellion.[o] In August, 1405, Innocent was driven to Viterbo, chiefly in consequence of the act of his nephew, who had treacherously put to death eleven deputies of the Romans;[p] and for a time John Colonna, who professed to be in the interest of Avignon, was master of Rome, being ironically styled John the Twenty-third.[q] But after some months the Romans found it expedient to recall their pope, offering him all the power which had been enjoyed by Boniface; and March 13. Innocent returned in March 1406.[r] He denounced Ladislaus as a perjured traitor, declared him to be deprived of the kingdoms which he held under the Roman see, June 18. and proclaimed a crusade against the Colonnas.[s] Ladislaus, in order to propitiate the pope, surrendered the castle of St. Angelo to him, and a treaty was concluded by which the king took an oath of fealty, and was appointed standard-bearer of the Roman church.[t] But before this measure had produced any considerable effect, Innocent died on the 6th of November in the year of his return.[u] It is said that he had intended to call a general council with a view to the reunion of the church, but that the troubles of his pontificate prevented the execution of this design.[x]

The Roman cardinals, after some hesitation whether they should elect a successor, went through the form of choosing a pope under a promise that he would resign if the benefit of the church should require it, and that he would invite his rival of Avignon to join with him in this sacrifice of private interest to the cause of unity;[y] and thus, says Leonard of Arezzo, the person to be elected was to regard himself rather as a proctor for resigning the papacy than as a pope. The election fell on Angelo Corario, cardinal of St. Mark and titular patriarch of Constantinople, who styled himself Gregory XII. Gregory was a man of seventy, greatly respected for piety, learning, and prudence.[z] It was he who had proposed the engagement by which the cardinals had bound themselves

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[o] Leon. Aret. 921; Antonin. 460; Th. Niem, ii. 37; Gibbon, vi. 391; Sism. v. 108; Gregorov. vi. 541-9.

[p] Th. Niem, ii. 36; Nemus Unionis, vi. 32, p. 353; Leon. Aret. 922-4; Gobel. Pers. 324; Anton. Petri, in Murat. xxiv. 976-7; Gregorov. vi. 562.

[q] Th. Niem, ii. 36; Antonin. 461.

[r] Th. Niem, ii. 38; Leon. Aret. 924; Antonin. 462; Mansi, in Rayn. viii. 154; Gregorov. vi. 567.

[s] Ant. Petri, in Murat. xxiv. 979; Th. Niem, ii. 41; Gregorov. vi. 567.

[t] Rayn. 1406. 7.

[u] Ant. Petri, 980.

[x] Gobel. Pers. 324.

[y] Leon. Aretin. 925; Th. Niem, iii. 3; Nemus Unionis, i. 1; Th. Vric, in V. d. Hardt, i. 134; Mon. Sandion. xxvii. 19; Juv. des Urs. 188; Antonin. 468; Cron. di Lucca, in Murat. xviii. 877; Dach. Spicil. i. 815.

[z] Leon. Aret. 925-6; Antonin. 468.

before the election; and it was believed that the straightforward honesty which was supposed especially to mark his character would secure his zealous performance of the obligation.[a] Theodoric of Niem, however, who held an office in his court, speaks of him as a dissembler, a wolf in sheep's clothing;[b] and although this unfavourable representation may have partly been caused by some personal enmity, the writer's statements have an appearance of truth which has won general belief for them.[c]

Gregory began by professing an intense desire for the reunion of the church. He renewed the oath by which he had bound himself to resign for the sake of this object.[d] He wrote to urge the duty of cession on Benedict in terms which were entirely inoffensive, except that the Avignon pope's right to the title was questioned in the superscription;[e] and Benedict, adopting his rival's style of address, offered in return to take his cardinals with him to a conference, and to resign if Gregory would do the like.[f] Gregory professed himself to be like the true mother, who was ready to give up her child rather than suffer it to be divided; he declared that for the sake of re-establishing unity in the church he was willing to go to any place, however remote; that if ships were not to be had, he would put to sea in a little boat; that if he could find no horses, he would go on foot, with a staff in his hand.[g] It was only feared that he might not live long enough to carry his noble designs into effect.[h] But even if these professions were sincere, Gregory was under influences which made it impossible for him to act on them. His nephews and other relations exerted themselves to prevent an abdication which would have destroyed their importance and their wealth;[i] while Ladislaus

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[a] Th. Niem, iii. 1; Leon. Arct. 925-6.

[b] "Cum sit hypocrita insignis." iii. 6; cf. ii. 12. seqq.; Nemus Unionis, *passim*. Theodoric says that the four popes from Urban VI. to Gregory "eleëmosynas non dederunt, quod est signum damnationis et pessimum in praelatis." As to his private tastes, we are told by another writer that Gregory "plus in zucaro consumebat quam sui praedecessores in victu et vestitu." (Murat. III. ii. 838). There are letters of Gregory, in Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. 726, seqq.

[c] Schröckh, xxxi. 333; Milm. iv. 445.

[d] Mon. Sandion. t. iii. p. 496; Leon. Arct. 925; Antonin. l. c. This renewal had been part of the original engagement. Rayn. 1406. 12.

[e] "Petro de Luna, quem nonnullae gentes in hoc miserabili schismate Benedictum XIII. appellant." Th. Niem, iii. 4; Mansi, xxvi. 1013.

[f] Mon. Sandion. t. xxvii. 20-3; Mansi, xxvi. 1014; Antonin. 468.

[g] Th. Niem, Nemus Un. vi. 11, p. 309; cf. De Schism. iii. 4; Leon. Arct. 925. Theodoric says that Errorius (as he styles Gregory) in sending letters in favour of union to prelates and lay potentates, usually employed Lollards or Beghards, "ad quos semper videbatur ejus affectio specialiter inclinari." iii. 6.

[h] Th. Niem, iii. 6.

[i] Th. Niem, iii. 16, 21; Nem. Un. iv. 1-2; vi. 7-8; Leon. Arct. 926. For letters of Charles VI. exhorting Gregory to peace, A.D. 1407, see Dach. Spicil. i. 803.

of Naples was resolved to oppose a reconciliation which was likely in any case to tell against him, and which, if it should be followed by the establishment of a French pope, would have involved the acknowledgment of a French pretender to the Neapolitan throne.[k] Ladislaus, therefore, harassed Rome by a succession of attacks which—perhaps through an understanding with Gregory or with his nephews[m]—were so timed and conducted as to afford pretexts for delaying the attempts at a reconciliation; he even got possession of the city in April, 1408, and remained there until the end of June.[n]

Benedict, in answer to Gregory's overtures, proposed a meeting, and after much negotiation, and many attempts at evasion on the part of the Roman pope,[o] it was agreed that it should take place at Savona, on the Gulf of Genoa, between Michaelmas and All Saints' Day, 1407.[p] The terms were arranged with elaborate precaution for the security of the parties,[q] and Gregory at length set out as if for the purpose of fulfilling his engagement. But when he had reached Lucca, he professed to feel apprehensions and difficulties which must prevent his appearance at Savona;[r] and Benedict, on being informed of this, endeavoured to gain for himself the reputation of greater sincerity by going on as far as Porto Venere, near Spezzia.[s] As Benedict advanced, Gregory retreated. It was, says Leonard of Arezzo, as if one pope, like a land animal, refused to approach the shore, and the other, like an inhabitant of the sea, refused to leave the water.[t] And Theodoric of Niem tells us that the project of a conference was generally compared to a tilting-match, in which it is understood that the champions are not to touch each other, but are merely to display themselves before the spectators.[u] The scandal presented by the intrigues

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[k] Leon. Aret. Ep. ii. 6, ap. Rayn. 1407. 4; Th. Niem, iii. 15, 18; Nem. Un. iv. 6; Sism. R. I. 114; Gregorov. v. 579, seqq.

[m] This was suspected at the time. Th. Niem, Nemus Un. iv. 2; Sozom. Pistor. in Murat. xvi. 1192; Antonin. 472.

[n] Th. Niem, De Schism. iii. 18, 29; Id. ad Rupertum regem, in Goldast, ii. 1381; Ant. Petri, in Murat. xxiv. 990; Antonin. 472-3; Sism. R. I. vi. 116; Gregorov. vi. 581-3.

[o] Mon. Sandion. xxviii. 18-9.

[p] Letters in N. de Clemang. 179, seqq.; Theod. Niem, iii. 5, 13; Mart. Thes. ii. 1366, seqq.; Mon. Sandion. xxviii. 1-25.

[q] Th. Niem, Nemus Un. i. 10; Cron. di Lucca, in Murat. xviii. 878-881; Mart. Thes. ii. 1314.

[r] Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. 759, seqq.; Th. Niem, iii. 14, 17, 19; Nemus Un. iii. pp. 217, seqq.; iv. 2, 5; v.; vi. 2, 3; Mansi, xxvii. 77. See the reasons set forth from the pulpit at Siena on All Saints' Day (Nemus Union. iv. 7).

[s] Th. Niem, iii. 21, 26-8; N. Clemang. 182; Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. 758. Benedict reproaches Gregory for having given him the slip. Mansi, xxvi. 1018. See Schwab, 200, seqq.

[t] Murat. xix. 926; cf. Sozom. Pistor. ib. xvi. 1191.

[u] Nem. Un. vi. 12.

and insincerity of the two aged men, each of whom professed to claim the holiest office in Christendom, with the mysterious blessings and prerogatives attached to the see of St. Peter, excited general disgust,[x] and it was commonly believed that they had made a secret agreement to prolong the schism for their own benefit.[y]

Feb. 18, 1307.

France had again become impatient of the pretexts under which a reconciliation was continually deferred. In July, 1406, after a warm discussion in the parliament of Paris, a letter of the university of Toulouse in behalf of Benedict had been condemned as derogatory to the honour of the king; and it had been decreed that the original should be burnt at Toulouse and copies at Avignon, Montpellier, and Lyons.[z] In November of the same year a great national assembly was held under the presidency of the titular patriarch of Alexandria.[a] All agreed that a general council was necessary for the solution of the difficulties which had arisen, and it was resolved that obedience should be again withdrawn from Benedict, unless within a certain time he should come to an agreement with his rival. The publication of this resolution, however, was not to be immediate, but was to be determined by circumstances.[b] The king soon after despatched an embassy to both popes, but neither Benedict nor Gregory could be persuaded to resign, and the agreement for the meeting at Savona had already been concluded between them.[c]

Nov. 23, 1407.

About the time when the failure of that scheme became known, Benedict lost his most powerful friend, the Duke of Orleans, who was assassinated in the streets of Paris through the contrivance of his cousin the Duke of Burgundy.[d] The irritation of the French soon after manifested itself in a declaration of renewed subtraction from Benedict and

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[x] Theodoric of Niem compares them to the two elders of Babylon, "e quibus progressa est iniquitas." (Daniel, xiii. 5.) ii. 42; cf. iii. 23; Theod. Vrie in Von der Hardt, i. 116. St. Antoninus, however, draws a distinction:—"Erat enim ille Benedictus, etsi litteratus, callidissimus hominum, versipellis, et suis astutiis ut anguilla de manibus stringentis elapsa, lubricus et versatilis. Gregorius autem ut agnus innocens, et sine felle columba." He says that Gregory backed out of the conference because he saw that Benedict was insincere. p. 468.

[y] Martin, v. 501. They are charged with collusion by the cardinals at Pisa. Art. 15, in Rayn. 1409. 56.

[z] Mon. Sandion. xxvii. 3; Lib. de l'Egl. Gall. ii. 171-7; Bul. v. 120-6.

[a] See Mon. Sandion. xxvii. 17. For an appeal of the university of Paris against Benedict, Jan. 1406, see Mart. Thes. ii. 1245.

[b] Mansi, xxvi. 1021; Th. Niem, Nemus Un. i. 7; Gerson, ii. 103-5; Juv. des Urs. 181-8; Bul. vi. 133, seq.; Hefele, vi. 753-7. See Nic. de Clemang. ep. 17, to the king, against a second withdrawal.

[c] Juv. des Urs. 188; Hefele, vi. 761-6.

[d] Monstrelet, i. 210.

of neutrality between the claimants of the papacy; but although this was communicated to the two rivals, and although the king exerted himself to draw other sovereigns into the same policy, the document was not yet formally published.[e] Benedict, perhaps encouraged by the distresses which he saw April 18. gathering around his rival, replied in April, 1408, by sending to Paris two bulls. The first of these, dated eleven months earlier, was intended to counteract the decisions of the French national council by excommunicating all persons, of whatever rank, who should take part against the pope, interdicting the territories of princes who should oppose him, and releasing their subjects from allegiance;[f] the second bull, dated in April, 1408, was conceived in a tone rather of complaint than of anger, but warned the king that by persistence in his unkindness towards Benedict he would incur the penalties of the earlier bull.[g]

But the French were no longer disposed to endure such May 21, 1408. threats. At a great assembly of nobles, ecclesiastics, representatives of the university, and lawyers, John Courtecuisse, an eminent divine, made a discourse, in which he charged Benedict with heresy and schism, with trifling and insincerity in negotiating with his rival, and with having shewn himself an enemy of all Christendom by hindering the reunion of the church.[h] The bull of excommunication was cut by the king's secretary into two parts, of which one was given to the princes and councillors, and the other to the representatives of the university, and they were then torn into small pieces and burnt.[i] The messengers who had conveyed the bulls were pilloried and imprisoned; the archbishop of Reims and other dignitaries, who were suspected of having been privy to the bull, were arrested. The neutrality of France was now proclaimed, and the pope was publicly denounced as guilty of heresy and schism.[k] Orders were sent to Marshal Boucicault, governor of Genoa (which was then subject to the French crown), that Peter de Luna should be made prisoner until he

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[e] Mon. Sandion. t. iv. 26-8; Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. 770. For the regulations of the French church during the neutrality see Mon. Sand. l. xxix. 8-10.

[f] Dach. Spicil. i. 804.

[g] Bul. v. 158.

[h] Lib. de l'Egl. Gallic. ii. 33, 485; Mon. Sandion. t. iv. 10-2; Monstrel. i. 312.

[i] Lib. de l'Egl. Gall. ll. cc.; Juv. des Urs. 194; Mon. Sandion. t. iv. 12-4. Nicolas of Clemanges vindicates himself from the suspicion of having composed the letters of excommunication against the king and kingdom of France. Epp. 12-6; Vita, 190.

[k] Lib. de l'Egl. Gall. ii. 485; Bul. v. 160-170; Schwab, 210. The monk of St. Denys, although opposed to Benedict, speaks with much disgust of this affair, t. iv. 58-60.

should conclude a real peace with his rival; but Benedict took the alarm, and, after having issued declarations against the conduct of the French king and others, he made his escape by sea from Porto Venere and took up his abode at Perpignan.[m]

In the mean time Gregory had begun to distrust his own cardinals, who urged him to resign.[n] Fearing lest they should take some steps against him, he forbade them to leave Lucca; and, in disregard of the engagements by which he had bound himself both at his election and in correspondence with his rival, as well as of the remonstrances which were addressed to him by the cardinals and by many bishops, he announced an intention of creating four new cardinals, of whom two were his own nephews.[o] By this step the older cardinals were roused to action. They refused to acknowledge those who had been obtruded on them, and, in defiance of Gregory's command, all but three, who were detained by sickness, removed from Lucca to Pisa, where they sent forth protests against the pope's late proceedings.[p]

May 12.

The cardinals who had been attached to Benedict now repaired to Leghorn, where they were met by those of Gregory's party, and the two sections joined in issuing a summons for a council to meet at Pisa in March of the following year.[q] In this course they were supported by the universities of Florence and Bologna,[r] as well as by that of Paris. They announced their intentions to both popes, inviting them to appear and to resign their pretensions, agreeably to the engagements which they had made at election; otherwise, it was added, the council would take its own course.[s] Gregory replied by declaring the cardinals to be degraded and excommunicate; he professed to make a new promotion to the college, and an-

May–July, 1408.

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[m] Dacher. Spicil. i. 803, 813; Th. Niem, Nemus Un. vi. 25; Mon. Sandionys. iv. 28.

[n] It is said that the cardinals offered Gregory the patriarchate of Constantinople, the bishoprick of Exeter, and other preferments; but that, among other difficulties, it was found that the bishoprick was not vacant. Th. Niem, Nemus Union. iv. p. 228; cf. De Schism. iii. 21. (*Oxoniensem* must be a mistake for *Exoniensem*, as Oxford was not yet an episcopal see.)

[o] Ciacon. ii. 765-6; Th. Niem, iii. 3-4, 24-5, 31; Nem. Union. vi. 33, pp. 370-1; Cron. di Lucca, 886-7; Gobel. Pers. 326. One of these nephews was afterwards Eugenius IV.

[p] Th. Niem, iii. 32-3; Nem. Union. vi. 10-1; Leon. Aret. 926; V. d. Hardt, ii. 65; Mart. Thes. ii. 1391.

[q] Dacher. Spicil. 809, 811, 818; Mansi, xxvi. 1161, 1164, 1166, &c.; xxvii. 101, 140, 141, &c.; Antonin. 469; Wilkins, iii. 298, seqq.; Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. 775-8. (In the last-named volume are many documents relating to this time.) See Hefele, vi. 786.

[r] Gobel. Pers. 326; Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. 893, 937; Antonin. 469. Nic. de Clemang. 187-9; Mansi, xxvi. 1079; Th. Niem, Nemus Un. vi. 15-17; Lib. de l'Egl. Gall. ii. 502.

[s] Mansi, xxvi. 1131, 1134, 1161, 1167, 1175, 1180.

nounced an intention of holding a council of his own.[t] But for this purpose it was not easy to find a place. The authorities of his native state, Venice, to whom he applied, advised him rather to send representatives to Pisa; and various towns—even Ephesus, which was then for a time in Christian hands—were proposed.[u] At length, when the Council of Pisa was far June 6–Sep. 5, 1409. advanced, the Venetians allowed Gregory's council to be held at Cividale, in Friuli; but it was ineffectual for any other purpose than that of showing his impotence.[v]

Benedict also summoned a council, which met at Perpignan in November, 1408, and was attended by a considerable number of prelates, among whom four had been decorated by him with the empty title of patriarch.[x] But this assembly, instead of seconding his wishes, almost unanimously advised him to resign,[y] and Benedict soon found himself deserted by all but a few of his partisans, who themselves urged him to abdicate or to send representatives to the council which had been summoned by the cardinals.[z] His indignation vented itself in furious threats March 3, 1409. against those who had thwarted him, and in declaring them all, from the cardinals downwards, to be deprived of their dignities and excommunicated.[a]

The Emperor Rupert had promised to Boniface IX. that he would accept no other solution of the question by which the church was divided than the suppression of the papacy of Avignon;[b] and Gregory had conciliated him by declaring that, while the right of summoning general councils belonged to the pope, the emperor, as general advocate of the church, was more entitled to take such a part than the cardinals. At a great assembly, which was held at Frankfort in January, 1409, a cardinal appeared on behalf of the Pisan cardinals, and Cardinal Antony Corario, who was Gregory's nephew, as representative of his uncle. Rupert, whose leaning to the interest of Gregory was manifest, agreed to send representatives to Pisa, but de-

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[t] Mansi, xxvi. 68, 73; Th. Niem, iii. 36, 38; Nemus Un. vi. 19.

[u] Rob. Celsiniensis in Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. 118.

[v] Mansi, xxvi. 1085-7, 1105, 1183; Hefele, vi. 897.

[x] Dach. Spicil. i. 813, 822; Mansi, xxvi. 1105, 1183; Mariana, l. xix. 18; Lenfant, Conc. de Pise, ii. 15.

[y] Mansi, xxvi. 1097-8; Rayn. 1409. 84. It is is said that out of sixteen to whom the matter was referred by the council, fifteen were for resignation. V. d. Hardt, iv. 1249.

[z] Mariana, l. c.; Hefele, vi. 852.

[a] Mansi, xxvi. 1121; Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. 981. To one he said, "I will put you into a place where you will perhaps never see the sun." V. d. Hardt, iv. 1250.

[b] Boniface had endeavoured to get from Rupert, as a condition of sanctioning his election, an oath that he would not interfere in the question of the schism. Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. Praef. 61.

clared that he would not forsake the pope unless convinced that Gregory had forfeited his support by misconduct. But in this feeling the majority of the assembly did not concur.[c]

The obstinacy with which the rival popes clung to their pretensions, the manifest insincerity of their professions as to a desire for unity, the charges with which they mutually blackened each other, produced an increasing effect on the minds of men; and, as the hope of their voluntary resignation vanished, the idea of a general council as an expedient for healing the schism gained ground. Among those who thus, after having favoured the scheme of resignation, adopted that of referring the matter to a council, the most eminent for abilities, reputation, and activity was John Charlier, whose surname is usually superseded by the name of his native place, Gerson, a village near Rethel, in Champagne.[d] Gerson, born in 1363, had studied under Peter d'Ailly and Giles Deschamps, and in 1395 had succeeded d'Ailly as chancellor of Paris and professor in the university of Paris.[e] The opinions which he had now formed as to the manner of ending the schism were expressed in various writings, especially in a tract 'Of the Unity of the Church,' and in one 'De Auferibilitate Papæ.'[f] He believed the authority of the church to reside in the whole catholic body, and in a general council as its representative. He supposed that, although the power of convoking general councils had in later times been exercised by the popes alone, the church might resume it in certain circumstances; that this might be properly done in the case of a division between rival popes; and that in such a case a council might be summoned, not only by the cardinals, but by faithful laymen.[g] He held that, in case of necessity, the church could subsist for a time without a visible head; he greatly mitigated the pretensions which had been set up in behalf of the papacy; and, on the whole, he expressed far more distinctly than any one who had written since the appearance of the False Decretals, that theory of the church to which the name of Gallican has been given in later times.[h] Yet Gerson had been unable to take part with the university in its extreme proceedings, and had incurred obloquy by the moderation of his counsels at the national assembly of 1406.[i] And, although his influence

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[c] Gobel. Pers. 327; Schröckh, xxxi. 354.

[d] Schwab, 228.

[e] Ib. 93.

[f] Opera, t. ii.; Schwab, 228.

Opera, ii. 112-3, 129, 135, &c.

[h] Schröckh, xxxi. 357; cf. Pet. de Alliaco in Mart. Thes. ii. 1109.

[i] Bul. v. 161; Hefele, vi. 755; Schwab, 228.

was strongly felt in the Pisan council, he himself was not present at it.[k]

The Council of Pisa met on the 25th of March 1409, in the cathedral of that city, which three years before had been sold by its doge to its old rivals and enemies, the Florentines.[m] Among those who took part in it (although many of them did not arrive until later) were twenty-two cardinals and four titular patriarchs, with archbishops, bishops, abbots (including the heads of the chief religious orders), envoys of many sovereign princes, representatives of cathedral chapters, and a host of masters and doctors who represented the new and powerful influence of the universities.[n] Henry IV. of England, who had laboured for the extinction of the schism, and had practically enforced his counsels by detaining the pope's revenues from England until a reconciliation should be effected,[o] had taken order for the representation of his kingdom; and at the head of the English members was Robert Hallam, bishop of Salisbury.[p] Guy de Maillesec, bishop of Palestrina, presided as senior cardinal.[q]

At the opening of the council, a sermon was preached by Peter Philargi, cardinal of the Twelve Apostles and archbishop of Milan, who lamented the distractions of the church, and exhorted his hearers to take measures for the restoration of unity.[r] At the first session, it was asked by proclamation at the doors of the cathedral whether Angelo Corario or Peter de Luna were present,[s] either in person or by proxy; and as the question, after having been repeated at the second and third sessions, received no answer, the council, in its third and fourth sessions, pronounced both the rivals to be contumacious.[t]

March 27-30.

March 30-April 15.

The Emperor Rupert, although favourable to the interest of Gregory, had sent the archbishop of Riga, the bishops of

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[k] That it is a mistake to suppose him present, and a prominent debater, see Schwab, 230.

[m] Theod. Niem, ii. 40; iii. 38; Antonin. 465; Mansi, xxvi. 1184-5, 1236; Sism. R. I. v. 114; Gregorov. vi. 590. As to the documents of the council, see Hefele, vi. 853.

[n] Mansi, xxvi. 1239, seqq.; Dach. Spicil. i. 853; Mon. Sandion. iv. 208; Hefele, vi. 855.

[o] Rymer, viii. 513, 567; Walsingh. ii. 280-1.

[p] Rym. viii. 567; Mansi, xxvii. 1130; Gerson, ii. 123. Gerson preached to them as they passed through Paris. At the 9th session, an English adherent of Gregory, on making a show of opposition, was asked whether he had a commission to attend, and, on his owning that he had not, was turned out "with confusion." Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. 1090.

[q] Lenf. ii. 38.

[r] Mansi, xxvi. 1185; xxvii. 18.

[s] Mansi, xxvi. 1186; Dach. Spicil. i. 829.

[t] Mansi. xxvi. 1138, 1187; Dach. Spicil. i. 829.

Worms and Verden, and others, as his ambassadors. At the fourth session, the bishop of Verden brought forward twenty-three objections to the course of proceedings; and it was proposed, in the emperor's name, that the council should be adjourned to some other place, where Gregory might be able to April 15. attend.[u] But this proposal, which was evidently intended to break up the assembly, found no favour; and at a later session the German objections were powerfully exposed by Peter de Ancorano, an eminent doctor of Sess. 7, May 4. Bologna.[x] Meanwhile Rupert's ambassadors, finding the tone of the council unpromising for their master's policy, had withdrawn, after having made an appeal to a future general council, maintaining that Gregory was the only legitimate pope;[y] and, as Wenceslaus acknowledged the council, he obtained its recognition in return, although his want of energy allowed this advantage to remain unimproved as an aid towards recovering the imperial dignity.[z]

At the fifth session, thirty-eight charges were brought forward against the rival claimants of the papacy,[a] and at the tenth session a commission which had heard evidence in support of these charges made its report. May 22. The opinions of the universities of Paris, Angers, Orleans, Toulouse, Bologna, and Florence were alleged in favour of the proposed course,[b] and at the fifteenth session it was declared that both were guilty, June 5. as notorious schismatics, obstinate and incorrigible heretics, perjurers, and vow-breakers; that by these and other offences they had scandalized the whole church, and had rendered themselves unworthy of any dignity. The titular patriarch of Alexandria pronounced the sentence of the council, while his brethren of Antioch and Jerusalem stood on each side of him; declaring both Benedict and Gregory to be deposed and cut off from the church; the sentences uttered by them to be null, their nominations of cardinals since the spring of the preceding year, when they had ceased to labour for union by means of cession, to be invalid; and it was added that if either of them should despise this sentence, he and his partisans should

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[u] Mansi, xxvi. 1158; xxvii. 10; Th. Niem, iii. 39; Dach. Spicil. i. 379-380; Lenf. Conc. de Pise, ii. 29.

[x] Mansi, xxvii. 367, seqq; Mon. Sandion. t. iv. 224; Hefele, vi. 858.

[y] Mansi, xxvi. 1139; xxvii. 10; Th. Niem, iii. 39; Schröckh, xxxi. 361-4; Schwab, 231.

[z] Martene, Coll. Ampl. vii. 892; Palacky, Docum. Mag. J. Hus, 364-370; Hefele, vi. 800, 877; Schmidt, iv. 78-9.

[a] "Contendentes, seu verius colludentes, de papatu." See Mansi, xxvi. 1195, 1219; xxvii. 22.

[b] Dach. Spicil. 833-846; Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. 1094.

be coerced by the secular power.[c] Thus, although the cardinals, who summoned the council, could not have entered on the investigation of the schism without exposing themselves to fatal questions,—inasmuch as every member of the college had either shared in the election of one or other of the rivals, or owed his appointment to one or other of them,—the council itself assumed the right to decide the matter, in absolute disregard of the pretension which had been maintained for centuries, that the pope could not be judged by man except in the case of manifest heresy.

At the seventh session some envoys of the king of Aragon June 14. appeared, and one of them, on speaking of Benedict as pope, was assailed with hisses and mockery.[d] The council, however, out of respect for the king's intercession, agreed to give an audience to certain representatives of Peter de Luna; but on the entrance of these, an outcry was raised against them "as if they had been Jews;" and when one of them, the archbishop of Tarragona, gave the title of pope to Benedict, there was a general outburst of derision, with cries that the speaker was the envoy of a heretic and schismatic. The archbishop was silenced, and, with his companions, immediately left Pisa.[e]

It had become evident to all discerning men that the extinction of the schism would be no sufficient cure for the prevailing evils, unless accompanied by a reform of the church, "both in head and in members." With a view to this, each of the cardinals, before proceeding to the election of a pope, pledged himself that, if he should be chosen, he would continue the council until a "due, reasonable, and sufficient reformation" should be effected; and it was agreed that, if the election should fall on any one who was not then present, a like pledge should be required of him.[f] On the 15th of June, twenty-June 26. two cardinals entered the conclave, and, after eleven days of deliberation, they announced that their choice had fallen on the cardinal-archbishop of Milan,[g] who, as we have seen, had preached at the opening of the council. Peter Philargi was a native of Candia, and had never known his

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[c] Mansi, xxvi. 1146-8, 1225-8; xxvii. 27, seqq.; Martene, Coll. Ampl. vii. 1095-8; V. d. Hardt, i. 136; Dach. Spicil. i. 847; Th. Niem, II. 44. Benedict is said to have made two new cardinals on hearing of this sentence, ib. 45.

[d] Mansi, xxvi. 1150.

[e] Ib.

[f] Ib. xxvi. 1149.

[g] Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. 1115; Mansi, xxvi. 1151; Cron. di Bologna, in Murat. 597.

parents or any other relation. When begging his bread in childhood, he attracted the notice of a Franciscan friar, and, in consequence of this patron's kindness, he became a member of the same order. He had studied at Paris and at Oxford, and was much esteemed for his theological learning.[h] As pope, he took the name of Alexander V.[i]

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[h] Th. Niem, iii. 51; Antonin. 471; Mon. Sandion. iv. 240. Gregory had ineffectually sentenced him to deprivation of his dignities. Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. 873.

[i] Monstrelet describes the rejoicing which took place at Paris on the election. ii. 68.

CHAPTER VI.

WYCLIF.

We have seen that, ever since the submission of John of England to Innocent III., a spirit of disaffection towards the papacy had been growing in the minds of the English people, who held themselves degraded by their sovereign's humiliation; that the popes throughout the thirteenth century had unwisely provoked this spirit, by their exorbitant claims on the English church, and by their shameless interference with the disposal of English preferment; and that, although the feeble Henry III. was afraid to place himself at the head of the nation as the representative of its feelings towards the papacy, the strong will and hand of Edward I. were exerted in opposition to the Roman usurpations. Under Edward II., the crown of England again became weak; but the antipapal spirit continued to increase among the people, and was swollen by the circumstance that the popes at this time took up their residence at Avignon, and became subservient to the interest of France. While the college of cardinals was full of Frenchmen, Edward II. was unable to obtain, by repeated entreaties, that a single Englishman might be promoted to it, even although a vacancy had been made through the death of an English cardinal.[a] It was found that, in the great war which arose out of the pretensions of Edward III. to the French crown, the popes, while affecting neutrality, were always favourable to the opposite side.[b] Edward, able, vigorous, and successful in war, was not disposed to imitate the submissiveness of his feeble and unfortunate father; and the growing power of the commons in the legislature was strongly adverse to the assumptions of the papal court.[c]

Even the privileges of the English clergy were now becoming less than before. The representation of their grievances pre-

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[a] Rym. ii. 127, 139, 140, 432-3.

[b] After the great successes of the English, the following lines were composed:—

"Ore est le Pape devenu Franceys,
E Jesu devenu Engleys:
Ore sera veou qe fra plus,
Ly Pape ou Jesus."

—Knyghton in Twysd. X. Scriptt. 2615

[c] Pauli, iv. 479.

tension to exemption from secular judgment.[l] Even the claim of freedom from taxes had been practically decided against the clergy by Edward I., in declaring them to be out of the protection of the law; and all that they retained of privilege in this respect was the right of assessing their own order in convocation.[k]

Collisions frequently took place between the papacy and the English crown. The popes took it on themselves to nominate bishops, in disregard alike of the right of chapters to elect, and of that of the sovereign to permit and to confirm the election;[m] and in conferring the spiritual character on new bishops, they omitted to request, as had formerly been customary, that the sovereign would invest them in their temporalities. But in order to meet this, the kings compelled the bishops to renounce by oath all things in the papal letters which might be contrary to the rights of the crown, and to acknowledge that the temporalities were held of the sovereign alone.[n] And this system of imposing contradictory obligations continued to later times.

A.D. 1342.

The attempts to burden the benefices of the English church with foreigners, who were unacquainted with the language, who were wanting in qualities suitable for their office,[o] and probably never set foot in the country,—who, perhaps, might also be in the interest of France and opposed to that of England,—such attempts, in proportion as they became more impudent, were more strongly resented.[p] Thus, when Clement VI. took it on himself to provide for two cardinals by English

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[l] Collier, iii. 89-93; Pauli, iv. 378. See below, chap. XI. i. 4.

[k] See vol. iii. 516; Milm. v. 480.

[m] Pauli, iv. 180. Edward III. remonstrated against this in 1373. Walsingh. i. 316, &c.

[n] This practice is said to have been begun in the case of William of Gainsborough; see vol. iii. 584. For instances, see Rymer, ii. 5 7, 47, 239, 422, 559, 760; iii. 180, 760, 833, 849, 857.

[o] See Fuller, ii. 350. Of L. de Beaumont, who was related to the royal family of France, Adam of Murimuth says, "Fuit mediocriter litteratus, et claudus utroque pede, *sicut sunt multi Francigenæ*, quem si papa vidisset, forsitan non creasset." (25.) (For this bishop's ignorance, rapacity, and prodigality, see Ang. Sac. i. 700-1.) As to Reginald de Asser, bishop of Winchester in 1320, Marsilius of Padua says that he and an archbishop of Lund were promoted by John XXII. as being, like himself, natives of Languedoc, neither of them knowing the language of his flock, "quales autem doctrina et moribus, non mea referre interest." Def. Pacis, ii. 24.

[p] Edward III. remonstrated strongly. See Rym. ii. 801, 803, 807, &c. In 1343 he wrote to the pope that the English church's "dignitates et beneficia insignia personis, conferuntur alienigenis plerumque nobis suspectis, qui non resident in dictis beneficiis, et vultus commissorum eis pecorum non agnoscunt, linguam non intelligunt, sed animarum cura neglecta, velut mercenarii, solummodo temporalia lucra quærunt; et sic diminuitur Christi cultus, animarum cura negligitur, subtrahitur hospitalitas, ecclesiarum jura depereunt, ruunt ædificia clericorum, attenuatur devotio populi, clerici dicti regni . . . studium deserunt propter promotionis congruæ spem ablatam," &c. (Rymer, ii. 1233.)

benefices to the value of 2000 marks a-year, his agents were ordered to leave the kingdom;[q] and he was sternly warned against attempting by his own authority to assume the patronage of bishopricks, or to bestow patronage on any who would not reside on their preferments. The encroachments and abuses of the papal court were now met by the legislature with the statutes of provisors[r] and præmunire, which enacted heavy penalties against receiving presentations from the pope, and against appealing from the king's court to any foreign tribunal.[s]

Among the causes of offence during this time, the mendicant orders were conspicuous for their assumptions and their rapacity.[t] They attempted to engross all spiritual power, to the prejudice of the secular clergy; to divert to themselves the income which the seculars were entitled to expect from the administration of penance and other sacraments. They attempted to get into their own hands all the teaching of the universities, where they enticed young men of promise to enter their ranks, even in defiance of the will of parents; and it is said that, in consequence of this, the number of students at Oxford was reduced from 30,000 to 6000, as men chose that their sons should become tillers of the ground rather than that they should be thus carried off by the friars.[u] By these and other practices, the mendicants raised up determined enemies, of whom the most noted was Richard Fitzralph, an eminent teacher of Oxford, and afterwards archbishop of Armagh. Fitzralph inveighed against the prominent faults of the friars—their pride, their greed, their notorious disregard of their rules, their usurpations on the parochial clergy. He tells them that all the privileges which they laboured to acquire for themselves were such as were attended with temporal gain; that they showed no eagerness for those unpaid duties in which they might have usefully assisted.[x] Fitzralph carried his complaints

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[q] Knyghton, in Twysd. 2853; Collier, iii. 96. Cf. Ad. Murimuth, i. 149; 157-9.

[r] There had already been a proclamation against provisors in 1344. Rym. iii. 2.

[s] See below, chap. XI. i. 4.

[t] R. Armachanus [Fitzralph] in Goldast, ii. 1399; Walsingh. ii. 13. See also some poems in Mr. Wright's 'Political Songs.'

[u] Armach. in Goldast. ii. 1398. Bohringer tries to account for the astounding number of 30,000 by supposing that it included servants, tradesmen, &c. (Leben Wiclifs, 8.) The university decreed that no one should be admitted to the orders under the age of eighteen; and against this the Franciscans appealed to the pope. Lewis, Life of Wyclif, 4; Milm. v. 489.

[x] Ap. Goldast. ii. 1400. Cf. D'Argentré, i. 378; Rayn. 1356. 6-7. He says that the friars bought up all the useful books, and shut them up unprofitably in their libraries (1399). A Fran-

against the mendicants to Avignon; but he was strongly opposed A.D. 1356. by the interest which their money acquired for them in the papal court, where the funds supplied by the English clergy for the support of his cause were soon exhausted; and while the question was yet undecided,[y] he died there in 1361.[z]

In many respects, therefore, the practical grievances of the Roman system had provoked the angry discontent of the English people; and by this feeling the minds of many had been prepared to welcome an attack on the doctrine of the church, as well as on its administration. The opposition to the doctrines of the church of Rome, however formidable it had been in some instances, had never yet been of such a kind as to be fitted for attracting general sympathy. Sometimes it had been carried on by enthusiasts, who were evidently weak or disordered in judgment; sometimes by men whose opinions were so utterly remote from the traditional system, that they could have little chance of acceptance with those who had been trained in it. A reformer of a new and more dangerous kind was now to arise—a man who, before appearing in that character, had gained a high reputation in literature and philosophy; one who was fitted either to address himself to the learned or to adapt his teaching, in language and in style of argument, to the understanding of the common people; a reformer whose opinions were not indeed free from extravagances, but yet were professedly grounded on Scripture, and appealed from the prevailing corruptions to the standard of an older time.

The earlier part of John Wyclif's life is involved in much obscurity; and such discoveries as have been lately made respecting it have resulted rather in disencumbering the story of errors which had long prevailed, than in the establishment

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ciscan named Roger Chonoe [Conway] wrote in answer (Ib. 1410, seqq.), and Fitzralph rejoined. See Collier, iii. 117; Lewis, 5.

[y] Innocent VI. ordered that, while the case was pending, the mendicants should not be hindered in the administration of the sacraments, preaching, &c. Wadd. 1357.7.

[z] W. Nang. cont. 117; Wadd. 1357. 4; Baluz. i. 337, 950; Knyghton, 2615, 2625; Pauli, iv. 483. Fitzralph's "propositio" before the pope and cardinals is in Goldast, ii. 1392. In the 'Gesta Abbatum' it is said that the abbot of St. Albans contributed largely to help him in the expenses of his suit. (ii. 405.) The bishops also assisted. (Wyclif, Trial. iv. 36, p. 375.) Fitzralph was near being canonized, as he was believed to have done miracles after death. (Rayn. 1358. 6). Yet some have spoken of him as a heretic, and Wadding defends him, because he committed his writings to the judgment of the church "et plus peccavit intellectus exuberantia quam voluntatis perversitate." (1357. 8.) A biographer of Innocent VI. says that at the archbishop's death, the friars were inclined to sing *Gaudeamus* rather than *Requiem*. Baluz. i. 538.

of any new truths.[a] His birthplace was probably somewhere in the neighbourhood of Richmond, in Yorkshire:[b] the year usually given for his birth, 1324, is perhaps somewhat later than the true date.[c] He studied in the university of Oxford; but the statements that he was educated at Queen's college,[d] and that he took a prominent share in Fitzralph's controversy with the Mendicants, are not warranted by any sufficient evidence.[e] The first certain notice of him belongs to the year 1361, when he appears as master or warden of Balliol college; and this preferment he exchanged in the same year for the parish of Fillingham, near Lincoln,[f] to which he was presented by his college. The statements which were long received as to the offices and benefices held by Wyclif are very perplexing, especially as they seem to show a glaring contradiction between his own practice and the opinions which he professed as to the possessions of the clergy. But it now appears that the reformer has been confounded with another person of the same name, or one nearly resembling it,—and that to this other John Wycliff or Whytecliff are to be referred the fellowship of Merton college, the living of Mayfield, and the mastership of Canterbury Hall—to the loss of which last preferment, by a papal sentence in 1370, Wyclif's entrance on the career of a reformer has been often ascribed by his enemies.[g] By others among those who have wished to charge him with interested motives, it has been supposed that his zeal was awakened by disappointment as to a bishoprick in the year 1364;[h] but his earliest appearance as

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[a] Andrew of Ratisbon, about 1430, was told that he was the son of a Jew by a widow who had come in poverty from France! Pez, IV. iii. 620.

[b] Dr. R. Vaughan's positive belief of his having been born at Wycliffe ('John W., a monograph,' Lond. 1853, p. 5) does not seem to rest on any strong ground.

[c] Shirley, Pref. to 'Fasciculi Zizaniorum.' 10-12. (Chron. and Mem.),—the first publication of one whose early death must be deeply lamented, not only by those who had the privilege of his friendship, but by all who can appreciate the rare combination of powers and acquirements which fitted him to advance the study of ecclesiastical history. [I have cited Dr. Shirley's introduction under his name, substituting Arabic for Roman figures].

[d] Vaughan, 26. The Wycliff who appears as occasionally resident in Queen's College, from 1360 to 1380 was probably the reformer; but there is no proof of his having been a member of that college in early life. Shirley, 13.

[e] Ib. 13-14. [f] Ib. 14-15.

[g] *E.g.* Lingard, iii. 267-8. This motive is mentioned even by one contemporary, Wodeford; but against his testimony, see Shirley, 15, 517, 523. The distinction between the two Wycliffs was first proposed by Mr. Courthope, of the College of Arms, in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for 1844. In support of this view, see Shirley's Preface, and p. 313. See also the last edition of Fox's Acts and Monuments, by the Rev. J. Pratt, Appendix, iii. 812. Mr. Pratt inclines to think that the reformer was the same with the warden of Canterbury Hall, and Dr. Vaughan is confident on the subject. (518.) In his earlier book ('The life and opinions of J. Wycliffe,' Lond. 1828), Dr. Vaughan gives documents as to Canterbury Hall. Append. to vol. i.

[h] See Shirley, 17, 524.

a reformer has been more truly referred to the time when he became a doctor in divinity, and in right of this degree began to read lectures in the university.[i] He was already eminent as a philosophical and scientific teacher,[k] and, having adopted the theory of Realism (which had for a time been discountenanced by the authority of Ockham and other popular masters), he had produced a treatise 'On the Reality of Universals,' which was regarded as marking an epoch in the history of opinion.[m] If a book entitled 'The Last Age of the Church'[n] were really Wyclif's, it would prove that he was at one time affected by the ideas of abbot Joachim and the Fraticelli. But it seems to be certain that this was never the case; and the tract in question is clearly the work of a Franciscan.[o]

In 1366 Urban V. demanded from England thirty-three years' arrears of the tribute which King John had bound himself to pay to the Roman see. At a former time, John XXII. had obtained from Edward II. a similar payment of arrears as a condition of his favour in the conflict with Robert Bruce;[p] and throughout the earlier years of Edward III.'s reign, the money had been regularly paid.[q] But during the costly war with France, it had again fallen into neglect; and when in 1357 a claim was made by Innocent VI., the king answered by declaring himself resolved to hold his kingdom in freedom and independence.[r] On the renewal of the claim nine years later, the parliament, headed by the bishops (who gave their opinion before the lay peers), resolved that King John had had no right to bind his people or future generations to such subjection.[s] Wyclif, who was already one of the king's chaplains,[t] appears to have been consulted by the government on this question; and he defended in a determination at Oxford the course which had been taken in answer to the Roman claim.[u]

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[i] Lewis places the D.D. degree in 1372 (p. 18.) But Dr. Shirley shows that it must have been about 1363, and thinks that the Preface to the treatise 'De Dominio Divino,' about 1366, marks the beginning of Wyclif's movement; xvi. 39, 41.

[k] "In philosophia nulli reputabatur secundus, in scholasticis disciplinis incomparabilis." Knyghton, in Twysd. 2644.

[m] See Neand. ix. 191; Milm. v. 487.

[n] Published at Dublin, 1840, by the Rev. Dr. Todd.

[o] Shirley, 13-14. See Vaughan, 43-9.

[p] Theiner, 193-1; Milm. v. 481.

[q] There are receipts for 1330-1-3 in Rymer, ii. 789, 864, and Theiner, 250, 259.

[r] Knyghton, 2617. [See] Hook, iv. 192.

[s] Lewis, Life of Wycliff, 7; Lingard, iii. 253.

[t] "Cum sim peculiaris regis clericus." Wicl. in Lewis, 363.

[u] 'Determinatio de Dominio.' in Lewis, 363, seqq. (In this he asserts the independence of the kingdom of England, and denies the immunity of the clergy, as being contrary to English law. 'He maintains that property given to the clergy may rightfully be

In his preaching at Oxford and elsewhere, Wyclif vehemently attacked the mendicant orders, which he declared to be the great evil of Christendom. He charged them with fifty errors of doctrine and practice. He denounced them for intercepting the alms which ought to belong to the poor; for their unscrupulous system of proselytizing; for their invasion of parochial rights; their habit of deluding the common people by fables and legends; their hypocritical pretensions to sanctity; their flattery of the great and wealthy, whom it would rather have been their duty to reprove for their sins; their grasping at money by all sorts of means; the needless splendour of their buildings, whereas parish-churches were left to neglect and decay.[x]

That these complaints were well grounded, there can be no doubt; but it must be remembered that the faults which Wyclif noted were for the most part deviations from the intentions of those by whom the orders had been founded. Indeed Wyclif himself had much in common with those founders. He held that tithes and other endowments were in their nature eleemosynary; that the clergy ought to receive only so much as might be necessary for their support;[y] he insisted on the idea of apostolic poverty which had been advocated by Arnold of Brescia and by many sectaries—not considering that the effect of reducing all clerical income to that which is merely necessary will not be a removal of all secular temptations to enter into the ministry of the church, but will leave such temptations as can attract only an inferior class of men. And in opposition to the friars he instituted a brotherhood of his own, under the name of "poor priests," who were to go about the country, barefooted, roughly clad in russet frocks,[z] penetrating, as the mendicants had done, to the humblest classes of the people, and giving such elementary religious instruction as they could. These simple teachers were employed under episcopal authority throughout the vast diocese of Lincoln, and perhaps elsewhere; but they appear to have been suppressed in a later stage of Wyclif's career.[a] Wyclif refused to admit the

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taken away; and he gives what has been described as the first report of a parliamentary debate—the opinions of seven lords on the question.) See Lewis, 18; Pauli, iv. 481; Shirley, Pref. 14; Vaughan, 105-115.

[x] 'Two Short Treatises against the Begging Friars,' ed. James, Oxf. 1608; Lewis, 20-7.

[y] Lewis, 120-1, and Append. xix.; Shirley, 66.

[z] Ad. Murimuth, contin. 222.

[a] Dr. Shirley places the suppression between the council of London and the writing of the 'Trialogus,' *i.e.* in 1382 or 1383. (Pref. 40.) The author of a

monastic pretensions in favour of a life of contemplation and prayer, but regarded the idea of such a life as selfish, and held that the clergy ought rather to labour in preaching, as being a work beneficial to others.[b]

The employment of ecclesiastics in secular offices was denounced by Wyclif as an abuse; and of this system the most conspicuous representative was William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, a man whose dignities had been won by his own talents, and whose name is honourably preserved to this day by the great foundations on which his wealth was munificently spent. Against him, therefore, the efforts of a party in the state were chiefly directed. While Edward III., towards the close of his long and glorious reign, had fallen under the domination of a worthless woman, and his son Edward, the favourite hero of the nation, was sinking under long disease, the king's next surviving son, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, headed the party of the old feudal aristocracy. Lancaster was a man of corrupt life, of selfish ambition, closely allied with Wyclif's enemies, the mendicant friars, and bent on humiliating the clergy, whereas Wyclif's object was to purify them. Yet the two cooperated towards what was nominally a common object, and, with the aid of the commons, Wykeham was in 1371 driven from office and impeached, while other ecclesiastics were also deprived of their secular employments, and the bishop was not summoned to the next parliament.[c]

In 1374 Wyclif was sent to Bruges, with the bishop of Bangor and others, for the purpose of conferring with some envoys of the Roman court on certain points as to the relations of the English church and the papacy.[d] The English commissioners complained of the levying of exactions unparalleled in any other country, of the reservations of benefices, and of the pope's interference with the election of bishops; while on the other side it was urged that papal bulls were not received in England as in other kingdoms,

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poem against the Wyclifites charges these preachers with hypocrisy, much as writers in the opposite interest make similar imputations against the friars, pardoners, &c. *E. g.*:—

"Villarum in exitibus,
Se nudant sotilaribus
Cum populum ludificant.
Nudis incedunt pedibus
Cum appropinquant foribus,
Locorum quibus prædicant.
Pœnas foris amplificant,
Intus tamen lætificant
Se multis voluptatibus.
Seipsos sic magnificant
Quod alios parvificant,
Multis pravis sermonibus," &c.

—*Political Poems*, ed. Wright (Chron. and Mem.) I. 233.

[b] Vaughan, 383, from a Dublin MS. 'Of feigned Contemplative Life;' Lewis, 38-40.

[c] Lowth, Life of William of Wykeham, c. iv.; Pauli, iv. 485, 495; Shirley, 26.

[d] Rymer, iii. 1007.

and that the representatives of the pope were not freely admitted. After much discussion, a compromise was agreed on—that the pope should give up his claim to reservations, and that the king should no longer confer benefices by the writ of "Quare impedit." The statute of provisors was over-ridden by the royal prerogative. Nothing was, however, concluded as to the important subject of elections; and in the following year we already find a renewal of the complaints as to the encroachments of the Roman court in the matter of reservations.[e] The "Good Parliament," as it was called, of that year, while it took up the cause of William of Wykeham and his fellows, and procured their restoration to the royal council,[f] showed itself resolutely hostile to the corruptions of the Roman administration. It was said that the money drawn by the pope from England was five times as much as the taxes paid to the crown; and a formidable list of English preferments held by cardinals and other members of the papal court was exhibited. Such representations were frequent; the statute of provisors was twice re-enacted, and each time with increased severity;[g] but the popes continued to violate these statutes and to carry on the usurpations by which the mind of the English nation had been so long provoked.[h]

July 27–Sept. 14, 1375.

In the end of the year 1375, Wyclif was presented by the crown, in right of a patron who was under age, to the rectory of Lutterworth in Leicestershire[i]—a parish which was his home throughout the remainder of his life, although his residence there was varied by frequent visits to Oxford.[k] The experience which he had gained at Bruges had probably made him more fully acquainted than before with the faults of the Roman system. He had satisfied himself that the pretensions of the papacy had no sufficient foundation; and this conviction he published indefatigably, in learned lectures and disputations, in sermons, and in tracts which for the first time set before the humbler and less educated classes, in strong and clear English prose, the results of inquiry and thought in opposition to the existing

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[e] Rym. iii 1038; cf. 1072; Walsingh. i. 317; Lewis, 31; Shirley, 23; Milm. v. 495; Hook, iv. 252-3. "De electionibus . . . nihil penitus erat tactum, et hoc ascribitur aliquibus qui sciebant se potius per curiam Romanam, quam per electiones, ad dignitates episcopales quas ambiunt promoveri." (Walsingh. l. c.) The treaty was concluded on the 1st of September; and on the 12th the chief member of the commission was translated by papal provision to Hereford. Shirley, l. c.

[f] Rymer, old ed. vii. 163-70.

[g] 3 Rich. II. c. 3; 7 Rich. II. c. 12.

[h] Lewis, 31; Vaughan, 173-7; Milm. v. 495-7.

[i] Lewis, 40; Vaughan, 180.

[k] Shirley, 37-8.

state of the church.[m] He denounced the pope as "anti-Christ, the proud worldly priest of Rome, and the most cursed of clippers and purse-carvers."[n] He inveighed against the pride, the pomp, the luxury of prelates, against their enmity to the power of sovereigns, against the claims of the clergy to immunity from secular jurisdiction, their ignorance, their neglect of preaching, the abuse of the privilege of sanctuary to shelter notorious criminals.[o] He held that temporal lords were entitled to resume such endowments of the church as were abused; and that it was for the temporal lords to judge of the abuse, as well as to execute the sentence, and probably also to benefit by the forfeiture.[p]

It was natural that such opinions should give great offence to those who were attacked, especially as the political connexion of Wyclif with the Duke of Lancaster invested them with a more alarming character.[q] Wyclif was summoned to appear before the primate and the bishop of London in St. Paul's church on the 23rd of February, 1377; and the character of the prosecution is shown by the fact that, although errors of doctrine had already been laid to his charge, those which were now brought forward related entirely to political and social questions.[r] The reformer had with him two powerful supporters, the Duke of Lancaster and Lord Percy, earl marshal,[s] and the scene was one of great violence. Instead of the proposed inquiry, there was an exchange of reproachful words between Wyclif's friends and the bishop of London—William Courtenay, a son of the earl of Devon—while Wyclif himself appears to have been silent throughout, as if ashamed of the unruly conduct of his protectors. Lancaster threatened to bring down the pride not only of Courtenay, but of all the prelacy of England: he charged him with relying on the power of his family, but told him that, instead of being able to help him, they would "have enough to do to defend themselves;" and when the bishop replied with dignity that he trusted not in his parents, nor in any man else, but in God alone, the duke, unable to find an answer, declared that he would rather drag him out of the church by the hair than endure this at his hand.[t] The Londoners who were present, furious at this

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[m] Neand. ix. 517; Milm. v. 517. On the differences between his Latin and his English writings, see Shirley's Catalogue, viii. (Oxf. 1865).

[n] Lewis, 31.

[o] Ib. 35-8.

[p] Walsingh. i. 324.

[q] Shirley, 26-7.

[r] Ib. 27.

[s] Percy was in the same year created earl of Northumberland. Nicolas, Histor. Peerage, 510.

[t] The description of this scene was taken by Fox (ii. 801-2) from a St. Alban's chronicle, which has not yet been published, but of which a version is supposed to exist in an English chro-

insult to their bishop and to the privileges of their city, broke out into tumult, and it was with difficulty that Wyclif and his friends escaped. It happened that on the same day a proposal was made in parliament to transfer the government of the city from the lord mayor to a commission of which Percy was to be the head, and the report of this increased the exasperation of the mob, who next day attacked and plundered Lancaster's palace of the Savoy, barbarously murdered an ecclesiastic who was mistaken for the earl marshal, and might have committed further outrages but for the interposition of the bishop of London, who hastened to the scene of the tumult and succeeded in appeasing it.[u]

Before the meeting at St. Paul's, nineteen articles of accusation against Wyclif had been submitted to Gregory XI.,[x] and in the end of May, 1377, the pope addressed bulls to the king, May 30. to the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London, and to the university of Oxford, reproving the ecclesiastical and academical authorities for their supineness, and requiring an investigation of the case. Wyclif was said to have revived the errors of Marsilius and of John of Jandun—to have maintained doctrines subversive of ecclesiastical and civil government—to have denied the force of papal commands and the power of the keys—to have asserted that excommunication is a nullity, unless a man be excommunicated by himself—that the endowments of the church may be taken away if abused, and that the clergy, including even the pope himself, may be accused and corrected by the laity. In the letter addressed to Oxford it was ordered that such teaching should be suppressed in the university, and that the chancellor should arrest Wyclif and bring him before the primate and the bishop of London.[y] But before these documents could reach England, an June 21. important change took place through the death of Edward III., who was succeeded by his grandson Richard, then only eleven years old.

The university authorities of Oxford, jealous of its independence, showed no eagerness to carry out the papal commands; but the archbishop and the bishop of London required the chancellor to present Wyclif before them for trial.[z] In the

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nicle, edited in vol. xxii. of the 'Archaeologia,' by the late Mr. Amyot. Cf. Walsingh. i. 325; Fuller, ii. 310; Hook, iv. 332.

[u] Walsingh. 325; Pauli, iv. 498.

[x] They are in Walsingh. i. 353-5; Lewis, 42.

[y] Walsingh. i. 346, seqq.; Fascic. Zizan. 242-4; Shirley, Pref. 30; Hook, iv. 271-3.

[z] Walsingh. i. 345, 356 (who blames the prelates for their slowness and timidity); Shirley, 30

October.

mean time a new parliament made strong representations against the encroachments of the papacy, and consulted certain authorities on the question whether the king were not entitled to prevent the exportation of treasure from the realm, although the pope might have required it to be sent to him. To this Wyclif, always a partisan of the crown as against the claims of the papacy, answered that for the defence of the country such a seizure would be warranted by the law of Christ, even although the pope's requisition should be made on the ground of the obedience due to him, and should be enforced by the penalty of his censures.[a]

By the death of Edward the Duke of Lancaster's influence was lessened, and the clergy felt themselves stronger than before. In December, Wyclif was cited to appear again at St. Paul's within thirty days; but the place of hearing was changed to the archbishop's chapel at Lambeth, where, early in the following year,[b] Wyclif was required to answer to the nineteen articles charged against him. But immediately after the proceedings had been opened, a message was received from the young king's mother, desiring that the bishops would carry the inquiry no further; and while the bishops were deliberating whether this order should be obeyed, a mob of Londoners, now favourable to Wyclif as from special circumstances they had lately been opposed to him, broke into the chapel and compelled the prelates to withdraw.[c]

Wyclif had already replied to the charges against him[d] in three tracts, of which one would seem to have been intended for the clergy and for academic readers, while another was laid before parliament, and the third is a vehement attack on some opponent, whom he styles a "medley divine."[e] The obscurity and over-subtlety which have been imputed to these papers arise

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[a] Fascic. Zizan. 258; Vaughan, 196; Pauli. iv, 512.

[b] The precise date is uncertain.

[c] Walsingh. i. 356.

[d] "Partly it is to be borne in mind that the articles come to us from the hands of Wickliffe's adversaries; but much more, that we have them in their naked and abstract form, without the limitations and explanations which conclusions, so concisely expressed, plainly demand, and through aid of which we have evidence enough to show that Wickliffe himself maintained and vindicated them." Wordsworth, Eccl. Biog. i. 203—who goes on to comment on the propositions exhibited at Lambeth.

[e] "Mixtim Theologus." See for these tracts, Fascic. Zizan. 245, 481; Walsingh. i. 357. The order and the dates are matters of dispute; and there are also questions as to the kind of readers for whom the tracts were severally meant. Dr. Shirley places the first two in October, and the third between the date of these and that of the archbishop's letter to the chancellor of Oxford (31-2). Dr. Lingard had argued that the answer to the "medley divine" was before the Lambeth trial (iii. 302-3); against him, see Vaughan, 222; Pauli. iv. 514; Pratt, n. on Fox, iii. 798.

in part from the scholastic method of argument.[f] Wyclif endeavours to explain and to justify, on grounds of scripture and of canon-law, such of the questioned opinions as he admits to be really held by him, and to obviate the misconceptions which his language might be too likely to produce. He speaks of himself as a sincere son of the church and as willing to retract wherever he can be convinced that he is wrong[g]—a profession which, as it is often repeated by other reformers of the period, may be presumed to have been in their minds something more than a nugatory truism. Wyclif was not further censured at this time than by being warned to avoid the danger of misleading the ignorant;[h] and he thought himself at liberty to put forth ten new propositions, which were chiefly directed against the interference of spiritual persons with secular power and possessions.[i]

The death of Gregory XI. put an end to the commission under which the late proceedings had taken place; but the great schism which followed, while it was favourable to Wyclif by supplying him with fresh arguments against the papacy, and by weakening the power of the clergy everywhere, yet told against him by removing so much of the cause for the anti-papal feeling of the English as had arisen from the connexion of the late popes with France; for England, as we have seen, acknowledged the Roman line of popes, and disowned that of Avignon.[k]

In 1379, Wyclif, while residing at Oxford, had a dangerous illness, in which it is said that four doctors, belonging to the mendicant orders, visited him with the design of bringing him to express contrition and to retract his sayings against their brethren; but that Wyclif astonished and scared them away by declaring, in scriptural phrase, "I shall not die, but live and declare the evil deeds of the friars:" and he was able to keep his word.[m]

He now entered on a new and important portion of his work—the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the vernacular tongue. In the prologue to the version by his follower, John Purvey, the venerable examples of Bede and King Alfred are cited in favour of such translations;[n] but whatever means of attaining a knowledge of Scripture through their native

A.D. 1380.

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[f] Pauli, v. 511. Walsingham blames Wyclif for first putting things "nude et aperte," and afterwards explaining them away. i. 363.

[g] Walsingh. i. 357.

[h] Ib. 363.

[i] Ib.

[k] Shirley, 41.

[m] Bale, de Scriptoribus Britanniæ, i. 469 (who says that he found the story "in quodam scripto"). See Fox, iii. 20, and note.

[n] 'Wycliffite Versions of the Bible,' i 59, edd. Forshall and Madden, Oxf. 1850. That this Prologue was written by Purvey, see ib. Pref. xxv.

tongue may have been open to the English in earlier ages,[o] they had for centuries been without such aids, and in the mean time the reading of Scripture had been forbidden, as being dangerous to the unlearned. Of late, however, renewed attempts had been made to exhibit the sacred writings in an English form. About the beginning of Edward III.'s reign, William of Shoreham, vicar of Chart Sutton in Kent, rendered the Psalter into English prose;[p] and he was soon after followed by Richard Rolle, "the hermit of Hampole," who not only translated the text of the Psalms, but added an English commentary. But no other book of Scripture appears to have been rendered into our language before the time when Wyclif undertook a version of the whole.[q] How much of the gigantic labour was done by his own hands it is impossible to determine;[r] but to him we must refer, at least, the general merit of the design and the superintendence of the whole work.[s]

The effect of thus bringing home the word of God to the unlearned people is shown by the indignation of a contemporary writer, who denounces Wyclif as having made the Gospel "common, and more open to laymen and to women who can read than it is wont to be to clerks well learned and of good understanding; so that the pearl of the Gospel is scattered and is trodden under foot of swine;" and he applies, as if prophetical of Wyclif's labours, some passages in which William of St. Amour had denounced the "Everlasting Gospel" of an earlier party.[t] It is said that the bishops attempted in 1390 to get the version condemned by parliament, lest it should become an occasion of heresies; but John of Gaunt "with a great oath" declared that the English would not submit to the degradation of being denied a vernacular Bible, while other nations were allowed to enjoy it; and other nobles added that, if there were danger of heresy from having the Scriptures in English, there

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[o] See Ussher, Hist. Dogmatica, in his Works, ed. Elrington, xii. 319.

[p] Pref. to Wycliffite Versions, 4.

[q] It has been supposed that John of Trevisa, a parish priest in Cornwall, independently of Wyclif, and somewhat before him, translated the whole Bible (Wharton, in Ussher, xii. 346); but the investigations of Mr. Forshall and Sir F. Madden have shown that this is a mistake. (Pref. 21.)

[r] See the Preface, 17.

[s] Preface to Wycl. Versions, vi. The author of the 'Prologue' tells us that in his ignorance of the original tongues, he endeavoured to obtain a correct text by collating many copies, either personally or by means of his assistants; that he called in the aid of commentators, especially of Nicolas de Lyra; and that his principle was "to translate after the sentence, and not only after the words." (57.) This passage has often been quoted as from Wyclif, but is really by Purvey, and relates to his somewhat later version. Purvey recanted Wycliffism in 1400. Fascic. Ziz. 400.

[t] Knyghton, in Twysd. 2644. See vol. iii. p. 599.

had been more heresies among the Latins than among the people of any other language.[u] The attempt at prohibition, therefore, failed, and the English Bible spread far and wide, being diffused chiefly through the exertions of the "poor priests," whom Wyclif employed to publish his doctrines about the country, and furnished with portions of his translation as the text which they were to expound, and the foundation on which they were to rest their preaching.

Soon after having engaged in the translation of the Scriptures, Wyclif, who had thus far shown himself as a reformer only in matters relating to ecclesiastical and civil government, and as to the powers of the clergy,[x] or as a maintainer of philosophical opinions which differed from those generally accepted, went on to assail the doctrine of the church in the matter of the Eucharist, by putting forth certain propositions which he offered to maintain in public disputation.[y] This, however, the authorities of Oxford would not allow; the chancellor, William Berthon, with some doctors, condemned Wyclif's opinions,[z] whereupon he appealed to the king[a]—an act which naturally excited the anger of the clergy, as being an attack on the church's right of judgment.[b] His old patron, the Duke of Lancaster, who took no interest in such questions, charged him to refrain from teaching his doctrine as to the Eucharist;[c] but Wyclif, instead of obeying this order, put forth a "confession," in which he asserted and defended his opinion.[d] He maintained that the sacrament of the altar was not a mere sign, but was at once figure and truth; that all teachers since the year 1000 had erred, with the sole exception of Berengar,—the devil having been let loose, and having had power over the "Master of the Sentences" and others.[e] He distinguished various modes of being, and said that the body of Christ was in the consecrated host virtually, spiritually, and sacramentally, but that it was not substantially, corporally, or dimensionally, elsewhere than in heaven; that, as St. John the Baptist, on becoming the Elias, did not cease to be John[f]—as one who is changed into a pope still remains the same man as before[g]—so it was with the bread and wine of the sacrament. And he severely reprobated the holders of the current doctrine as being "followers of signs and

A.D. 1381.

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[u] Wharton, Auctarium, ap. Ussher, xii. 352.

[x] Fascic. 2; Vaughan, 346.

[y] Treatises against the order of Friars, p. 34; Walsingh. i. 450; Shirley, 42.

[z] Fascic. 109-113.

[a] Ib. 114.

[b] See Lewis, Append. xv.; Fascic. 114.

[c] Fascic. 114.

[d] Ib., 115; Lewis, 85; Shirley, 43.

[e] Fascic. 111; Trialog. ii. 7, p. 153; Wilkins, iii. 171. (Apocal. xx. 3.)

[f] Trialog. iv. 1, p. 256, 9 pp. 274-5.

[g] Fascic. 107.

worshippers of accidents."[h] It was, he said, beyond the reach even of almighty power to cause the existence of accidents without any subject.[i] Thus an important addition was made to the subjects of controversy between Wyclif and the ruling party in the church; and in order to set forth his views in a popular form, he produced a treatise which is known as his 'Wicket.'[k]

In the same year took place the rising of the peasantry under Wat Tyler—a movement similar to those which somewhat earlier had been designated in France by the name of Jacquerie.[m] It was the policy of Wyclif's enemies to connect him with this insurrection, by representing it as the effect of his teaching;[n] and one of the leaders, a priest named John Ball, declared in his confession that he had been two years a follower of Wyclif, whom he described as the chief author of the revolt.[o] But, in truth, this connexion was imaginary. The fury of Tyler's followers was especially directed, not against the clergy (as would have been the case if the impulse had been derived from Wyclif), but against persons in secular authority and administrative office, against lawyers, gentlemen, and men of wealth,[p] especially those who had become rich by commerce. It was not on account of his spiritual office, but as chancellor of the kingdom, that Archbishop Simon of Sudbury was beheaded on Tower Hill.[q] Ball, instead of having learnt his principles

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[h] Fascic. 125.

[i] Ib. 106, 115, 132, and Pref. 60-2; Walsingh. i. 450; ii. 52; (who calls him *Wikkebelere*); Lewis, Append. xvi. Knyghton relates that a knight named Cornelius Clonne was converted from Wyclif's opinions as to the sacrament by seeing that, at the breaking of the host in the mass, the part which was to be put into the cup remained white, but had the name of Jesus written on it, "litteris carneis, crudis, et sanguinolentis," while the other parts appeared as bleeding flesh. His squire, whom he called to witness this, saw nothing extraordinary; but the miracle was turned to account. (2651.) Walsingham has a story of a Wiltshire knight who carried off the consecrated host, and ate it as common food, but was brought to a right mind by the bishop of Salisbury. i. 450.

[k] Printed at Nuremberg, 1546; edited by the Rev. T. P. Pantin, Oxf. 1828, and included in the Religious Tract Society's selection from Wyclif's works. For passages illustrating his eucharistic doctrine, see Vaughan, 312; also Lechler's comparison of his various expressions in Herzog, xviii. 102.

[m] The first outbreak of the Jacquerie was in 1356. W. Naug. cont. 114, 119.

[n] See Knyghton, 2644; Walsingh. ii. 11-12; Latin poem against the Lollards, in Wright, Polit. Songs, i. 235; Buchon, n. on Froissart, viii. 69.

[o] Fascic. 273; Lewis, 177-8; Knyghton says that Ball was Wyclif's forerunner, preparing men's minds for him (2644, 2655), and in the Fascic. Zizaniorum he is styled the "delectus sequax" of Wyclif (l. c.).

[p] See Fuller, ed. Brewer, ii. 381; Collier, iii. 155-6; Pauli, 'Bilder,' 210-1; Bergenroth, 286, 290; Hook, iv. 289. Walsingham says, "Periculosum erat agnosci pro clerico, sed multo periculosius si ad latus alicujus atramentarium inventum fuisset; nam tales vix aut nunquam ab eorum manibus evaserunt." (ii. 9.)

[q] Lingard, iii. 287; Brougham, Hist. of the House of Lancaster, 16; Milm. v. 507. Thomas of Chartham, a monk of Christchurch, Canterbury, relates that Sudbury, while bishop of London, in going to Canterbury, at the fourth jubilee of St. Thomas, A.D. 1370, warned the people whom he fell in with on the road against trusting in the plenary

from Wyclif, had, for twenty years before this outbreak, been notorious as a preacher of communism and revolution; he had been censured by three successive primates,[r] and at length, for his irregularities, had been committed to the archbishop's prison at Maidstone, from which he was released by the rioters.[s] Another priest, who, under the name of Jack Straw,[t] was prominent as a leader, held opinions akin to those of the Fraticelli.[u] There were no demonstrations against the popular superstitions of the time; the insurgents were in alliance with Wyclif's enemies the friars, and were furious against his patron, the Duke of Lancaster, whose palace of the Savoy underwent a second spoliation and serious damage at their hands.[x] In the suppression of this rebellion, a conspicuous part was borne by Henry Spenser, bishop of Norwich, who had obtained his see as a reward for military services rendered to Urban V. in Italy.[y] He took the field in armour, delivered Peterborough from the insurgents, contributed to discomfit them in the neighbouring counties, and, when peace had been restored, made over the local ringleaders to execution, after having, in his episcopal character, administered to them the last consolations of religion.[z]

For Wyclif the result of the insurrection was unfavourable, as

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indulgence which was expected. In consequence of his speeches, many went home; but a knight, Thomas of Aldoun, said to him, "Domine episcope, quod fecisti hanc rem seditiosam in populo contra S. Thomam, sub periculo animæ meæ morte nephandissima finies vitam tuam." (Ang. Sac. i. 49.) Rinaldi looks on his death by the hands of the Wycliffites (as the annalist represents it) as a judgment on his "segnities" in dealing with Wyclifism. (1381. 29.) It may be noted, as an instance of the power vested in the prior and monks of the cathedral during the vacancy of the see, that we find them issuing orders to the bishops, through the provincial dean, the bishop of London, for denouncing the archbishop's murderers. Wilk. iii. 153. (See above, p. 123.)

[r] Langham, in 1366, orders that he should be cited for preaching "multiplices errores et scandala." (Wilk. iii. 64.) Sudbury, in 1381, orders that he should be denounced as excommunicate, and mentions that he had been censured by Islip. (ib. 152.) See Bergenroth, 285, who connects Ball's proceedings with the effects of the Black Death. (Sup. p. 123.)

[s] Knyghton, 2634; Walsingh. ii. 32; Froiss. viii. 15. Froissart's account of this insurrection is the most animated, and seems to be in the main correct, although we may question his opinion that the movement was caused by the too great prosperity of the "menu peuple." (p. 13.) There is a full history of the manner in which St. Alban's was affected by the rising, Gesta Abbatum S. Alb. iii. 285, seqq.

[t] Rinaldi calls him Joannes Stravus. 1381. 40.

[u] Lewis, 180; Milm. v. 508. Straw was induced to confess by a promise of masses for his soul. He says nothing of Wyclifism, but says that his party would have destroyed the bishops and all the higher clergy, down to rectors, allowing the mendicants alone to live for the purpose of performing the offices of the church. (Walsingh. ii. 10.)

[x] See Knyghton, 2635; Walsingh. i. 457. It is said that they threw the duke's *jocalia* into the Thames, declaring "Nolumus esse fures." Eulog. Hist. iii. 352; cf. Introd. lxx.

[y] Capgrave de Illustr. Henricis, 170.

[z] Knyghton, 2638-9; Walsingh. ii. 8-11; Capgrave de Illustr. Henricis, 170-1.

the place of the murdered primate was filled by his old enemy Courtenay, who was not likely to distinguish in his favour between political and doctrinal innovations. Immediately after May 17 (?) 1382. having received his pall, the new archbishop brought the question of Wyclif's opinions before a council of bishops, and other ecclesiastics (mostly belonging to the mendicant orders), with some lawyers, which met at the Dominican convent in Holborn.[a] As the session was about to begin, a shock of an earthquake was felt, and some of the members in alarm proposed an adjournment; but the archbishop, undisturbed by the omen, declared that it signified the purging of the kingdom from heresy.[b] Wyclif was not present, nor does it appear that he had been cited to defend himself; but twenty-two propositions were brought forward as having been maintained by him—ten of them being branded as heretical, while the others were only described as errors. Among the heresies were the assertions that the material substance of bread and wine remains in the sacrament of the altar; that accidents do not remain in it without a subject; that Christ is not in it "identically, truly, and really, in His proper bodily substance;" that the ministrations of bishops and priests who are in mortal sin, and the claims of evil popes over Christ's faithful people, are null; that contrition supersedes the necessity of outward confession; that God ought to obey the devil;[c] that since Urban VI. no one was to be received as pope, but the Christians of the West ought to live, like the Greeks, under their own laws; and that it was contrary to Holy Scripture for clergymen to hold temporal possessions.

Among the propositions noted as erroneous were several relating to the effect of excommunication; the assertions already mentioned as to the power of secular persons to take away ecclesiastical endowments, with others of like tendency; and some denials of the utility of the monastic life.[d]

The council held five sessions, and in the mean time the archbishop wrote to Oxford, denouncing the preaching of uncommissioned persons, and ordering that the opinions of Wyclif

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[a] Shirley, 43. See Hook, iv. 348. Nine bishops are named in the Fascic. Ziz. 286, 498; among these is William Bottlesham, *Nanatensis* (?), who, according to Godwin, was made bishop of Bethlehem by the pope, and was afterwards appointed to Landaff and Rochester. 607.

[b] Knyghton, 2647; Walsingh. ii. 57; Wright, Pol. Songs, i. 250, seqq.; Lewis, 82. In the Fascic. Ziz. 272, this seems to be given as the writer's interpretation.

[c] See below, p. 219.

[d] Fascic. 277-282; Walsingh. ii. 58-9

May 28.

should be suppressed in the university.[e] The council condemned the doctrines which were brought before it, and three of Wyclif's most prominent followers, Philip Repyngdon, Nicolas Hereford,[f] and John Ayshton, after having been examined before the archbishop, were sentenced to various punishments. The archbishop brought the matter before the house of lords, and an order was obtained from the crown by which the sheriffs were required to assist the officers of the bishops in arresting heretics. But in the following session the bill which the lords had passed in accordance with the archbishop's wishes was disowned by the Commons, who declared that they had never assented to it, and prayed the king that it might be annulled; chiefly, it would seem, in consequence of a petition which Wyclif had addressed to the king and to the parliament.[g]

July 3.

July 15.

The reforming party was now attacked in Oxford, which was its chief stronghold. The chancellor, Robert Rygge, although he had subscribed the former condemnation,[h] was inclined to favour the Wycliffites, and to maintain the exemption of the university from the power of the archbishop and bishops.[i] He appointed Repyngdon, and others of like opinions, to preach on some public occasions. On being required by the archbishop to publish a denunciation of Wyclifism, he declared that to do so might endanger his life.[k] And when a Carmelite, named Stokes, appeared at Oxford, with a commission to carry out the archbishop's mandate, it is said that the chancellor made a display of armed men, so that the friar withdrew in terror without having executed his task.[m] Rygge was, however, compelled to appear in London, with the proctors of the university, and to ask pardon on his knees for having favoured Wyclifism. He was commanded by the archbishop to allow no new doctrines to be taught or held;[n] and, in obedience to a royal order[o] (which had, perhaps, been obtained by representing Wyclif's opinions as connected with the late revolutionary movements), he published the suspension of Repyngdon and Hereford.[p] The bishop of Lincoln, Bokyngham, within whose diocese Oxford was situated, exerted himself vigorously for the suppression of Wyclifism in the university.[q] Repyngdon,

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[e] Fascic. 274, seqq.

[f] See Hereford's propositions, ib. 303.

[g] Hallam, M. A. ii. 220; Pauli, iv. 549-552. See Gibson, Codex i. 100, ed. 1.

[h] Fascic. 113.

[i] Ib. 299.

[k] Ib. 299, 306, 311; Walsingh. ii. 60; Lewis, 93-4; Vaughan, 280-4; Pauli, iv. 551.

[m] Fascic. 302, 304.

[n] Ib. 304-8.

[o] Ib. 312; Rym. vii. 363.

[p] Wilk. iii. 166, 168; Knyghton, 2655; Lewis, 95.

[q] Knyghton, 2651; Fascic. 330.

Hereford, and Ayshton recanted, after having in vain attempted to gain the intercession of the Duke of Lancaster; but their explanations were not deemed sufficient, and it was not without much trouble that they procured their restoration.[r] Hereford went to Rome, for the purpose of clearing his orthodoxy; he was committed to prison by Urban VI., but was set free by the populace in one of their outbreaks against the pope. He then returned to England, where he was again imprisoned by the archbishop of Canterbury; and he ended his days as a Carthusian monk.[s] Repyngdon became one of the bitterest opponents of the party to which he had once belonged; and his zeal was rewarded with the bishoprick of Lincoln, and with the dignity of cardinal.[t] According to some writers, Wyclif himself appeared before the Nov. 1382. archbishop and other prelates at Oxford, and explained himself in terms which are treated by his enemies as evasive;[u] and it would seem that his explanation was accepted by his judges as sufficient to justify them in dismissing him.[x] But the party at Oxford never recovered from the effects of these proceedings.[y]

The remaining two years of Wyclif's days were spent in his parish of Lutterworth; and such was the effect of his labours in the surrounding country that, according to the writer who is known by the name of Knyghton, a canon of Leicester, "You would scarce see two in the way, but one of them was a disciple of Wyclif."[z] During this period of his life, his pen was actively A.D. 1383. employed. When the warlike bishop Spenser, of Norwich, led into Flanders a rabble of disorderly recruits to fight as crusaders for Pope Urban against Pope Clement, Wyclif sent forth a pamphlet 'On the Schism,' denouncing the system of indulgences in general, and the abuse of holding forth such privileges as an inducement to enlist in such an enterprise.[a]

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[r] Fascic. 318-325, 329, 333; Wilk. iii. 172. Ayshton, on being asked by the archbishop whether material bread remained in the sacrament, answered "Illud verbum *materialis* ponas in bursa tua, si quam habes." Wilk. iii. 164.

[s] Knyghton, 2657.

[t] Ciacon. ii. 769; Godwin, 296.

[u] Knyghton, 2649. See Vaughan, 310, 517; Martineau, 461-7; Hefele, vi. 827.

[x] Lewis, 88; Vaughan, 310-8; Hook, iv. 365.

[y] Shirley, 44.

[z] Ap. Twysd. 2663-4, 2666.

[a] See Todd, 'Three Treatises of Wyclif,' Dublin, 1851, pp. 10, xxxiii., clxxvi.; Lewis, 98-9; Vaughan, 371, seqq. As to this expedition (which proved an utter failure), see Froissart, viii. 396, seqq.; ix. 2; Knyghton, 2669, 2671; Walsingh. ii. 72-8, 84-103, 109, 141; Wilkins, iii. 176-8. In the 'Eulogium Historiarum,' Spenser is described as "magis militari levitate dissolutus quam pontificali maturitate solidus." (ii. 356.) Capgrave argues that ecclesiastics who live on alms and tithes only must not fight; but that those who have castles, &c., may be present in expeditions, not only against infidels, but against false Christians, yet must not themselves take arms. De Illustr. Henricis, 74.

A.D. 1383-4.

And to this time belongs one of his most remarkable works—the 'Trialogue,' which, as its name intimates, is in the form of a conversation between three persons, Aletheia, Pseustis, and Phronesis.[b] In this Wyclif lays down a rigid doctrine of predestination.[c] He exposes the popular errors of reliance on the saints, declaring Christ to be a better, readier, and more benign mediator than any of them;[d] he mentions without disapproval the opinion of some who would abolish all festivals of the saints, and who blame the church for canonizing men, inasmuch as without revelation it can no more know the sanctity of the persons so honoured than Prester John or the Soldan.[e] In like manner he reprobates indulgences, on the ground that the prelates who grant them pretend foolishly, greedily, and blasphemously to a knowledge which is beyond their reach.[f] He maintains the superiority of Holy Scripture to all other laws;[g] if there were a hundred popes, and if all the friars were turned into cardinals, their opinion ought not to be believed, except in so far as it is founded on Scripture.[h] It is chiefly in the last book of the Trialogue that Wyclif shows himself as a reformer. He states his doctrine of the Eucharist, which, he says, had been held by the church until Satan was let loose.[i] As to the hierarchy, he says that the only orders were originally those of priest and deacon, that bishops were the same with priests, and that the other orders were the inventions of "Cæsarean" pride.[k] The pope he considers to be probably the great antichrist, and the "Cæsarean" prelates to be the lesser antichrists, as being utterly opposite to their pretensions as Christ's vicar and His representatives.[m] He declares himself strongly against the endowments of the church; he tells the story of the angel's lamentation over the gift of Constan-

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[b] This was printed in 1525, probably at Basel, and was the first of Wyclif's books that appeared in type. In that edition it is styled '*Di*alogorum libri iiii.'; but the title of *Dialogue* rather belongs to another of the reformer's works, the 'Dialogus sive speculum ecclesiæ militantis." The *Trialogus* has been edited for the Oxford university press by Dr. Lechler, of Leipzig, 1869, who points out that the name is formed by a false analogy, as if *dialogus* were derived from *δύο* (p. 6). Of the personages, Aletheia is described in the prologue (39) as speaking "tanquam solidus philosophus," but is styled a sister (*e.g.* p. 40; cf. Lechler, 8); Pseustis (*i.e.* *ψεύστης*) is said to be "infidelis et captiosus;" while Phronesis, who, notwithstanding the form of the name, is a male person, is described as "subtilis theologus et maturus."

[c] ii. 14; iii. 7-8.

[d] iii. 30.

[e] Ib. p. 237.

[f] ii. 7, p. 152.

[g] iii. 31. There is a puzzling passage about people who disparage Scripture, and especially St. John's Gospel, p. 241.

[h] iv. 7, p. 266.

[i] L. iv. 4, 2, 10, 29; also l. ii. c. 7, p. 153. Again: "Sed ut certe scio, omnes fratres mundi non possunt docere aliquem nec seipsos, quid sit illud accidens sine subjecto, quod sic consecrant et adorant." iv. 38, p. 383. See as to Grossetête's opposite belief, c. 6, p. 265.

[k] Ib. 15.

[m] iii. 17.

tine,[n] to which he traces all the corruptions, abuses, and decay of later times; he holds that the error of Constantine and others, who thought by such means to benefit the church, was greater than that of St. Paul in persecuting it; nay, he says that the princes who endowed the church are liable to the punishment of hell for so doing.[o] And, as a simple remedy for the evils of the case, he recommends that the king, on getting the temporalities of a bishoprick or of an abbacy into his hands through a vacancy, should avoid the mistake of restoring them to the next incumbent.[p] He denies the necessity of confession, and attacks the penitential system, as also indulgences and the sacrament of extreme unction.[q] And he is severe against the clergy, more especially against the monks, canons, and friars. These last he traces to antichrist, and declares to be the means of spreading all heresies;[r] he even charges their idle and luxurious lives with rendering the land less productive and the air unwholesome, and so with causing pestilences and epidemics.[s]

Although Wyclif's last years appear to have been wholly spent in his retirement, his constant and varied activity, and the influence which he exercised, were not to be overlooked; and in 1384 he received a citation to appear before Urban VI. His answer[t] does not clearly state the grounds on which he excused himself; but he had been disabled by illness, and especially by a stroke of palsy. On the 29th of December, 1384, as he was engaged in the service of the church, he was struck down by a second attack of the same sort; and on the last day

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[n] iv. 15; Supplem. 409. See vol. iii. p. 578. The Supplement, published for the first time by Prof. Lechler, is against endowments. In form it is not a dialogue, but an argument in the scholastic method.

[o] Trialog. iv. 17-8. Cf. iii. 10.

[p] iv. 19.

[q] Ib. 23-5, 32.

[r] Ib. 26-39. See above, p. 201.

[s] iv. 35, p. 370. Wyclif acknowledges that Dominic and Francis were holy and devout men, but thinks that, from a want of prudence, they erred in instituting their orders by way of remedy for the evils which had grown on the church since Satan was let loose. (iv. 33.) Formerly, as in the time of Fitzralph, bishops and friars were hostile to each other, but now Herod and Pilate had become friends (ib. 36, p. 375). The friars are "Caimitica institutio," the names of the orders, according to their pretended seniority, forming by their initials that of the first murderer. Thus:—

*C*armelites,
*A*ugustinians,
*I*acobites
*M*inorites.

(iv. 17, p. 306; 33, p. 362.), and the voice of Abel cries to the Lord against them. (p. 362.) He rejects, however, the claims of the Carmelites to foundation by Elijah, and that of the Austin friars to foundation by the great bishop of Hippo. (v. 33; Suppl. c. 6, p. 436.)

[t] "Et si in persona propria ad votum potero laborare, vellem praesentiam Romani pontificis humiliter visitare. Sed Deus necessitavit me ad contrarium; et communiter me docuit plus Deo quam hominibus obedire." (Fascic. 342; Lewis, Append. xviii.) Lechler (in Herzog, xviii. 52) thinks that it was not a letter, nor addressed to the pope, but was perhaps part of a sermon.

of the year he expired. His enemies pleased themselves with the thought that his seizure took place on the festival of St. Thomas of Canterbury, the champion and martyr of the hierarchical claims, and that he died on the festival of St. Sylvester, the pope on whom the first Christian emperor was supposed to have bestowed those privileges and endowments which Wyclif had pertinaciously assailed.[u]

It is remarkable that, although Wyclif had many points in common with the Waldenses, he never shows any trace of acquaintance with the history of that party, but seems to have formed his opinions in entire independence of them.[x] Attempts have been made to connect him with the school of Joachim of Fiore; but, although the constant use of the word *Gospel* may naturally recal to our minds the "everlasting Gospel" of the earlier party,—although there was in both parties a tendency to apocalyptic speculations, and although Wyclif's followers were infected with that fondness for prophecies, partly of a religious and partly of a political tendency, which had prevailed widely from the time of Joachim downwards,—it would seem that these resemblances are no proof of any real connexion.[y]

Wyclif opposed, either entirely or in their more exaggerated forms, most of the corruptions and superstitions which had grown on the church—such as the system of indulgences, the reliance on the merits of the saints, the trust in supposed miracles; and if he held the doctrine of purgatory, and allowed the utility of prayers and masses for the departed, he was careful to guard against the popular errors connected with these beliefs.[z] He denied the usual distinctions of mortal and venial sin.[a] He regarded confession as wholesome, but not as necessary; he limited the priestly power of absolution to that of declaring God's forgiveness to the truly contrite, and blamed the clergy for pretending to something more than this.[b] He denied the effect of excommunication, unless when uttered for just reason, in the cause of God, and agreeably to the law of Christ.[c] He opposed compulsory celibacy, and the practice of binding young persons to the monastic life before their own experience and

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[u] Lewis, 101. Walsingham records the end of Wyclif's life with exultation, and says that he was believed to have intended to blaspheme St. Thomas in his sermon on the festival. He styles Wyclif "organum diabolicum, hostis ecclesiæ, confusio vulgi, hæreticorum idolum, hypocritarum speculum, schismatis incentor, odii seminator, mendacii fabricator." ii. 119.

[x] Bohringer's Wiclef. 4.

[y] See Milm. v. 516.

[z] Lewis, 130, 137; Hardw. 415.

[a] Lewis, 130.

[b] Ib. 136; Neand. ix. 245-6. See Walsingh. i. 359.

[c] Fascic. 250.

will could guide them in the choice of it.[d] With regard to marriage he is said to have held some singular opinions—that it had been instituted as a means of filling up the places of the fallen angels,[e] and that the prohibition of marriage even between the nearest relations had no other foundation than human law.[f] He admitted the seven sacraments, but not as all standing on the same level;[g] and he found fault with confirmation, as involving a pretension on the part of bishops to give the Holy Spirit in a new way, and thus to do more than give that Holy Spirit who was bestowed in baptism.[h] He objected to the prevailing excess of ceremonies, although he admitted that some ceremonies were necessary and expedient.[i] He also found fault with the elaborate music which had come into use in the church, declaring it to be a hindrance to study and preaching, and ridiculing the disposal of money in foundations for such purposes.[k]

As to the constitution of the church, Wyclif held that God had not bestowed on any man that plenitude of power which was claimed by the papacy;[m] and, while he did not refuse to style the pope Christ's vicar, he considered that the emperor was also His vicar in the temporal sphere;[n] that even the pope might be rebuked, and that even by laymen.[o] With some of the schoolmen[p] he held (as we have seen) that bishops and priests were one and the same order; but it does not appear that he countenanced the practice of some of his followers, who claimed for presbyters the power of ordination. We have already seen that he wished the clergy to cast themselves, like those of the first days, on the oblations of the faithful for maintenance; that he would have allowed them to enjoy only so much as was absolutely necessary, and held it to be the duty of secular lords to take away from them such endowments as were abused. But he disavowed the idea that this was to be done arbitrarily, and limited the exercise of the right by the conditions of civil, ecclesiastical, and evangelical law.[q] And, although his enemies are never found to charge him with inconsistency, he confessed that his own practice had been short of his theory,—that he had spent on himself that which ought to have been given to the poor.[r]

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[d] Lewis, 134; Neand. ix. 203.

[e] Lewis, 140.

[f] Trial. iv. 20. p. 318.

[g] Ib. iv. 1; Lewis, 344.

[h] Trial. iv. 14, p. 293.

[i] Lewis, 218.

[k] Ib. 132.

[m] Shirley, 65.

[n] Ib.

[o] Fascic. 256.

[p] See Palmer on the Church, ed. 1, vol. ii. 374-6.

[q] Walsingh. i. 359; Fascic. 249, 251.

[r] Milm. v. 516; Shirley, 16.

In some respects Wyclif seems to have been justly chargeable with the use of language which was likely not only to be misunderstood by his opponents, but to mislead his partisans. Thus the proposition that "Dominion is founded in grace" seems to imply a principle of unlimited anarchy and fanaticism, but is explained in such a manner as to lose much of its alarming character. Wyclif's conception of dominion was altogether modelled on the feudal system. He believed that God, to whom alone dominion could properly belong, had granted in fee (as it were) certain portions of His dominion over the world, on condition of obedience to his commandments, and that such grants were vitiated by mortal sin in the holders.[s] But this Wyclif admitted to be an ideal view, which must be modified in order to accord with the facts of the case;[t] and by way of corrective he advanced another proposition, of at least equally startling appearance—that "God ought to obey the devil."[u] In other words, as God suffers evil in this world—as the Saviour submitted to be tempted by the devil—so obedience is due by Christians to constituted authority, however unworthy the holders of it may be. The wicked, although they could not have dominion in its proper sense, might yet have power, so as to be entitled to obedience. And thus there is no ground for the imputations which have been cast on him by his enemies as if he had advocated the principles of insurrection and tyrannicide.[x] Wyclif considered that, while the pope and the king are each supreme in his own department, every Christian man holds of God, although not "in chief;" and that hence the final court of appeal is not that of the pope, but of God.[y] In like manner, when he asserted that one who was in mortal sin could not administer the sacraments, the proposition was softened by an explanation—that a man in such a condition might administer the sacraments validly, although to his own condemnation.[z]

Wyclif's opinions as to the doctrine of the Eucharist have

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[s] Trialog. iv. 19; Shirley, 63. "Nullus est dominus civilis, nullus episcopus, nullus est prælatus, dum est in peccato mortali." Walsingh. ii. 53.

[t] See Lewis, 342; Neand. ix. 210; Shirley, 62.

[u] He is said to have disavowed this (Lewis, 96), and it has been supposed to be an inference of his enemies. But Dr. Shirley quotes a passage in which Wyclif defends it. p. 64.

[x] See Knyghton, 2662; Lewis, 116, 176.

[y] Shirley, 66. "The education of the individual conscience to independence could not be effected in a day. Upon the generality of thoughtful men in his day the external authority of the church of Rome had a hold which they could not shake off; again and again the most devoted of Wyclif's disciples are found returning, with recantation, to the bosom of the church, unable to bear their terrible isolation." Ib.

[z] Lewis, 96, 117.

been already stated. On predestination and the doctrines connected with it, his views were such that he is said to have been styled by his admirers John Augustine.[a] He denied the freedom of the will, and held that all things take place by absolute necessity; that even God Himself cannot do otherwise than He actually does;[b] that no predestined person could be finally obdurate or could be lost; that no one who was "foreknown" would have the gift of final perseverance, or could be saved; and that while in the body we can have no certainty who those are that belong to the one class or to the other.[c] Philosophy mingled largely with his theology; he maintained that true philosophy and true theology must go together; and thus, as his own views were strongly realistic, he concluded that the nominalists could not receive the truth of Holy Scripture.[d]

A document is extant which professes to be a testimonial in favour of Wyclif, granted by the university of Oxford in 1406;[e] but it is very inconsistent with what is known as to the disposition of the university authorities towards his memory at that time, and it is supposed to have been forged by a Wyclifite named Peter Payne, who published it in Bohemia.[f]

After Wyclif's death the Lollards (as his followers were called),[g] rapidly developed the more questionable part of his opinions.[h] They became wildly fanatical against the Roman

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[a] Shirley, 54.

[b] "Omnia quæ eveniunt necessariò absolute eveniunt. Et sic Deus non potest quidquam producere vel intelligere, nisi quod de facto intelligit et producit." Trial. iii. 8, pp. 154-5.

[c] Ib. l. iii. 7; Neand. ix. 210-1.

[d] Trial. ii. 3, p. 85; Neand. ix. 238.

[e] Wilk. iii. 302.

[f] Wood's Hist. of Oxford, ed. Gutch, i. 542. Lewis gives the document, Append. xxi., and defends it, pp. 274-5. It bore the seal of the university, which Payne is supposed to have got into his hands in consequence of its having been carelessly kept. (Hardw. 420.) The convocation of Canterbury, in 1411, while lamenting the state of things in Oxford generally, mentions that forged letters in favour of heresy, &c., had been sealed with the university seal, and published in foreign countries. (Wilk. iii. 336.) The English representatives at the council of Constance denounced the testimonial as a forgery, and produced another letter, of opposite character, also under the university seal. (V. d. Hardt, iv. 326.) Jerome of Prague was charged with a share in the deception, but denied this, and spoke as if he had been himself deceived. Ib. 644.

[g] This name was older, and is said to have been given as early as 1309 to some sectaries in Flanders, "quasi Deum laudantes." (Rayn. 1318, 14.) Some derive it from one Walter Lollard, who is said to have been burnt at Cologne. (See D'Argentré, i. 282); but this idea seems quite untenable. (Mosh. De Begh. 272.) Another, and a more probable, etymology is from *lallen*, on account of the chanting to which the Flemish Lollards were addicted (Mosh. ii. 680-9; Lechler in Herzog, viii. 458). Although the word *lolium* is applied to Wyclif's doctrines in Gregory XI.'s bull addressed to Oxford (see p. 205), there is there no allusion to the name of Lollards; but the derivation from *lolium* is found from about 1382, and appears in official documents as early as 1387. Lechler, l. c. 159.

[h] Knyghton, 2706-8; Walsingh. ii. 252. See as to the variety of characters embraced under the general title of Lollards, Shirley, 67. There are many documents of this time in Wilkins, iii. See Knyghton, 2209-10, 2736, &c., for proceedings against the party.

church and the clergy.[l] Some of them denied the necessity of ordination, maintaining that any Christian man or woman, "being without sin," was entitled to consecrate the Eucharist;[k] or they took it on themselves to ordain without the ministry of bishops.[m] Some declared the sacraments to be mere dead signs; and, whereas Wyclif had held a sabbatical doctrine as to the Lord's day, they denounced the observance of that day as a remnant of Judaism.[n] With such opinions in matters of religion were combined extravagances dangerous to civil government and to society; and prophecies, which were in great part of political tendency, were largely circulated among the Lollards.[o]

Notwithstanding the defection of some of the most eminent among the clergy of the party, it still numbered among its members many persons of distinction, who encouraged the preachers in their rounds, gathered audiences to listen to them, and afforded them armed protection.[p] But its main strength lay among the humbler classes. London was a stronghold of Lollardism, as were also the counties of Leicester and Lincoln, where Wyclif's personal influence had been especially exerted.[q]

In 1394 the Lollards affixed to the doors of St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey placards in which the clergy were attacked and the current doctrine of the sacraments was impugned;[r] and they presented to parliament a petition, in which the peculiarities of their system were strongly enounced.[s] The bishops took such alarm at these movements that they urgently entreated the king to hurry back from Ireland in order to meet the new

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[l] "Quod papa, cardinales, archiepiscopi, episcopi, archidiaconi, decani, officiales, aliæque omnes personæ majores ecclesiæ sint maledicti." (ap. Knyghton, 2707.) In Nov. 1384 (a few weeks before Wyclif's death) and in February, 1385, there were royal orders for protection of friars against the outrages of the party. (Rym. vii. 447, 458.) Among the opinions of Swynderby, which he was made to recant, one was a gross charge of immorality against the clergy:—"Nullus sacerdos in aliquam domum intrat nisi ad male tractandum uxorem, filiam, aut ancillam; et ideo mariti caveant ne sacerdotem aliquem in domum suam intrare permittant." Knyghton, 2669.

[k] See Fox, iii. 132, 188-9, 219, 288; Rayn. 1391. 22.

[m] Walsingh. ii. 188-9, 252-3; who blames the bishops for their supineness in letting the party alone, but excepts the bishop of Norwich, who threatened to burn or otherwise put to death any Lollard who should presume to teach in his diocese. Cf. Capgrave, 252.

[n] Hardw. 418; Neand. ix. 201.

[o] Hardw. 418. See Maitland, on the Lollards, ('Eight Essays,' Lond. 1852).

[p] Knyghton, 2661-2; Walsingh. ii. 159, 216. Walsingham relates with satisfaction that the Earl of Salisbury, who had been a patron of the Lollards, was beheaded at Cirencester, in 1400, "sine sacramento confessionis, ut fertur." ib. 244.

[q] See the 'Processus contra Lollardos' of Leicester, 1389, Wilk. iii. 208, 210-1; Knyghton, 2736; Fox, iii. 197, seqq.; Milm. v. 521-2. Leicester was interdicted on account of Lollardy. Wilk. iii. 209.

[r] Walsingh. ii. 216.

[s] Wilk. iii. 221-3; Pauli. iv. 297

dangers which had arisen,[t] and during the remaining years of Richard's power active measures were taken for the discouragement of Lollardism.[u] In 1396, Boniface IX. entreated the king to assist him in suppressing heresy, as being dangerous alike to the church and to the crown;[x] and in the same year Archbishop Thomas Arundel, immediately after his elevation to the primacy, held a synod, in which eighteen propositions, attributed to Wyclif, were condemned.[y] The democratic and communistic opinions which had become developed among the party, while they attracted the poorer people, must have tended to alienate those of higher condition, and thus were, on the whole, disadvantageous to its progress.

But most especially the Lollards suffered from the change which placed Henry of Lancaster on the throne instead of Richard. Archbishop Arundel, their bitter enemy, had a powerful hold on the new king, whom he had greatly aided to attain the crown; and Henry, in his feeling of insecurity, was eager to ally himself with the clergy, the monks, and the friars—so that under the descendants of Wyclif's old patron, John of Gaunt, the condition of the Wyclifites became worse than it had previously been.[z] Henry in his first year sent a message to the convocation, that it was his intention "to maintain all the liberties of the church, and to destroy heresies, errors, and heretics to the utmost of his power;"[a] and in the following year, after a representation by the clergy to parliament as to the necessity of checking the growth of heresy, was passed the statute "De hæretico comburendo."[b] By this it was enacted that any one whom an ecclesiastical court should have declared to be guilty, or strongly suspected, of heresy, should, on being made over to the sheriff with a certificate to that effect, be publicly burnt.[c]

Oct. 1399.

A.D. 1400–1.

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[t] Walsingh. ii. 215-6.

[u] Fascic. 360; Rymer, vii. 805-6; viii. 87, &c.

[x] Schröckh, xxiv. 555.

[y] Wilk. iii. 229.

[z] Collier, iii. 234-7.

[a] Wilk. iii. 239.

[b] 2 Hen. IV. c. 15. The prayer was, that when persons had been convicted, the king's officers should receive them, "et ulterius agant quod eis incumbit in ea parte;" but the answer is more distinct:—"Easdem coram populo in eminenti loco comburi faciant." The convocation had decreed that "cum clericis laici oppido sint infesti" [a reminiscence of Boniface VIII.], and whereas it was said that parliament intended, at the suggestion of the Lollards, to make new laws, adverse to the clergy and to the liberties of the church, the bishops should be desired strenuously to withstand such attempts. Wilk. iii. 212.

[c] Walsingh. ii. 247; Pauli, v. 51-2. That this statute was probably not passed in regular form, see Hallam, M. A. ii. 221; on the other side, Lingard, iii. 472. Fitzherbert says that it was a rule of common law that heretics should be burnt; and some think that Sautre suffered before the enactment of the statute. (See Shirley, 69.) It is remarked that England was the only country where such a statute was needed,

A.D. 1408.

The first victim of this statute is supposed to have been William Sautre, priest of St. Osyth's, in London, who had before been convicted in the diocese of Norwich, and suffered as a relapsed heretic in 1401, chiefly for the denial of transubstantiation.[d] When the parliament in 1410 asked for a mitigation of the statute, the king answered that it ought to be made more severe.[e] There is a succession of measures intended for the repression of the Lollards. In 1407 an ordinance was passed which condemns their opinions as to church property, and seems to connect the party with those who used the name of the deposed king as if he were still alive.[f] In the following year a synod assembled in London, under the presidency of Archbishop Arundel, decreed that Wyclif's books should not be read, unless allowed by one of the universities, and that no English versions of the Scriptures should be made, because of the difficulty of securing an uniform sense, "as the blessed Jerome himself, although he had been inspired, avers that herein he had often erred."[g] It was ordered that at Oxford the authorities should inquire, once a month or oftener, whether Wyclif's opinions were held by any members of the university;[h] and in 1412 two hundred and sixty-seven propositions from his works were condemned there, "as all guilty of fire."[i] The pope, John XXIII., at Arundel's request, confirmed this sentence; but he rejected the archbishop's proposal that Wyclif's bones should be dug up and burnt.[k]

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as elsewhere the secular powers at once carried out the sentence. (Wordsw. Eccl. Biog. i. 22; Milman, v. 524; who refer to Blackstone and Hallam.) The writ for burning (Rym. viii. 178), dated Feb. 26, 1401, says that the punishment is "juxta legem divinam, humanam, canonica instituta, et in hac parte consuetudinarie."

[d] Fox. iii. 222-9; Wilk. iii. 255. As one John Newton was rector of St. Osyth's from 1396 to 1427, Sautre was probably a chantry-priest. Hook, iv. 502.

[e] Walsingh. ii. 283.

[f] Lingard, iii. 472, from Rot. Parl. iii. 583. "This, says Dr. Lingard, "was only a temporary ordinance, to last till the next parliament." That Richard made his escape from Pontefract, and lived in Scotland, has been maintained not only by Mr. Tytler (Hist. Scotl. iii. 279, seqq.), but by Mr. Williams, editor of the 'Chronique de la Trahison et Mort de Richard II.' for the English Historical Society. Against this, see Amyot, in Archaeologia, vols. xxiii., xxv.; Mackintosh, i. 381; Brougham, ii. xxii. Walsingham reports Sir John Oldcastle as having said, when brought before parliament in 1417, "se non habere judicem inter eos, vivente ligeo domino suo in regno Scotiæ, rege Ricardo." (ii. 328). But this proves nothing more than the inclination of the Lollards to believe such stories, and to make use of Richard's name against the house of Lancaster.

[g] Wilkins, iii. 314, cc. 6-7.

[h] Ib. c. 11. Cf. Arundel, ib. 322-3, 329.

[i] "Omnes reas igne." Ib. 339-349; Lewis, 105; Collier, iii. 290.

[k] Wilk. iii. 351; Collier, iii. 291; Hook, iv. 494-8. Among proposals by the university of Oxford, 1414, one is, That whereas incompetent and inept translations of many books had misled simple and ignorant persons [*simplices idiotas*], books and tracts Englished since the beginning of the schism should be confiscated until good translations should be made. c. 41, Wilk. iii. 365.

During the reign of Henry IV. the laws against Lollardism were but partially enforced; but Henry V. (whatever may have been his conduct in those earlier years as to which we have received an impression too strong to be effaced by any historical evidence) showed himself, when king, strictly religious according to the ideas of the time, and conscientious, even to bigotry, in the desire to signalise his orthodoxy and to suppress such opinions as bore the note of heresy.[m] Under the influence of his Carmelite confessor, Thomas Netter, one of the bitterest controversial opponents of Wyclifism,[n] the laws were now rigorously executed. The victims were of all classes;[o] but the most conspicuous for character and for rank was Sir John Oldcastle, who, in right of his wife, sat in parliament as Lord Cobham.[p] Oldcastle, who seems to have been a man of somewhat violent and impetuous character, had been highly distinguished in the French wars, and had been on terms of intimacy with Henry in his earlier days.[q] Having taken up the opinions of Wyclif with enthusiastic zeal, he endeavoured, by encouraging itinerant preachers and otherwise, to spread these doctrines among the people; and it was feared that his military skill and renown might make him dangerous as the leader of a fanatical and disaffected party.[r] The king himself undertook to argue with him; but Cobham, knowing his ground better, withstood the
Sep. 23-Oct. 10, 1413.
royal arguments.[s] After having been called in question by the archbishop of Canterbury for his opinions (as to which he appears, while denying transubstantiation, to have consistently maintained that the very body and blood of Christ are contained under the form of the eucharistic ele-

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[m] Gesta Henr. V. 90-2; 2 Henr. V. stat. 1. c. 7; Proclamations in Rym. ix. 46, 120, 129, &c. See Pauli, v. 80, 89, 175-8.

[n] Netter was author of the 'Doctrinale Antiquitatum Fidei Catholicæ Ecclesiæ,' a work which fills three huge folio volumes, and has been repeatedly edited (as by Blanciotti, Venice, 1757-9); also, perhaps, of the 'Fasciculi Zizaniorum.' See Dr. Shirley's Preface, 70, 76-7, where it is supposed that Netter used materials collected by Stephen Patryngton.

[o] Mr. Tyler, in his Life of Henry V. (ii. 344, seqq.) vindicates him as to the death of Badby from the exaggerations of Fox and Milner.

[p] See Brougham, House of Lancaster, Append. xxvi.

[q] Walsing. ii. 291; Fascic. 431; Pauli, v. 82. In an old play founded on the history of Henry V., Sir John Oldcastle appears as one of the king's companions: and Shakespeare originally gave the same name to the character whom we know as Falstaff; for which he apologises in the Epilogue of Henry IV., pt. ii. :—"Oldcastle died a martyr, and this is not the man." (See Dyce's Shakespeare, 2nd ed., iv. 204-5; Fuller, ii. 417.) But it is absurd, as well as unfair, in Dr. Lingard (iii. 477-8) to attach the characteristics of Falstaff to the real Oldcastle. (See Pauli, v. 86.) There was a serious play on the story of Sir John Oldcastle, printed in 1600, and wrongly ascribed to Shakespeare. See Knight's 'Pictorial Shakspere,' vii. 209.

[r] Fascic. 431. See Tyler, ii. 285; Milm. v. 529, seqq.

[s] Gesta Henr. II.; Fascic. 435.

ments[t]), he was excommunicated. He then made his escape from London, and for some years lived obscurely in Wales; but he afterwards reappeared, and, as he was supposed to be concerned in revolutionary designs, was arrested, and was brought to the bar of the House of Lords. The sentence which had before been pronounced against him on a mixed charge of heresy and treason was read over in his hearing, and, as he made no defence, he was forthwith hanged and burnt in Smithfield on the 18th of December, 1417.[u]

Wyclifism disappears from view in England, although it continued to lurk as the creed of illiterate persons among the laity;[x] and when the day of reformation arrived, it does not appear that the agents in the great change were influenced by the movement of an earlier time.[y] But meanwhile, in a distant country, opinions closely resembling those of Wyclif produced effects of wide and lasting importance.

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[t] *E.g.* Fox, iii. 325, 327, 330-1, 338, 344, 346; Fascic. 437-444; Wilk. iii. 352, 357.

[u] Walsingh. ii. 297-8, 306; Fox, iii. 367-9; Capgrave, de Illustribus Henricis, 113, 122; Collier, iii. 324; Pauli, iv. 148. Henry was then warring in France. (Tyler, ii. 300.) For Oldcastle's innocence of treason, see Lord Brougham's Appendix, xxviii.

[x] See Prof. Churchill Babington's Preface to Pecock's 'Repressor' (Chron. and Mem.), p. xxvii., and the references to "Lollards" in the index; also Lechler, in Herzog, viii. 463. The doctrines of Wyclif were carried into Scotland by a priest named James Resby, who was brought before an assembly of the clergy, and was burnt in 1407. It would seem that his tracts were preserved among the people, and had much influence. Tytler, iii. 141-2; Grub, i. 365-6.

[y] As to the slighting opinions which Luther and Melanchthon pronounced on Wyclif, and the injustice thereby done to him, see Lechler, in Herzog, xviii. 103.

CHAPTER VII.

BOHEMIA.

THE reforming tendencies which appeared in Bohemia towards the end of the fourteenth century have been traced to the ancient connexion of that country with the Greek church,[a] from which it is assumed that peculiar usages, such as the marriage of the clergy, the use of the vernacular tongue in the offices of the church, and the administration of the eucharistic cup to the laity, had been continued through the intermediate ages.[b] But this theory, which was unknown to the Bohemian reformers of the time with which we are now concerned, appears to be wholly unsupported by historical fact.[c] Nor, although some Waldenses had made their way into the country,[d] does it appear that the reforming movement which we are about to notice derived any impulse from that party.

The first person who became conspicuous as a teacher of reformation in Bohemia was not a native of the country, but an Austrian—Conrad of Waldhausen,[e] canon of the cathedral of Prague, and pastor of a parish near the city. Conrad appears to have adhered in all respects to the doctrine which was considered orthodox in his time, and his burning zeal was directed against practical corruptions of religion. He denounced, with indignant eloquence, the mechanical character of the usual devotions; the abuses of indulgences and relics; the practice of simony in all forms, among which he included the performance of charitable duties for money, such as that of tending the sick;[f] and on this ground, among others, he censured the mendicant friars. But he also assailed the principle of their system alto-

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[a] See vol. ii. pp. 390, 470-2.

[b] Schröckh, xxxiv. 564.

[c] Giesel. II. iii. 333; Palacky, III. i. 157.

[d] They are said to have murdered a papal legate and inquisitor at Prague in 1341. (Schröckh, xxxiv. 565.) John, archbishop of Prague, complains in 1381 that heresies are rife in Bohemia, "et signanter secta Sarraboytarum et illorum rusticorum Valdensium damnatorum." (Mansi, xxvi. 692.) John of Trittenheim groundlessly connects the Bohemian reformers with Beghards and with the supposed Walter Lollard (see above, p. 220). Chron. Hirsaug. 1315, 1322.

[e] The surname of Stickna was formerly, but wrongly, given to Conrad, by confusion with another person. Palacky, III. i. 161; Neand. ix. 263.

[f] Schröckh, xxxiv. 566; Neand. ix. 268, 272.

gether, offering sixty groats to any one who would prove from Scripture that the Saviour gave his sanction to the mendicant life; and he strongly opposed the practice of devoting young persons—sometimes even children yet unborn—to the cloister, without allowing them the power of choice.[g] He required usurers to disgorge the gains which they had unjustly acquired; whereas the friars used to quiet the consciences of such persons by teaching them that the iniquities of usury might be sanctified by bounty to the church.[h] Yet Conrad, although he strenuously opposed the corruptions of monasticism, set a high value on the idea of the monastic life.[i] His power as a preacher is said to have been very extraordinary; sometimes he found himself obliged to deliver his sermons in market-places, because no church was large enough to contain the multitude of hearers. He carried away from the mendicants all but a handful of "beguines;" even Jews crowded to listen to him, and he discountenanced those who would have kept them off.[k] Conrad was favoured by the Emperor Charles; and, although the Dominicans and Franciscans combined against him, and in 1364 exhibited twenty-nine articles of accusation to the archbishop of Prague, he continued his course without any serious molestation until his death in 1369.[m]

Contemporary with Conrad of Waldhausen was Militz,[n] a native of Kremsier, in Moravia. Militz had attained the dignity of archdeacon of Prague, and, in addition to other benefices, possessed some landed property; he stood high in the favour of the Emperor Charles, and was greatly respected in his ecclesiastical character. But the desire after a stricter religious life arose within him, and, resigning all the advantages of his position, he withdrew to the poverty and obscurity of a parish priest's life in a little town or village.[o] After a time he reappeared at Prague, and, unlike Conrad of Waldhausen, who had used only the German language, he preached in Latin to the learned, and in the vernacular to the multitude. At first, his Bohemian sermons had little effect on account of his somewhat foreign pronunciation;[p] but this difficulty was gradually overcome, and Militz was heard four or five times a day by enthu-

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[g] Neand. ix. 269.

[h] Ib. 272.

[i] Ib. ix. 270.

[k] Ib. ix. 264, 267, 272-4.

[m] Schröckh, xxxiv. 567; Neand. ix. 275-6.

[n] This (= *carissimus*) was his baptismal name, although some have mistaken it for a surname, and have prefixed John to it. Giesel. II. iii. 324; Herzog, art. *Militz.*

[o] Palacky, III. i. 164; Neand. ix. 250-1.

[p] "Propter incongruentiam vulgaris sermonis." Palacky, III. i. 165.

siastic audiences. Usurers were persuaded by his eloquence to give up their gains, and women to renounce the vanities of dress; and so powerful was Militz in exhorting prostitutes to forsake a life of sin, that under his teaching a part of the city which had been known as Little Venice acquired the title of Little Jerusalem.[q] Like Conrad, Militz attacked the mendicant system; but, whereas Conrad had confined himself to practical subjects, Militz plunged into apocalyptic speculations. Seeing in the corruption of the church a proof that antichrist was already come, he wrote a tract, in which he fixed the end of the world between 1365 and 1367; he even told Charles IV. to his face that he was the great antichrist, yet he did not by this forfeit the emperor's regard.[r] In 1357, Militz felt an irresistible impulse to set forth his opinions to Urban V., who was then about to remove to Rome. He arrived there before the pope, and by announcing his intention of discoursing on the coming of antichrist provoked an imprisonment in the convent of Ara Cœli; but he was able to justify his orthodoxy before Urban, and was allowed to return to Prague.[s] From this time he abandoned apocalyptic subjects, but was unwearied in his labours as a preacher; and he established a school for preachers, at which 200 or 300 students were trained under one roof, but without any vow or monastic rule.[t] Some years later, twelve charges against him were brought before Gregory XI.,—among other things, that he disparaged the clergy from the pope downwards; that he denounced their possession of property; that he denied the force of excommunication; and that he insisted on daily communion.[u] In order to meet these charges, Militz repaired to Avignon, but while his case was pending he died there in 1374.[x]

Among the pupils of Militz was Mathias of Janow, a young man of knightly family, who afterwards studied for six years at Paris, and thence was styled "Magister Parisiensis." In 1381 Mathias became a canon of Prague, and he was confessor to the Emperor Charles.[y] The influence of Mathias, unlike that of Conrad and of Militz, was exerted chiefly by means of his writings. One of these—a tract 'On the Abomination of Desolation,' mainly directed against the mendicant friars—has been

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[q] Neand. ix. 252-4.

[r] Ib., ix. 256; Palacky, III. i. 165-7.

[s] Neand. ix. 256-261; Palacky, III. i. 167-8.

[t] Ib., III. i. 169.

[u] Ib. III. i. 171.

[x] Ib. 172; Neand. ix. 262-3.

[y] Schröckh, xxxiv. 572; Palacky, III. i. 173.

sometimes ascribed to Hus, and sometimes to Wyclif.[z] His chief work, 'Of the Rules of the Old and New Testaments' (which is described as an inquiry into the characters of real and false Christianity[a]) has never been printed at full length. Mathias went considerably beyond those practical measures of reform with which his predecessors had contented themselves; indeed, it may be said that the later reformer Hus rather fell short of him in this respect than exceeded him.[c] Mathias professed to regard Holy Scripture as the only source of religious knowledge, and declared himself forcibly against human inventions and precepts in religion.[d] He was strongly opposed to the encroachments of the papacy on the church; he regarded the pope rather as antichrist than as Christ's vicar; and he describes antichrist (whom he declares to have come long ago) in terms which seem to point at the degenerate and secularised hierarchy.[e] He denounced the clergy in general for the vices which he imputed to them, and appears to have reprobated the greatness of the distinction which was commonly made between the clergy and the laity.[f] Mathias was especially zealous for frequent communion of the lay people. He denied the sufficiency of what was called spiritual communion: "If we were angels," he said, "it might possibly be enough; but for our mixed nature of body and soul an actual reception of the sacrament is necessary;" and this he deduced from the doctrine of the Incarnation itself.[g] Those (he said) who receive but once a year come to the sacrament in a spirit of bondage, and cannot know the true Christian liberty.[h] It was supposed in later times that Mathias had advocated the administration of the eucharistic cup to the laity; but this appears to be a mistake.[i] For some of the opinions imputed to him—among other things, for insisting on daily communion of the laity—he was condemned by a synod held at Prague in 1388, and, having submitted to make a retractation, was suspended for half a year from ministering beyond his own parish church.[k] But he appears to have continued his teaching

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[z] See Neand. ix. 278, seqq. It is printed among Hus's works, i. 376, seqq.

[a] Pressel, in Herzog, art. *Janow*.

[b] See Neand. ix. 280; Palacky, III. ii. 176; Giesel. II. iii. 326. No one copy is entire, but the book could be completed from the various existing copies.

[c] Neand. ix. 276.

[d] Ib. ix. 294-5; Giesel. II. iii. 331.

[e] Neand. ix. 281, 291; Giesel. II. iii. 326-7.

[f] Neand. ix. 281.

[g] Ib. ix. 314, 331.

[h] Ib. 315.

[i] Giesel. II. iii. 332-3. See, however, Palacky, III. ii. 180.

[k] Documenta Mag. Jo. Hus Vitam &c. illustrantia, ed. Palacky, Prague, 1869, p. 699. (This will be cited as 'Docum.'—the editor's name being reserved to denote his History of Bohemia.)

with little change, and to have been suffered to remain unmolested until his death in 1394.[l]

As to the orthodoxy of these men (who, although not the only Bohemian reformers of their time, were the most distinguished among them[m]) there have been various opinions within the Roman church, as the Bohemian writers generally maintain that they were sound in faith, and in favour of this view (which is commonly rejected by writers of other nations) are able to point to the fact that they all lived and died within the communion of Rome.[n]

Thus far the reforming movement in Bohemia had been wholly independent of any English influence. Indeed no country of Europe might seem so unlikely to feel such influence as Bohemia—far removed as it is on all sides from any communication with our island by sea, and with a population wholly alien in descent and in language from any of the tribes which have contributed to form our nation. Yet by the accession of Charles of Luxemburg to the throne of Bohemia, and by the marriage of his daughter Anne with Richard of England, the two countries were brought into a special connexion. A.D. 1381. The princess, whose pious exercises and study of the Scriptures were afterwards commemorated in a funeral sermon by Archbishop Arundel,[o] had been so far affected by the reforming movements of her own land (where each of the three men who have been mentioned above had enjoyed the favour of her father) that she brought with her to England versions of the Gospels in the German[p] and Bohemian tongues as well as in Latin; and when, after her death, her Bohemian attendants A.D. 1394. returned to their own country, it would seem that they carried with them much of Wyclif's doctrine. A literary intercourse also grew up between the countries. Young Bohemians studied at Oxford; young Englishmen resorted to the university which Charles had founded in the Bohemian capital. Wyclif was already held in high honour there on account of his philosophical and physical works, which were regarded without any suspicion on account of his religious teaching;[q] thus Hus said

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[l] Neand. ix. 336.

[m] Palacky, III. ii. 182.

[n] See Giesel. II. iii. 332.

[o] See Fox, iii. 222.

[p] Wycl. quoted by Hus, Opera, i. 108. Dean Milman supposes "Teutonicam" to mean English. (v. 520.) But (besides that such a confusion is unlikely) a book brought from the court of the German king of Bohemia was more likely to be German than English. And see Wharton, in Ussher, xii. 352. Moreover, in the passage where Hus quotes Wyclif's testimony, there is throughout an opposition between the words *Anglicus* and *Teutonicus*.

[q] Neand. ix. 348.

in 1411 that Wyclif's writings had been read at Prague by himself and other members of the university for more than twenty years.[r]

John Hus,[s] the most famous, if not the most remarkable, of the Bohemian reformers, was born in a humble condition at Hussinecz, a village near the Bavarian frontier, in 1369.[t] His education was completed at Prague, where it would seem that he was influenced by the teaching of Mathias of Janow; and among the writers whom he most revered were St. Augustine and Grossetête.[u] By such studies he was prepared to welcome some theological writings of Wyclif, which were introduced into Bohemia in 1402.[x] At first, indeed, he was so little attracted by them that he advised a young student, who had shown him one of the books, to burn it or to throw it into the Moldau, lest it should fall into hands in which it might do mischief.[y] But he soon found himself fascinated; Wyclif's books gave him new lights as to the constitution of the church and as to the reforms which were to be desired in it, and from them his whole system of opinion took its character.[z] It would seem, however, that on the important question of transubstantiation he never adopted Wyclif's opinions, but adhered throughout to those which were current in the church.[a] When, at a later time, the

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[r] Replic. contra J. Stokes, Opera, i. 108. "Ipsa propositio vergit in confusionem universitatis nostræ . . . imo in confusionem universitatis Oxoniensis, quæ universitas ab annis triginta habet et legit libros ipsius M. Jo. Wiclef. Egoque et membra nostræ universitatis habemus et legimus illos libros ab annis viginti et pluribus." Neander (ix. 348) interprets this as meaning that Wyclif had been read thirty years at Prague. But "quæ universitas" clearly means Oxford. Cf. Hus. i. 109*, 110.

[s] The name signifies a *goose*, and to this we find frequent allusions; *e. g.* "Et hæc eadem veritas pro uno Ansere infirmo et debili multos falcones et aquilas Pragam misit," &c. (Ep. 17.) "Oportet quod Auca alas moveat contra alas Vehemot, et contra caudam, quæ semper cooperit abominationem bestiæ Antichristi." (Ep. 26.) See, too, below, p. 265, note [f], the quotation from a letter written by John Cardinalis, from Constance, on St. Martin's eve, 1414.—I quote Hus's Epistles, and those of his correspondents, from the 'Documenta.'

[t] Palacky, III. ii. 191.

[u] Neand. ix. 310, 316.

[x] See Hefele, vii. 30, quoting a book by Palacky against Höfler, for the date.

[y] Schröckh, xxxiv. 578.

[z] Giesel. II. iii. 393. Hus usually styles Wyclif "the master of deep thought." (Wratislaw, in 'Contemp. Rev.' x. 535.) For his zeal in circulating Wyclif's works—giving copies of the 'Trialogue' to the Marquis Jodocus and to other persons of importance—see Steph. Dolan. in Pez, IV. ii. 527. At Stockholm are five philosophical tracts of Wyclif, transcribed in Hus's own hand. The only known MSS. of the Trialogue are in the Imperial Library at Vienna, to which they are supposed to have found their way from Bohemian convents suppressed by Joseph II. (Lechler, Prolegg. 20-1.) There is a story of two Englishmen making an excitement at Prague by exhibiting two pictures, in one of which was represented the Saviour riding into Jerusalem on an ass, while the other displayed the magnificent cavalcade of the pope and his court (see Seyfr. 45, seqq.); but it is said to be apocryphal. Schröckh, xxxiv. 578-9.

[a] See Neand. ix. 350; Palacky, III. i. 198. Hus himself, in exposing the inconstancy of some who had turned against

testimonial in favour of Wyclif, under the seal of the university of Oxford, was produced in Bohemia by Peter Payne and Nicolas von Faulfisch, Hus eagerly caught at its supposed authority; but in this he seems to have been a dupe, not an accomplice, of the forgery.[b]

Hus became noted, as even his enemies allow, for the purity of his life, his ascetic habits, and his pleasing manners.[c] In 1402, he was appointed preacher at a chapel which had been founded eleven years before with an especial view to preaching in the vernacular tongue,[d] and to which the founders—a merchant and one of the king's councillors—had given the name of Bethlehem (the house of bread) on account of the spiritual food which was to be there distributed.[e] Soon after this, Hus became confessor to the queen, Sophia, and acquired much influence at the court of Weneeslaus.[f] He was A.D. 1403. also appointed synodal preacher, and in this character had the privilege of frequently addressing the clergy, whom he rebuked with a vehemence which was more likely to enrage than to amend them.[g] He charged them with ambition and ostentation, with luxury[h] and avarice, with contempt and oppression of the poor[i] and with subserviency to the rich; with vindictiveness which is said to have given rise to a proverb, "If you offend a clerk, kill him, or you will never have peace;"[k] with usury, drunkenness, indecent talking, concubinage, incontinency;[m] with gaming, betrayal of confession, and neglect of their spiritual duties. He denounced them for exacting fees,[n] for simoniacal practices,[o] for holding pluralities;[p] thus, on one occasion, when requesting the prayers of his hearers for a deceased ecclesiastic, he said, "Saving the judgment of God, I

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him (1413) says, "Scio certitudinaliter quod Stanislaus tenuit et in scripto sententialiter scripsit de remanentia panis; et a me quæsivit, antequam disturbium incepit, si vellem idem secum tenere. Et postea juravit et abjuravit," &c. (Ep. 27.) Here it appears that Hus had not professed the Wyclifite doctrine. Cf. Ep. 84, p. 137; De Cœna Domini, Opera, i. 39; Acta, ib. v.; Docum. 180-4. He seems to admit that he spoke of *bread* as remaining (for which he quotes the words of the mass), but to deny that he had spoken of the *substance* of bread as remaining. Doc. 182.

[b] Opera, 1109; Docum. 232, 313; Neand. ix. 351. See p. 220.

[c] Balbinus, in Schröckh, xxxiv. 585.

[d] Until then there had been no public preaching in the vernacular. (Seyfr. 31.) The chapel was a result of Militz's preaching. Neand. ix. 340.

[e] Seyfried, with his annotator, however, says that the name was given with a reference to the holy innocents. 30-1; so Hefele. vii. 31.

[f] Giesel. II. iii. 394.

[g] ii. 39.

[h] ii. 34, &c.

[i] ii. 26.

[k] ii. 26.

[m] ii. 26*, 29, 34, &c. "Mulier est tanquam pix diaboli, conversationem maculans sacerdotum." De Arg. Clero, 153.

[n] ii. 31; and as to funeral-dues, ib. 39, where there is a curious description of the disorders usual at funerals.

[o] ii. 30*, 36, 39.

[p] ii. 27.

would not for the whole world choose to die with so many and such valuable benefices."[q] It was a natural result of such preaching that Hus raised up against himself much bitter enmity on the part of his brethren.

In 1403, Zbynko of Hasenburg was appointed to the see of Prague,[r] which, through the influence of Charles IV., had been detached from the province of Mentz, and invested with metropolitical dignity by Clement VI.[s] The new archbishop, although a man of the world, so that he took part in warlike enterprises, was desirous of reforming ecclesiastical abuses; and for a time Hus enjoyed his favour. It was by Zbynko that the office of synodal preacher was conferred;[t] and he even invited Hus to point out any defects which he might observe in his administration.[u]

The archbishop's confidence in Hus was especially shown by appointing him, with two others, to investigate an alleged miracle, which had raised the village of Wilsnack, in Brandenburg, to a sudden celebrity. The church there had been burnt by a robber knight, and the priest, in groping among the ruins, had found in a cavity of the altar three consecrated wafers, of a red colour, which was supposed to be produced by the Saviour's blood.[x] The bishop of Havelberg and the archbishop of Magdeburg, within whose jurisdiction Wilsnack was situated, took up the tale; innumerable cures were said to have been wrought by the miraculous host; by making vows to it, prisoners had obtained deliverance, and combatants had gained the victory in duels;[y] and the offerings of the pilgrims whom it attracted were enough to rebuild the whole village, with a new and magnificent church. The Bohemian commissioners, however, detected much imposture in the alleged cures;[z] and Hus set forth a tract, 'On the glorified Blood of Christ,' in which he combated the popular superstitions as to relics and the craving after miracles,[a] and strongly denounced the frauds of the clergy, who for the sake of money deluded the credulous people.[b] In consequence of

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[q] Doc. 151, 160; Giesel. II. iii. 394-6. Among other things, Hus attacked the mock festivals which were celebrated in churches. Doc. 722.

[r] Palacky, III. i. 195.

[s] A.D. 1344. H. Rebdorff, 438; Mansi, xxvi. 75; Palacky, II. ii. 218. This change was partly made with the intention of annoying the antipapal archbishop of Mentz, Henry of Virneburg.

[t] Hefele, vii. 32. [u] Palac. III. i. 216.

[x] It appears from the scientific inquiries of late times that such an appearance may naturally be produced by the presence of minute insects. Neand. ix. 312; Edinb. Rev. cxxv. 408.

[y] Hus, i. 160. [z] Ib. 161.*

[a] *E. g.* "Nullus verus Christianus debet signa in fide sua quaerere, sed constanter acquiescere in scriptura." Cf. 158*, 161*.

[b] He mentions several instances of priests who were detected in such practices as to bloody hosts, &c. A monk

this, archbishop Zbynko forbade all resort from his own diocese
A.D. 1405. to Wilsnack,[c] although the miraculous hosts continued to attract pilgrims until they were burnt by a reforming preacher in 1552.[d]

But it soon became evident that the archbishop and Hus must
A.D. 1408. separate. Hus's attacks on the clergy were renewed, and charges of Wycliffism were formally brought against him.[e] The archbishop complained to the king; but Wenceslaus is said to have replied, "So long as Master Hus preached against us laymen, you rejoiced at it; now your turn is come, and you must be content to bear it."[f]

In the university also Hus became involved in quarrels. The founder, Charles IV., had divided it, after the example of Paris, into four nations—Bohemians, Saxons, Bavarians, and Poles.[g] But as two of these were German, and as the Polish nation, being more than half composed of Silesians, Pomeranians, and Prussians, was under German influence, the Bohemians found that in their own university they were liable to be overpowered in the election of officers and in all sorts of other questions, by the votes of foreigners.[h] Hence a feeling of hostility grew up, and extended itself even to matters of opinion, so that, as the Germans were Nominalists, the Bohemians were Realists, and were inclined to liberal principles in religion.[i] Into these differences Hus eagerly threw himself, and he found his most zealous supporter in a layman of noble family, named Jerome.[k] Jerome was a man of ardent and impetuous character, restless and enterprising, gifted with a copious eloquence, but without discretion to guide it. He had travelled much—to England, to Russia, to Jerusalem—sometimes affecting the character of a philosopher and theologian, sometimes that of a knight and man of the world, and in many places meeting with strange adventures; and he professed to have graduated as a master of arts at Prague,

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of Bologna having been convicted of an imposture of this kind "in ferrea catasta in porta civitatis diu nutritus tanquam avis, in hujusmodi pœnitentia vitam suam miserabiliter terminavit." (161*.) For another case, see the Chron. Epp. Mindensium, in Leibnitz, ii. 195.

[c] Opera, i. 162*; Docum. 332; Palacky, III. i 217.

[d] Schröckh, xxxiii. 441. Herman Corner says, about 1438—"Ubi quidem Deus ad gloriam sui sacri corporis plura operatur miracula etiam hodierno die, quibus tamen signis et virtutibus innumera admiscentur frivola et minus vera, ob cleri illius perniciosam avaritiam." Eccard. ii. 1143.

[e] Doc. 153.

[f] Giesel. II. iv. 398.

[g] Palacky, II. ii. 292.

[h] This had been matter of complaint as early as 1384. Schmid, iv. 133; Palacky, iii. 1. 229.

[i] Neand. ix. 352. Andrew of Ratisbon speaks of the difference as affecting methods of study. Pez, IV. iii. 599.

[k] Jerome has had the surname of Faulfisch given to him, but by a confusion with another person, Nicolas v. Faulfisch. (Palacky, III. i. 192-3.). He belonged to the lower class of nobles

Heidelberg, Cologne, and Paris.[m] He himself states that, when in England, he was induced by the celebrity of Wyclif's name to make copies of the Dialogue and of the Trialogue;[n] and he was zealous for the English reformer's doctrines.

It was a law of the Bohemian university that, while doctors and masters were at liberty to lecture without restraint, bachelors were required to use as texts the lectures of some reputed teacher of Prague, Oxford, or Paris; and in this manner Wyclif's writings came to be much employed and known there.[o] But this naturally excited opposition, and in 1403 forty-five propositions, ascribed to Wyclif—partly derived from the council of the earthquake, and partly a new selection—were condemned by the nations which predominated in the university.[p] Hus declined to join unreservedly in this condemnation; he called in question the genuineness of these propositions, and declared that, although no devoted follower of Wyclif, he believed the Englishman's writings to contain many truths.[q] Others took a similar part, and the impugned articles found a defender in Stanislaus of Znaym, who afterwards became one of Hus's bitterest enemies.[r] The contest went on. In 1405, the archbishop was desired by Innocent VII. to be zealous in suppressing the heresies which were said to be rife in Bohemia; and in consequence of this he uttered denunciations against the adherents of Wyclif, especially with regard to his eucharistic doctrine.[s] In 1408, Stephen, a Carthusian, and prior of Dolan, put forth a formal treatise against Wyclif's opinions,[t] and in the same year

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[m] Ib. iv. 103, 635, 680, seqq.; Lenf. Conc. de Pise, ii. 50; Neand. ix. 537-540. See a letter of Albert, bishop of Cracow, in Doc. 506. Theodoric of Niem describes Jerome as "magister in artibus sed non in sacris ordinibus statutus, magnus et crassus, satis eloquens, sed imprudens." (V. d. Hardt, ii. 419.) Andrew of Ratisbon says, "Scelestus quidam laicus, sed tamen magister artium." At Oxford he had been in some trouble on a suspicion of heresy, as appears from a remonstrance of the university of Prague (Doc. 336). There was in the same age another Jerome of Prague, a monk who laboured in the conversion of Lithuania. See below, p. 312.

[n] V. d. Hardt, iv. 635.

[o] Palacky, III. i. 184, 188.

[p] Docum. 327; see Hefele, vii. 32. The last of these propositions:—"That all religions, without distinction, were invented by the devil," was sometimes misrepresented as if the word *religions* were intended to bear its ordinary modern sense. But it really meant *religious* (*i. e.* monastic) *orders*; and in Doc. 330 there are the words "ordines religiosos." (See V. d. Hardt, i. 127, 332; iii. 211.) Alzog quotes the word in *both* senses. i. 37; ii. 200.

[q] Neand. ix. 356; Palacky, III. i. 196.

[r] Palacky, i. 196. See above, p. 232, n. [a].

[s] Docum. 332, 335; Palacky, III. i. 213.

[t] 'Medulla Tritici [Deut. xxxii. 14] seu Antiwiklefus,' in Pez, IV. ii. 151-360. For an account of Stephen, who is said to have been chancellor of Bohemia before he became a monk, see Pez's Introduction. He afterwards wrote other tracts, which are printed in the same volume:—'Antihussus,' 'Dialogus Volatilis' (between a Wyclifite goose and a sparrow), &c. The date of this

the forty-five propositions were again condemned by the university.[u]

July 17, 1409.

Wenceslaus, although deeply angered at the part which the popes had taken as to his deposition from the empire, was unwilling that his kingdom should lie under the imputation of heresy, more especially as such a charge would have interfered with the hope which he still cherished of recovering his lost dignity. In 1408, therefore, he desired the archbishop of Prague to inquire into the state of religion; and the result was that the archbishop, with a synod, declared Bohemia to be free from the taint of Wyclifism. But he ordered that all copies of Wyclif's writings should be given up for examination and correction—an order which, even if seriously meant, appears to have been ineffectual; and it was forbidden that Wyclif's propositions should be taught in the university in their heretical sense (for as to the real meaning of some of them there was a dispute), and that any one should lecture on his Trialogue or on his work on the Eucharist.[x]

Jan. 18, 1409.

The part which the university had taken in the late proceedings incited Hus and Jerome to attempt an important change in its constitution; and their plans were favoured by the circumstances of the time. The council of Pisa was about to meet. Wenceslaus, influenced by France and hoping to recover the imperial dignity, took part with it, while the university, under the dominating influence of the German nations, adhered to Gregory XII. Hence the king was disposed to fall in with Hus's scheme; and in January, 1409, he decreed that the Bohemian nation should for the future have three votes in the university, while the other three nations collectively should have but one vote; in like manner (it was said) as the French had three votes at Paris, and the Italians at Bologna.[y] It was in vain that the Germans petitioned against this;[z] and, after having solemnly bound themselves by an engagement that, if the decree should be carried out, they would withdraw from Prague and would never return,[a] they found themselves obliged to fulfil their threat. Out of more than seven thousand[b]

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last was 1414, and the writer justifies all the proceedings against Hus to that time. See Hefele, vii. 38.

[u] Hefele, vii. 35.

[x] Neand. ix. 364; Palacky, III. i. 221; Hefele, vii. 36.

[y] Doc. 347; cf. 358. A chronicler quoted, ib. 731, says that Wenceslaus made the change because the foreign nations opposed his wish to withdraw obedience from the pope.

[z] Doc. 350 (Feb. 9).

[a] Doc. 352, 732. Cf. Hus, in V. d. Hardt, iv. 312.

[b] Palacky (III. i. 183) thinks Pelzel's estimate, 7000, too low; others make the

members of the university, only two thousand were left; of the five thousand seceders, some attached themselves to existing universities, such as Cracow, while others founded the universities of Ingolstadt and Leipzig.[c] Hus was now Oct. 17, 1409. chosen rector of the Bohemian university;[d] but, while stories to his discredit were sedulously spread in foreign countries by those who charged him with having expelled them from Prague,[e] he found that his success had also raised up against him many enemies at home, especially among those citizens of Prague whose interests had suffered through the withdrawal of the foreign students.[f]

Hus had been zealous for the council of Pisa, as promising a better hope of reform than any that was to be expected from a pope, and he exerted himself actively in detaching those whom he could influence from the party of Gregory XII. By this he drew on himself, in common with others who had opposed Gregory, a sentence from the archbishop of suspension from preaching and from all priestly functions;[g] while, on the other hand, many of the clergy who adhered to Gregory were severely treated by the king.[h] The prohibition of preaching was unheeded by Hus, who seems to have believed that his ordination gave him a privilege as to this of which he could not be deprived.[i] The chapel of Bethlehem resounded with his unsparing invectives against the vices of all classes of men; and Cardinal Peter d'Ailly seems to have had reason for telling him, long after, that he had done wrong in denouncing the faults of cardinals and prelates before audiences which were not qualified to understand or to judge of such topics, and could only be inflamed by them.[k] Fresh charges were now brought against him—that by his preaching he fomented quarrels between the Bohemians and the Germans;[m] that he abused the clergy and the archbishop, so that a mob excited by him had once beset the archiepiscopal palace;[n] that he persisted in his attacks notwithstanding all warnings, and drew people from their parish-churches to listen to them;[o] that he had spoken of Wyclif as a

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number of students 30,000, or even reckon the seceders at 44,000. See Seyfr. 61.

[c] See Herm. Corner, in Eccard, ii. 1195; Seyfr. 62-4.

[d] Seyfr, 64-5.

[e] Th. Niem, in V. d. Hardt, ii. 453.

[f] Neand. ix. 367; Giesel. II. iii. 398.

[g] Schröckh, xxxiv. 87; Palacky, III. i. 227. In Ep. 2, he begs the archbishop not to suspend him for neutrality as to the papacy, and professes himself willing to obey Gregory "in omnibus licitis."

[h] Neand. ix. 368.

[i] See Ep. 11, p. 24.

[k] This was at the council of Constance. (Doc. 293.) Hus wrote a tract justifying his attacks on the clergy:—'De arguendo clero,' Opp. i. 119.

[m] Doc. 168. [n] Ib. 168. [o] Ib. 166.

venerable man, who had been called a heretic because he spoke the truth,[p] and had expressed a wish that his soul might be with that of Wyclif;[q] that he denied the power of the church in punishing; that he mocked at the authority of the church and her doctors;[r] that he denied the validity of ministrations performed by one who was in mortal sin;[s] and that, without distinguishing between exactions and free gifts, he condemned as a heretic any priest who received money in connexion with the administration of a sacrament.[t] As to some of these points it would seem that he was not really chargeable with anything more than the indiscretion of using language which was almost certain to be misunderstood.[u] Thus he declared that in his words about Wyclif's soul he had not taken it on himself positively to affirm his salvation;[x] and he admitted that God's sacraments are validly administered by evil as well as by good priests, forasmuch as the Divine power operates alike through both.[y]

Archbishop Zbynko at length found himself obliged to yield Sept. 2, 1409. as to the council of Pisa, and to acknowledge its pope, Alexander V.[z] The change was unfavourable to Hus, as the pope was now more likely to listen to the archbishop's Dec. 20, 1409. representations. In consequence of these, Alexander addressed to Zbynko a bull, stating that the errors of the condemned heresiarch Wyclif were reported to be rife in Bohemia, and desiring him to forbid all preaching except in cathedral, parochial, or monastic churches.[a] In compliance with this bull, the archbishop ordered that preaching in private June 16, 1410. chapels should cease,[b] and it was understood that Bethlehem chapel was especially aimed at. The bull was received with great indignation by the Bohemian nobles. Hus declared that it had been surreptitiously obtained; that he could not, out of obedience either to the archbishop or to the pope, refrain from preaching;[c] he appealed "from the pope ill-informed to the pope when he should be better informed;" he contended that Bethlehem chapel did not fall under the prohibition, and, in reliance on the deed of foundation and on his appeal, he continued to preach as before.[d]

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[p] Doc. 168.

[q] Ib. 167. This was also an earlier and a later charge, ib. 154, 177.

[r] Ib. 165-6.

[s] Ib. 161-5.

[t] Ib. 166-7.

[u] Neand. ix. 388-9.

[x] Doc. 161, 168.

[y] Ib. 165-7.

[z] Ib. 372, 733.

[a] Ib. 189.

[b] Ib. 378.

[c] Ep. 11, p. 24; De Eccles. Opp. i. 235.*

[d] Ep. 11; Doc. 387-390, 724; Neand. ix. 376; cf. Ep. 9. Gregory XII., in 1408, had confirmed the foundation of Bethlehem. Doc. 340.

June 16, 1410.

July 16.

July 18.

A fresh order was issued by the archbishop that all copies of Wyclif's writings should be delivered up; and a commission of doctors, being appointed to examine them, condemned not only the Dialogue and the Trialogue, with the treatises on the Eucharist, on Simony, and on Civil Dominion, but a work on the Reality of Universals, and other writings of a purely philosophical nature.[c] It was announced that there was to be a great bonfire of Wyclif's books. The university petitioned the king against this, and Zbynko assured him that it should not be carried out without his consent.[f] But in violation of this promise, and under the pretence that Wenceslaus had not expressly forbidden the burning, the archbishop soon after surrounded his palace with guards, and caused about two hundred volumes of Wyclif's writings, with some works of Militz and others,—many of them precious for beauty of penmanship and of binding[g]— to be committed to the flames, while *Te Deum* was chanted and all the bells of the churches were rung "as if for the dead." Two days later Hus and his associates in the late protest were solemnly excommunicated.[h] Yet the condemned books had not been all destroyed, and fresh copies were speedily multiplied.[i]

July–Aug.

By these proceedings a great excitement was produced. The archbishop, while publishing his ban in the cathedral, was interrupted by a serious outbreak; and there were fights in which even blood was shed.[k] The archbishop was derided in ballads as an "alphabetarian," who had burnt books which he could not read.[m] Hus, in his sermons, condemned the burning in a more serious strain. It had not, he said, rooted out any evil from a single heart, but had destroyed many good and holy thoughts; it had given occasion for disorder, hatred, even bloodshed.[n] He also set forth a treatise in which he maintained, on the authority of fathers and ecclesiastical writers, that the books of heretics (under which name he would not include any one who did not contradict Holy Scripture "by word, writing, or deed)," [o] ought not to be burnt, but read.[p] He declared, with reference to the archbishop's prohibitions and censures,

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[c] Doc. 380.

[f] Ib. 386, 396. Another story is, that the archbishop promised to wait until the arrival of Jodocus, marquis of Moravia, and that, as the marquis did not come, the affair went on. Ib. 734.

[g] Æn. Sylvius, Hist. Bohem. c. 35, p. 104.

[h] Doc. 397, 734; Palacky, III. i. 251.

[i] Steph. Dolan. in Pez, IV. ii. 386.

[k] Doc. 734; Palacky, III. i. 253; Neand. ix. 378.

[m] Steph. Dolan. in Pez, IV. ii. 118.

[n] Opera, i. 106.

[o] Fol. 101.

[p] De Libris Haereticorum Legendis. Opp. i. 102, seqq.

that he must obey God, and not man; and he, with some friends, announced that on certain days they would publicly defend certain of Wyclif's books against all assailants.[q]

On the election of John XXIII. as pope, Hus renewed his appeal; and the king and queen wrote letters in his favour, requesting that the prohibition of preaching except in churches of certain kinds might be withdrawn, so that there should be no interference with Bethlehem chapel.[r] Commissioners were Oct. 1, 1410. appointed to inquire into the case, and Hus was cited to appear at Bologna[s]; but he was advised by his friends that his life would be in danger, as plots were laid to cut him off by the way. It seemed to him that to expose himself to death without any prospect of advantage to the church would be a tempting of God; he therefore contented himself with Sept.–Oct. 1810. sending advocates to plead his cause, while the king, the queen, and the nobles of Bohemia, the university of Prague and the magistrates of the city, entreated the pope by letters that he might be excused from obeying the citation in person, and might be allowed to carry on his ministry as before.[t] The representatives whom Hus sent to Bologna were unable to obtain a hearing; some of them were imprisoned and otherwise ill treated;[u] and Cardinal Brancacci, the last commissioner to whom the affair was referred, pronounced against him—excommunicating him with all his adherents, and decreeing that any place in which he might be should be interdicted.[x] Archbishop Zbynko soon after uttered an interdict against Prague,[y] whereupon Wenceslaus, in anger, punished some of the clergy for obeying it, while both he and his queen continued their intercessions with the pope in behalf of Hus, and entreated that the orthodoxy of Bohemia might not be defamed through misrepresentations. After a time, the archbishop, finding that he was unable to make head against the opposing influences, and that Pope John was not likely to give him any effective support, became desirous of a compromise. A commission of

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[q] Doc. 399; Palacky, III. i. 254. Cf. Defens. Articul. Wicklefli, Opp. i. 113, seqq. (A.D. 1412.)

[r] Doc. 190, 409, seqq.; Palacky, III. i. 255-6.

[s] Doc. 734.

[t] Hus, Epp. 9, 10, 14, 36; De Eccles. Opp. i. 244*; Doc. 190, 409-415, 725; Giesel. II. iii. 402; Palacky, III. i. 258.

[u] Doc. 191; Hist. p. lx. Cf. De Eccl. 235.*

[x] Doc. 192. Yet it was decreed, after an investigation at Bologna, that Wyclif's books should not be burnt—only that some parts of his opinions which seemed questionable should not be taught in Bohemia. Nov. 25, 1410. Doc. 189, 426.

[y] Doc. 429. The motive is mainly that the citizens had invaded church-property. The chronicler in Doc. 735 says that the king confiscated the revenues of the clergy before the interdict was pronounced.

ten persons was appointed by the king to consider how peace might be restored; and they advised that the archbishop should report to the pope that Bohemia was uninfected with heresy, and should request him to recal the citation of Hus with the excommunication which had been pronounced against him.[z] To this Zbynko consented; but, although a letter to the pope had been prepared,[a] the execution of the plan was prevented by the archbishop's death, when on his way to invoke the support of the king's brother, Sigismund of Hungary, in the religious distractions of Bohemia.[b]

July, 1411.

Sept. 28, 1411.

In September, 1411, Hus addressed to the pope a letter which was intended to vindicate himself against the misrepresentations which had been made of his opinions.[c] He denies having taught that the material bread remains in the sacrament of the altar; that the host, when elevated, is Christ's body, but ceases to be so when lowered again; that a priest in mortal sin cannot consecrate;[d] that secular lords may refuse to pay tithes, and may take away the possessions of the clergy.[e] He also denied that he had caused the withdrawal of the Germans from Prague; it was, he said, the effect of the resolution which they had taken in the belief that without them the university could not subsist.[f] He maintained that Bethlehem was not a private chapel, explained his reasons for not complying with the citation to the papal court, and entreated that he might be excused on this account, and might be released from the consequences which had followed.[g]

The successor of Zbynko was Albic of Uniczow, who, before entering into holy orders, had been the king's physician.[h] The dean of Passau, who conveyed the pall for the new archbishop, was also the bearer of a papal bull, by which a crusade was proclaimed against Ladislaus, king of

May, 1412.

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[z] Doc. 193, 434-440.

[a] Ib. 441.

[b] Ib. 445, 736; Steph. Dolan. in Pez, IV. ii. 419; Palacky, II. iii. 271.

[c] Ep. 9.

[d] So in his treatise, 'De Cœna Domini,' written in prison at Constance, he denies "me unquam prædicasse quod sacerdos existens in peccato mortali non conficit et non consecrat. Verum quidem est, quod dixi et prædicavi, scripsi et scribo, quod quilibet talis non conficit et non consecrat digne et meritorie, sed indigne Deo et sibi in præjudicium conficit et consecrat, despiciens nomen Dei sui." Opera, i. 39*.

[e] Cf. 'De Ablatione Temporalium,' Opp. i. 117*, seqq.; and, as to the Wycliffite proposition that dominion is founded on grace, ib. 128, seqq.

[f] Cf. Doc. 354.

[g] To this time belongs Hus's disputation with John Stokes, an English Carmelite. Opp. i. 108, seqq.

[h] Pius II. styles him "unicum extremæ avaritiæ barathrum," and tells ludicrous stories of the miserly habits which were imputed to him. Hist. Boh. c. 35. p. 204.

Naples, as being excommunicate, with large offers of indulgences and other privileges.[i] Wenceslaus allowed this bull to be published in Bohemia, although he was soon disgusted by the impudent pretensions and proceedings of those who undertook the publication, as well as by the serious drain of money which was paid for commutation of personal service. The German clergy of Prague obeyed the papal orders;[k] but Hus and Jerome vehemently opposed the bull, denouncing it as an antichristian act that, for the non-fulfilment of the conditions on which the kingdom of Naples was held under the papacy, a crusade should be proclaimed against a Christian prince, and that indulgences should be prostituted by the promise of absolution as a reward for money or for bloodshed.[m] A new and formidable commotion arose. Some who had hitherto been associated with Hus—especially Stephen of Palecz, an eminent doctor of theology[n]—now took the side of the bull; and thus a breach was made in the party which had until then been bound together by community of national feeling, and of philosophical and religious opinion. Palecz became one of the bitterest among the opponents of Hus; he and other doctors of the university wrote against him, and denounced all opposition to the bull; but Hus persisted in his cause,[o] and, when some preachers inveighed against him in the churches, they were interrupted by the laity, who in general favoured the reformer.[p] Hus offered to maintain his opinions in disputation, on condition that, if proved to be wrong, he should be burnt, provided that the other party would submit to the same fate in case of defeat. But as they offered to sacrifice only one out of the many who were banded against the solitary champion, he declared that the terms were unequal, and nothing came of his strange challenge.[q]

The exciting discourses of Hus and Jerome were heard with enthusiasm by the students, who showed their zealous sympathy by escorting them home at night. June 7, 1412. But this was not enough for some of their friends, who caused the bull to be paraded about the city, fixed to the breasts of a

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[i] There are two bulls in Hus, Opp. i. 171-172*.

[k] Doc. 736.

[m] Opera, i. 303*-304; Doc. 223; Palacky, III. i. 274.

[n] Palecz and Stanislaus of Znaym (who also turned against Hus) had at one time gone beyond him by adopting Wyclif's doctrine as to the Eucharist. See p. 232; Hefele, vii. 31.

[o] Doc. 448-451. He compares the resistance to the pope in the matters of the crusade and of Bethlehem chapel to the story of Balaam's ass rebuking the madness of the prophet. Respons. ad Stanisl., Opp. i. 299*.

[p] Doc. 736.

[q] Palacky, III. i. 275.

prostitute who was seated in a cart, and afterwards to be burnt at the pillory. The chief contriver of this scene was Woksa of Waldstein, one of the king's courtiers; but the impetuous Jerome was so far favourable to it that it was generally ascribed to him, and afterwards became the foundation of one of the charges against him at Constance.[r]

July 10.

Wenceslaus now forbade all language of insult against the pope, and all resistance to his bulls, under pain of death.[s] But Hus continued his preaching, and the excitement became more alarming. One day, as a preacher of the crusade was setting forth his indulgences in a church, he was interrupted by three young men, belonging to the class of artisans, who told him that he lied, that Master Hus had taught them the vanity of such privileges, and that the pope was antichrist for proclaiming them.[t] The three were carried before the magistrates of the city, and next day were condemned to die, in accordance with the king's late decree. Hus earnestly interceded for them, declaring that, if any one were to be put to death, he was himself more guilty than they;[u] and the council appears to have promised that their lives should be spared. But when the popular agitation had been thus calmed, the young men were hastily executed. The passions of the multitude were now stirred to the uttermost. When the executioner proclaimed, in the usual form, "Whoso doth the like, let him expect the like!" a general cry burst forth, "We are all ready to do and to suffer the like!"[x] Female devotees[y] dipped their handkerchiefs in the blood of the victims, and treasured it up as a precious relic; some of the crowd even licked the blood.[z] The bodies were carried off by the people, and were borne with solemn pomp to interment in the chapel of Bethlehem, which thence took the name of the Three Saints or Martyrs.[a] Hus himself did not hesitate to speak of them as martyrs in sermons and writings;[b] and, although he had not even been present at the funeral procession, he continued to the end of his life to be charged with having been the mover of the affair.[c]

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[r] V. d. Hardt, iv. 672; Palacky, III. i. 277.

[s] Steph. Dolan. 380; Neand. ix. 415.

[t] Steph. Dolan. l. c.

[u] Ib. 381.

[x] Palacky, III. i. 280.

[y] Stephen of Dolan calls them *beguinæ*. p. 381.

[z] Ib.

[a] Ib.

[b] De Eccl. Opp. i. 245*; Mladeniewicz, in Doc. 312-3.

[c] Steph. Dolan. l. c.; V. d. Hardt, iv. 327, 676; Doc. 312; Neand. ix. 417-9. The celebration of the three as martyrs was charged on Jerome as idolatry, on the ground that no one can be sainted without the papal sanction. (V. d. Hardt, iv. 676.) Stephen of Dolan attacks the

The agitation at Prague continued. Hus combated the abuse of indulgences with untiring zeal, in sermons, disputations, and tracts; he denied that any human judge could with certainty forgive sins,[d] and maintained that an excommunication unjustly uttered was no more to be dreaded than the ban of the Jewish synagogue.[e] The parties became more violent and exasperated; the Germans were for pulling down Bethlehem chapel,[f] while, on the other side, Hus had often to lament the discredit brought on his cause by partisans whose zeal was neither tempered by discretion nor adorned by consistency of life.[g] Archbishop Albic, feeling himself unequal to contend with the difficulties of the case, exchanged his see for a lower but more tranquil dignity, and was succeeded by Conrad of Vechta, a Westphalian, formerly bishop of Olmütz, who, after having acted as administrator of the diocese for some months, was enthroned in July 1413.[h]

The university of Prague had again condemned the forty-five propositions ascribed to Wyclif in July 1412;[i] the clergy of the city had addressed to the pope a letter against Hus;[k] and on the festival of the Purification, 1413, it was decreed by a council at Rome, under John XXIII., that all Wyclif's works, of whatever kind, should be burnt, inasmuch as, although there might be truth in some of them, it was mixed with error.[m] Hus was excommunicated and anathematised for his disregard of citations to the papal court. Every place in which he might be was to be interdicted; all who should countenance him[n] were to be partakers in his condemnation; and it was ordered that the sentence should be everywhere published with the most solemn forms of the church.[o] The new archbishop proceeded, with the king's consent, to carry out these decrees, pronouncing an interdict on all Prague except the royal quarter, and ordering that Bethlehem chapel, as being the

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inconsistency of the reverence paid to the bodies of these men with the principles of the Hussites as to relics. 381-2.

[d] Adv. Indulgentias, Opp. i. 181-3. There is a curious passage in which he objects to indulgences that they would destroy purgatory and all the practices connected with it. 184.*

[e] De Erectione Crucis, ib. 188.

[f] Doc. 728. [g] Neand. ix. 411.

[h] Palacky, III. i. 288.

[i] Doc. 451, 455; Hefele, vii. 49.

[k] Ib. 457.

[m] Doc. 467; Rayn. 1413. 1-3. See below, p. 252.

[n] "Participantibus loquendo, astando, assurgendo, coambulando, cocquitando, salutando, sociando, comedendo, bibendo, molendo, coquendo, emendo vel vendendo, vestes vel calceamenta faciendo, potum vel aquam dando, aut alia necessaria vel amictus qualitercunque praestando, aut in quocunque solatio humano participari praesumant." p. 463.

[o] De Eccl. Opp. i. 253*; Doc. 461-4, Hus ascribed this to the exertions of Michael de Causis, ib. 465.

centre of the reforming movement, should be demolished.[p] Hus protested against his condemnation; he set forth an appeal to the Saviour, in very earnest terms,[q] and, after having caused a protest to be engraved on the walls of Bethlehem chapel, he withdrew from the tumults of Prague, at the king's request, and with an assurance that Wenceslaus would endeavour to bring about a reconciliation with the Dec. 1412. clergy.[r] For a time he lived in retirement, partly in the castles of nobles who favoured his opinions,[s] but chiefly in the neighbourhood where the Hussite town of Tabor was afterwards founded.[t] He kept up a lively correspondence with his followers at Prague, whom he exhorted not to allow the old place of his ministrations to be destroyed;[u] and, notwithstanding the sentences which had been pronounced against him, he continued his preaching, which, wherever he went, aroused a strong indignation against the system of the Roman church, with its corruptions of doctrine and of practice.[x] His pen, too, was actively employed in the production of writings in Latin, Bohemian, and German;[y] and to this time belongs the treatise 'Of the Church,' which is the most important of his works.

Resting on the rigid doctrine of predestination, Hus says that to be *in* the church is not the same as to be *of* the church. Some are in the church both in name and in reality; some, neither in the one nor in the other, as the foreknown heathens; some in name only, as the foreknown hypocrites; some in reality, although nominally they are without, as those predestined Christians whom the officers of antichrist profess to exclude by ecclesiastical censures.[z] No one can be assured of his predestination, except through special revelation, so that it is surprising how the worldly clergy can have the confidence to claim the true membership of the church.[a] Christ alone is head of the church; St. Peter was not its head, but was chief of the apostles. The pope is the vicar of St. Peter, if he walk in his steps; but if he give into covetousness, he is the vicar of Judas Iscariot.[b] The pope and cardinals are not the body of the church;

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[p] Palacky, III. i. 287.

[q] Doc. 464; cf. De Eccl. 235.* See a note in Seyfr. 88.

[r] Palacky, III. i. 288. There are many papers relating to attempts at making peace. Doc. 486, seqq. See Hefele, vii. 52.

[s] Neand. ix. 433. See Palacky, III. i. 305.

[t] Palacky, III. i. 298.

[u] Ep. 16, &c.

[x] Schröckh, xxxiv. 605-15.

[y] Palacky, III. i. 297. Hus's Bohemian writings have been edited by K. J. Erben, Prague, 1865. See Mr. Wratislaw in 'Contemp. Rev.' x. 530.

[z] Opera, i. 200.

[a] Ib. 203*-204*.

[b] Ib. 210, 211*, 220, 222*. Cf. Ep. 29. At fol. 231, we have a piece of etymology like that of Claudius of Turin (see vol. ii. p. 282): "*Apostolicus* dicitur viam *Apostoli custodiens*."

but they are the chief part of it as to dignity, if they follow Christ in humility.[c] The pope owes his preeminence to Constantine, whose alleged Donation Hus believes as firmly as he believes the tale of Pope Joan.[d] He reprobates the flattery which was commonly used towards the pope,[e] and denounces the luxury and other corruptions of the cardinals.[f] He disowns the charge of disobedience to the church, justifies himself as to the matters which had brought him under censure, and declares that excommunications, interdicts, and other such sentences, if unjustly pronounced, are of no effect, and are not to be regarded.[g] God alone, he says, knows to whom sin is to be forgiven; and Christ is the only true Roman high-priest whom all are bound to obey in order to salvation.[h]

Dec. 1412.

This treatise was written in consequence of the proceedings of a synod at Prague, where Hus was represented by John of Jessinitz, a doctor in canon law, but there was no definite result;[i] and it was followed up by other writings against the chiefs of the ecclesiastical party. While Hus had been compelled to leave Prague, Jerome too withdrew, probably of his own accord, and betook himself again to travel, in the course of which he made his way into Russia.[k] Before his return, Hus had already set out to present himself before the council of Constance.

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[c] Opera, i. 207-8.

[d] Ib. 221.* The story of the female pope, whom he calls Agnes, is very often brought forward by Hus. ib. 207, 220, &c.

[e] Ib. 229.

[f] Ib. 231*.

[g] Ib. 231, 235*-6, 244-5,* 251-2.

[h] Ib. 215,* 218. The contents of the book 'De Ecclesia' are in great part repeated in Hus's writings against Palecz and Stanislaus of Znaym, and in his 'Answer to the VIII. Doctors.'

[i] Palacky, III. i. 294-6. See the Repetitio M. Jo. Jessinitz, in Hus, i. 336.

[k] Ib. 300.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE ELECTION OF POPE ALEXANDER V. TO THE END OF THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE.

A.D. 1409–1418.

The hopes of union and of reformation which had been connected with the council of Pisa were not to be realised. Both Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. continued to maintain their claims to the papacy, so that instead of two popes there were now three, or, in the language of a writer of the time, the church had received a third husband in addition to those between whom her affections had been distracted.[a] Soon after the election of Alexander V., Gerson addressed to him a discourse on the duties of his office;[b] but Alexander was not inclined to benefit by this advice. Although a learned theologian, he was altogether without the strength of character which is requisite for government.[c] His easiness of disposition led him to grant all that was asked of him. Himself careless as to matters of business, he advanced many Franciscans to offices for which they were unfitted by their want of practical habits; in order to provide places for the multitude of applicants, he increased the offices of his court to such a degree that they fell into contempt;[d] and although, having no kindred, he was free from the temptations of nepotism, he was lavish in gifts, especially to the order of which he had been a member, and in whose society he continued to live.[e] Such was his profusion in his new dignity, that he spoke of himself as having been rich as a bishop, poor as a cardinal, but a beggar as pope.[f] Instead of attempting at once the work of reform, he professed to reserve it for a council which was to meet in 1412;

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[a] "Bivira fueram et triviram fecerunt." Th. de Vrie, Hist. Conc. Constant. in V. d. Hardt, i. 148. (This book is a mixture of prose and verse in form an imitation of Boëthius de Consolatione Philosophiæ. The speakers are Christ and the church. It begins by setting forth the disorders of the time. The church expresses doubts, but the Saviour assures her. He quotes Gratian's 'Decretum' largely, relates the events of the council of Constance, and profusely eulogises Sigismund.)

[b] Gerson, ii. 131. That it is wrong to suppose this a sermon preached before the pope, see Schwab, 213; Hefele, vi. 895.

[c] Pet. de Alliaco, De Diff. Reform. Eccl. in Conc. Generali, ap. Gerson, ii. 872.

[d] Theod. Niem. iii. 51-2; Pet. de Alliaco, l. c.; Giesel. II. iv. 5.

[e] Th. Niem, iii. 51.

[f] Platina, 282.

and on the 7th of August, 1409, he dissolved the council of Pisa.[g]

Oct. 12.

Soon after this Alexander displayed his partiality for his associates, and added to the subjects of discord which already existed in the church, by a bull, in which he authorised the members of the mendicant orders to receive tithes, and not only to hear confessions and to give absolution everywhere, but to administer the other sacraments, without regard to the rights of bishops or of parish priests; and the parochial clergy were charged to read in all churches this annihilation of their own rights, under pain of being punished as contumacious and obstinate heretics.[h] Immediately a great ferment was excited. While the Augustine friars and the Franciscans took advantage of it, and the latter especially displayed much elation on account of their new privileges, the Dominicans and the Carmelites disowned it, as something which they had not asked for and of which they had no need.[i] The university of Paris, headed by Gerson, sent envoys to the papal court for the purpose of inspecting the original document, as if nothing less than such evidence could be enough to warrant its genuineness; and, as it professed to be issued with the consent and advice of the cardinals, the envoys waited on the members of the college individually, whom they found unanimous in disavowing all concern in it.[k] By this bull were rescinded no less than seven bulls of former popes. The papal privilege was met in France by the expulsion of the Franciscans and Augustinians from the university of Paris, and by a royal order, issued at the request of the university, forbidding the parochial clergy to let the mendicants hear confessions or preach in their churches.[m]

Gregory XII., after his attempt to hold a council at Cividale, had withdrawn to Gaeta,[n] where he lived under the protection of Ladislaus, to whom it is said that he sold his rights to the

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[g] Mansi, xxvi. 1155-6. As to the authority of this council, which claimed to be œcumenical, there have been differences of opinion in the Roman communion. St. Antoninus of Florence treats it as doubtful (iii. 470-1). Bellarmine speaks of the council as "nec approbatum nec reprobatum," although he inclines to regard Alexander and his successor as the true popes (De Concil. et Eccl. i. 8, Opp. t. ii. ed. Col. Agr. 1618), while other curialists, in later times, have declared for Gregory XII. The Gallicans, from Gerson downwards, have generally regarded it as œcumenical. See Giesel. II. iv. 8; Schwab, 257-8; Hefele, i. 52.

[h] "Regnans in excelsis," ap. Mon. Sandion. iv. 290; Gerson, ii. 431, seqq.; D'Argentré, I. ii. 180; Bul. v. 200. The bull is said to have been procured chiefly at the instance of John Gorel, a Franciscan, who will be mentioned elsewhere. Bul. v. 201.

[i] Mon. Sandion. iv. 290.

[k] Ib.

[m] Ib. iv. 308; Milm. v. 464; Hefele, vii. 3. The bull was revoked by John XXIII. Bul. v. 201.

[n] Th. Niem, iii. 50.

sovereignty of Rome and the papal states.[o] Ladislaus got possession of the city; but after a time it was regained for A.D. 1409-10. Alexander by the legate of Bologna, Balthazar Cossa, who was aided by Louis of Anjou, by the Floren- Oct. 1409. tines, and by an insurrection within Rome itself.[p] Alexander was driven from Pisa by a pestilence; but instead of complying with the invitation of the Romans, who sent him the keys of their city, he was constrained by Cossa, whose ascendancy over him was absolute, to make his way across the Apennines through snow and ice to Bologna, where he arrived on the Epiphany,[q] and died on the 3rd of May, 1310. His end was generally explained by the ready supposition of poison, and this was supposed by many to have been administered through the contrivance of the legate.[r]

On the 16th of May—the third day after the conclave had been formed—Cossa was chosen as pope by seventeen cardinals, and took the name of John the Twenty-third.[s] The accounts of his earlier life are such that we can hardly conceive how, if they may be believed, he should have been able to gain influence as an ecclesiastic, and eventually to attain the papal chair by the votes of his brother cardinals; yet all contemporary writers agree in the substance of the story, and the very blackest parts of it were brought against him without contradiction at the council of Constance.[t] Born of a noble Neapolitan family, Cossa had early entered into the ranks of the clergy; but his clerical profession had not prevented him from engaging in the piratical warfare between Naples and Hungary; and in this stage of his life he acquired a habit, which afterwards adhered to him, of waking by night and sleeping by day.[u] After having resided

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[o] Mon. Sandion. iv. 28, 62; Th. Niem, iii. 23; Sozom. Pistor. in Murat. xvi. 1193. Muratori, in quoting Sozomen, adds, "Si ciò è vero, gran tradimento fece costui alla chiesa." Annal. IX. i. 65.

[p] Th. Niem, iii. 52; Anton. Petri, 1003; Gregorov. vi. 596-7. See in Rayn. 1409. 85, Alexander's denunciations summoning Ladislaus to answer for his conduct.

[q] Th. Niem, iii. 51; Vita Joh. XXIII. in V. d. Hardt, ii. 355-8; Cron. di Bologna, in Murat. xviii. 598.

[r] See Antonin. 476 (who does not charge the crime on Cossa); Mon. Sandion. iv. 322; Cron. di Bologna, 559; Hus, Ep. 83; Giesel. II. iv. 9. Bp. Hefele disbelieves the story (vii. 5), which seems improbable.

[s] For the exertions of Charles Malatesta, lord of Rimini. to deprecate a new election, see Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. 1162-86.

[t] "Vir in temporalibus quidem magnus, in spiritualibus vero nullus omnino et ineptus." Leon. Aret. in Mur. xix. 927; see Schröckh, xxxi. 376; Sism. vi. 153; Milm. v. 466. Bp. Hefele reasonably reduces the charges against him, vii. 9-11.

[u] Th. Niem in V. d. Hardt, i. 338-9. This agrees with a passage of Antony Petri, who tells us that he and others were unable (A.D. 1409) to get an interview with Cossa until after vespers. "Causa fuit ista: Dominus Cardinalis non surrexit usque ad meridiem; post meridiem audivit missam; post missam, voluit se radere. Multa essent scribenda quae demitto in calamo." 1005.

for some time at Bologna, where he affected the character of a student, he was made archdeacon of that city by Boniface IX.,[x] who afterwards transferred him to Rome with the office of papal chamberlain. In this office Cossa exercised his genius in devising new forms of corruption for the benefit of the ecclesiastical revenue.[y] To him is ascribed the system of sending out preachers to vend indulgences with the most impudent pretensions, while he himself was notorious for enriching himself by simony and bribes.[z] In 1403 he was sent back to Bologna as cardinal-legate—partly, it is said, with a view of removing him from the neighbourhood of his brother's wife, with whom he carried on a scandalous intercourse.[a]

At Bologna he established a despotic and tyrannical power. The people were ground by taxation, monopolies, and plunder:[b] licenses were sold for the exercise of infamous occupations—of usury, keeping of gaming-houses, prostitution.[c] His cruelty towards those who offended him was so widely exercised, that it is said to have visibly thinned the population of the city;[d] his lust was so inordinate, that within the first year of his legation two hundred maidens, wives, or widows, and a multitude of consecrated nuns, are said to have fallen victims to it.[e] He is charged with having bribed the cardinals to desert Gregory, whose arms he defaced on the public buildings of Bologna before setting out for the council of Pisa;[f] and in that council he took a prominent part, although, on being proposed for the papacy, he found it expedient to put forward Alexander, as one whom he might make his tool, and who was not likely to stand long in his way.[g] At Bologna, the conclave was subject to the legate's control, and various stories are told as to the manner in which he carried his own election, by the use of bribery and of terror;[h] but as, in the course of the later proceedings against him, no charge was brought on this point, these stories may perhaps be safely rejected.[i]

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[x] Th. Niem, l. c. 340.

[y] Ib. 340-4. See the story of his despoiling and putting to death a preacher who was returning from beyond the Alps with a large collection of money. Ib. 343-4.

[z] Ib. 337.

[a] Ib. 337, 346. Boniface eulogises him profusely on occasion of sending him as legate. Rayn. 1403. 9.

[b] Th. Niem, l. c. 349.

[c] Ib. 350.

[d] Ib. 348.

[e] Ib. 339.

[f] Cron. di Bologna, Murat. xviii. 593; Döllinger, ii. 296; Hefele, vii. 9. Gregory styles him "iniquitatis alumnus et perditionis filius" in his manifesto of Dec. 14, 1408.

[g] Ib. 355; De Schism. iii. 51.

[h] Th. Niem, in V. d. Hardt, ii. 354, 357-8; Platina, 283. "In cujus electione multi scandalizati sunt, quia ut tyrannus rexisse Boloniam et vitae mundanae deditus dicebatur." Gobel. Pers. 330.

[i] Milm. v. 469; Hefele, vii. 7. For the ceremonies of his coronation in the church of St. Petronius, see Monstrelet, ii. 129, seqq.; Matth. de Griffon. in Murat. xviii. 218; Cron. di Bol., ib. 513.

John began his pontificate by promulgating rules for his chancery which sanctioned the worst of the existing corruptions,[k] and by uttering curses, according to usage, against his rivals Gregory and Benedict.[m] The growing power of Ladislaus gave just ground for alarm; and John had a personal cause of dislike against him for having condemned two of the pope's own brothers to death as pirates—from the execution of which sentence they had with difficulty been rescued by the intercession of Boniface IX.[n] John declared the king to be excommunicate and deposed, and proclaimed a crusade against him with those offers of indulgences[o] which, as we have seen, excited a commotion in Bohemia; and, in conjunction with Louis of Anjou, he May 17, 1411. carried the war against him into southern Italy. At Rocca Secca, near Ceperano, the pope and his allies gained a victory; but Louis was unable to follow up this advantage, and found himself obliged to return to Provence, from which he made no further attempt on Italy.[p]

After a time John found it expedient to enter into negotiations with Ladislaus, who agreed to abandon Gregory XII., June 15, 1412. but exacted heavy conditions—that the pope should disallow the claim of Louis of Anjou to Naples, and that of Peter of Aragon to Sicily; that he should acknowledge Ladislaus as king of both territories, should declare him standard-bearer of the Roman church and empire, and should pay him a large sum of money.[q] Gregory, finding himself obliged to leave the king's territories, made his way from Gaeta by sea—not without danger from hostile ships—to Rimini, where he found Dec. 24, 1412. a refuge with Charles Malatesta, the only potentate who still adhered to him;[r] and through this friend he carried on for a time negotiations with Pope John—each of the rivals endeavouring to persuade the other to resign by liberal offers of compensation.[s]

As if in fulfilment of the engagements into which his predecessor Alexander had entered, John affected to summon a council to meet at Rome in 1412, with a view to the reform of the church. But the number of bishops who attended was very

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[k] Giesel. II. iv. 11; cf. as to his practices Th. Niem de Necess. Reform. i. 27.

[m] Rayn. 1411.2.

[n] Th. Niem in V. d. Hardt, i. 346-7.

[o] Mon. Sandion. iv. 608.

[p] Mon. Sandion. iv. 390-6; Th. Niem in V. d. Hardt. ii. 361-5; Leon. Aret. in Mur. xix. 927; Antonin. 477; Sism. vi. 131.

[q] Th. Niem in V. d. Hardt, ii. 367; Gregorov. vi. 606-7.

[r] Th. Niem in V. d. Hardt, i. 368. Leonard of Arezzo, who accompanied him, praises Malatesta very highly (926); and the monk of St. Denys styles him "litteratus et facundus, et summe in rethorica expertus." iv. 218.

[s] Th. Niem in V. d. Hardt, i. 361.

scanty, and the only result seems to have been a condemnation
Feb. 13, 1413. of Wyclif's writings, which were burnt on the steps of St. Peter's.[t] The council broke up without any formal dissolution, in consequence of the troubles in which the pope was involved.[u]

At Rome John had been received with acclamations and
April 11, 1411. festive displays;[x] but he soon made himself detested by the heaviness of the taxation which he imposed. The richer citizens were drained of their money; officials of all kinds were compelled to pay largely for their places; a rate was levied on trades and mechanical occupations; the coin was debased; the duties on wine were increased to such a degree that the growers found themselves driven from the Roman market.[y] On this account, and because Ladislaus did not support the pope in an attempt to extort a second payment of fees from prelates and others who had held office under Gregory, a fresh rupture
June 1413. took place.[z] The king got possession of Rome by surprise, while John fled to Viterbo and thence to Florence and Bologna. The palaces of the pope and cardinals were plundered; many of the churches were turned into stables.[a] The castle of St. Angelo, after having held out for some time, was treacherously surrendered; and Ladislaus overran the whole country as far as Siena.[b]

In the distress to which he was now reduced, John found himself obliged to turn, as his only resource, to Sigismund, the emperor-elect. At the death of Rupert, in May, 1410, it had seemed as if the empire, like the church, were to be distracted between three claimants; for, while some of the electors wished to bring forward the deposed Wenceslaus again, one party chose

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[t] Ant. Petri, 1033; Mansi, xxvii. 505; Hefele, vii. 17-8.

[u] Hefele, vii. 18. At Constance it was charged against John that the Roman council reproved him for many of his faults, but that he did not amend. (Art. 28, in V. d. Hardt, iv. 200.) He refers to this council in his summons for that of Constance (Mansi, xxvii. 537). There is a story that, when the pope had taken his seat, an owl came forth from its hiding-place with a screech, perched on a beam opposite to him, and remained there staring at him. A whisper ran among the cardinals—"En in specie bubonis Spiritus adest!"—and there was general laughter, until the pope in confusion broke up the meeting. At the second session the owl appeared again, and kept his place until he was driven from it, and was killed with clubs. (Nic. Clemang, super materia Conc. Generalis, Opera, p. 75.) But this story seems to have grown out of one told by Theodoric of Niem—that an owl appeared as the pope was celebrating vespers on Whitsunday, at the beginning of the hymn, 'Veni Creator Spiritus,' and that this was regarded as an omen. Vita Joh. p. 375; Cf. Lenfant, Conc. de Pise, ii. 115; Neand. ix. 131; Hefele, vii. 18.

[x] Ant. Petri, 1124.

[y] Vita Joh. 370, 375.

[z] Ib. 374-6.

[a] Eberhard Windeck says this even of St. Peter's. Mencken, i. 1091.

[b] Ant. Petri, 1035; Th. Niem, Vita Joh. c. 35; Matth. de Griffon. in Murat. xviii. 222; Cron. di Bol. ib. 603; Antonin. 177; Gregorov. vi. 615-7.

his brother, King Sigismund of Hungary, while another party chose Jobst or Jodocus, marquis of Moravia.[c] But Jodocus was speedily removed by death,[d] and Sigismund received the votes of those who had before stood aloof from him—among others that of Wenceslaus himself, with whom he was formally reconciled.[e] July 21, 1411. For a time, Sigismund's energies were chiefly occupied by a war with the Venetians for the possession of Dalmatia; but a truce of five years, concluded in 1413, set him free to attend to the affairs of the empire and of the church.[f] Sigismund was the most powerful emperor since the days of Frederick II., and at this time his influence was the stronger because France and England were about to renew their great struggle, and France, in addition to its dangers from the foreign enemy, was a prey to the bloody feuds of the Burgundian and Orleanist factions.[g] The emperor's noble presence—his accomplishments and knightly deportment—his love of splendour and magnificence (although this was restrained by pecuniary difficulties arising out of the imprudence of his early years)—procured him general popularity. The faults of his earlier days—among which faithlessness, harshness, and excessive love of pleasure are noted—appeared to have been abandoned as the great dignity which he had attained brought with it a deep feeling of duty and responsibility.[h] Most especially he was desirous to heal the schism of the church. As king of Hungary, he had acknowledged John, and at his election to the empire the archbishop of Mentz had exacted from him an oath that he would not accept the crown from any other pope than John or a successor of the same line.[i] With regard to Ladislaus, Sigismund's interest was one with that of John; for Ladislaus, in addition to the ambitious projects which he had formed as to Italy, directly claimed Sigismund's kingdom of Hungary, and even had views on the imperial dignity.[k]

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[c] Gobel. Pers. 331; Aschbach, 'Kaiser Sigmund,' i. 283, 292-3; Palacky, III. i. 259.

[d] He is said to have been ninety years old. Murat. IX. i. 74.

[e] Gobel. Pers. l. c.; Andr. Ratisb. in Pez, IV. iii. 622; Th. Niem, in V. d. Hardt, ii. 375; Palacky, III. i. 261; Aschbach, i. 301-7. John, in a letter to Sigismund, takes credit for having favoured his election. V. d. Hardt, iv. 260.

[f] Th. Niem in V. d. Hardt, ii. 378; Ashbach, i. 319

[g] As the house of Burgundy used the St. Andrew's cross, we find that, when the Burgundians were in the ascendant, that form was substituted in crucifixes for the rectangular cross of France, and some priests followed the same pattern in making the sign of the cross at baptism and in the mass. Juv. des Ursins, 232, 236.

[h] Schmidt, iv. 95; Sism. vi. 143; Aschb. i. 146-8.

[i] Schröckh, xxxi. 391; Schmidt, 85.

[k] Schmidt, v. 96. See above, p. 181.

With a view to the reunion of the church, Sigismund urged on John the necessity of a general council. If such an assembly were to meet, the question as to the place of its meeting was important for John's interest. He himself told his secretary, Leonard of Arezzo, that it must not be in any place where the emperor was too powerful; that, while professing to give full powers to the commissioners whom he was about to send to Sigismund, he intended secretly to limit their choice to certain Italian cities: but at taking leave of the commissioners, acting on a sudden impulse, he professed entire confidence in them, and destroyed the list of places.[m] On finding that they had agreed to fix on Constance, a town beyond the Alps and within the imperial dominions, he burst out into bitter reproaches against them, and cursed his own folly in having departed from his first resolution.[n] At Lodi he had a meeting with the emperor, and urged on him that the council should be held in some city of Lombardy; but Sigismund, who had already issued his summons, was not to be diverted from his purpose. The plea that the patriarchs and cardinals would be unwilling to cross the Alps was met by the answer that the ecclesiastical electors of the empire would be equally unwilling to do so in the opposite direction.[o]

Nov.–Dec. 1413.

Sigismund, in respectful terms, exhorted the pope to amend the courses by which he had scandalised Christendom, especially as to simony; and John promised compliance. The emperor accompanied him as far as Cremona on his return towards Bologna.[p] The French reformers, finding that the influence of their own nation had been insufficient to heal the schism, had now turned their hopes towards the emperor, and Gerson had urged the assembling of a council on him as a

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[m] Leon. Aretin. in Murat. xix. 928; Palacky, Documenta, 513; Theod. Vrie in V. d. Hardt, i. 105.

[n] Leon. Aret. l. c.; Palacky, Doc. 516-7.

[o] Th. Niem, i. 37; Ulr. Reichenthal, in Marmor, 15; Gobel Pers. 331. The advantages of Constance are set forth by Ulrich of Reichenthal, in Marmor, 13-4. The account of the council by Ulrich, who was an eye-witness, was published in 1483 and in 1534. A facsimile of the best MS., with its illustrations, is said to have just appeared (Aug. 1870). I have, however, been obliged to content myself with so much of it as is contained in Marmor's 'Concil zu Constanz' (Const. 1858), and with quotations in other books. Another German Chronicler of the council, Dacher, although used by V. d. Hardt, has not been published. See notes on Seyfrid, 6-7.

[p] Leon. Aret. in Murat. xix. 928; V. d. Hardt, iv. 201. See as to the wretched state to which the two great potentates found the north of Italy reduced by war, &c., Leonard Aret. l. c. Gabrino Fondolo, who had made himself tyrant of Cremona, and was eventually beheaded at Milan, professed on the scaffold to feel no remorse for anything except that, when showing the valley of the Po to the pope and the emperor from the lofty bell-tower of his city, he had not given way to an impulse which he felt to throw them both down. Sism. vi. 151.

duty of his office which could not be neglected without mortal sin.[q] In accordance with this view, Sigismund, as temporal head of Christendom, had sent forth his citation for a general council, while John, as pope, was Oct. 31, persuaded to do the like. The time fixed in both documents, as if by independent authority, was the first of November in the following year.[r] Dec. 9. The emperor invited both Gregory XII. and Benedict to attend, with their adherents, but refrained from giving to either of them the title of pope.

John was already committed to the council, when he was informed that Ladislaus, against whom he was endeavouring to enlist troops, had suddenly died at Naples.[s] By this event his position was rendered easier, and less dependent on the alliance of Sigismund, so that he entertained the idea of taking up his abode at Rome instead of fulfilling his promise to appear at Constance. Some of his friends endeavoured to alarm him by telling him that, if he should go to Constance as pope, he would return as a private man. But the cardinals, fearing lest he should plunge into hazardous schemes for recovering the whole of the church's territory, insisted on the fulfilment of his promise, and he unwillingly set forth from Bologna.[t] Oct. 1. In passing through the Tyrol, he had an interview with Duke Frederick of Austria,[u] whom he knew to be hostile to Sigismund; and it was agreed that in case of necessity the pope might reckon on the duke's protection. As John was descending the Arlberg, he was upset in the snow, and vented loud curses on his own folly in having set out on such an expedition;[x] and when he arrived in sight of Constance, its appearance drew from him the exclamation, "So are foxes caught."[y]

Almost from the beginning of the schism the cries for a reform of the church had been loud and frequent. Nicolas of Clemanges, then rector of the university of Paris, had led the

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[q] "Sub pœna peccati mortalis et gehennæ perpetuæ." (t. ii. 187.) Theodoric of Niem argues the emperor's power to correct the disorders of the papacy—referring to the acts of Otho I., &c. De Schism. iii. 7, 9-10. So Gerson (?), ii. 178, &c.

[r] Mansi, xxviii. 537; V. d. Hardt, vi. 5 seqq.; Palacky, Docum. 515.

[s] See Th. Niem in V. d. Hardt, ii. 388; Leon. Aret. 929; Antonin. 479; Monstrel. iii. 257; Raynald, 1414.6; Giannone, iv. 177; Gregorov. vi. 623-9; Mansi (n. on Raynald.) puts the event on Aug. 3; others say Aug. 6, or 11.

[t] Aschbach, ii. 9.

[u] Frederick, by a partition with other princes of his house, had got the Tyrol and Vorarlberg. See l'Art de Vérif., xvii. 54.

[x] "Jaceo hic in nomine diaboli." Marmor, 18.

[y] Ib. His entry into Constance is described at p. 19.

way in 1394 by a forcible appeal to the king of France;[z] and about 1401 appeared a tract 'Of the Corrupt State of the Church,' which has been usually, although perhaps wrongly, ascribed to him.[a] In this the condition of things is painted in very dark, and perhaps somewhat exaggerated, colours. The writer enlarges on the decay of the church from the simplicity of its primitive days.[b] The three great vices of the clergy he declares to be luxury, pride, and greed;[c] vices which prevail among every class from the pope downwards. He censures the popes for their usurpation of patronage, for the unworthy bestowal of it on ignorant and useless men,[d] whereby the whole order of clergy had fallen into contempt, and for the exactions by which they oppressed the clergy.[e] He is severe on the corruptions of the Roman court;[f] on the pride of cardinals, their monstrous pluralities, their simony and corruption, their unedifying manner of life.[g] Bishops neglect their dioceses and hang about courts of princes, under the false pretence of being needed as their counsellors;[h] they are intent on getting money by discreditable means,[i] and spend their time in frivolous and indecent amusements.[k] Canons imitate in their degree the faults of the bishops.[m] Monks are so much worse than others as by their profession they ought to be better;[n] and mendicants vitiate the good deeds which they claim by their unseemly boasting of them, so that they are the Pharisees of the church, and our Lord's condemnations of the Jewish Pharisees are applicable to them.[o] In conclusion the writer warns of dangers which are at hand, and declares that the only safety for the church is in humiliation and amendment.[p] Peter d'Ailly, now cardinal and archbishop of Cambray, agreed with other writers in desiring reform, but saw greater practical hindrances

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[z] Ep. 1. See Schröckh, xxxi. 288, 398.

[a] See Giesel. II. iii. 108. It is printed among the works of Nicolas, with the title 'De Corrupto Ecclesiae Statu,' but more correctly (and with a different numbering of the chapters) by Von der Hardt, I. iii. seqq. where it is entitled 'De Ruina Ecclesiae.' See Schröckh, xxxi. 402-7; C. Schmidt, in Herzog, art. *Clemanges*, holds with Müntz that it is not by Nicolas, but by some other member of the university of Paris, which alone escapes the writer's censures on the clergy. Schwab, however, would restore it to Nicolas. 194.

[b] Cc. 1-2. [c] C. 3. [d] Cc 5-7, 18.

[e] Abbots and other prelates dying in debt to the papal treasury had been deprived of Christian burial. c. 8.

[f] Cc. 11-2.

[g] Cc. 13-7. Cf. De Modis Un. et Ref. Eccl. ap. Gerson, ii. 171-5.

[h] Cc. 19, 20. [i] Cc. 20-7. [k] C. 28.

[m] He styles them, among other things, "indoctos, Simoniacos, cupidos, ambitiosos, æmulos, obtrectatores, suæ vitæ negligentes, alienæ curiosos, scrutatores ac reprehensores; ebriosos, incontinentissimos . . . vaniloquos, garrulos, tempus in fabulis et nugis terentes; et propterea . . . in cura ventris et gulæ, in carnis voluptatibus hauriendis, suæ vitæ felicitatem, ut porci Epicurei, constituunt." C. 29

[n] C. 32 [o] Cc. 33-5. [p] Cc. 42 6.

in the way; and in 1410 he put forth a tract 'Of the Difficulty of Reformation in a General Council,'[q] urging the vacancy of the empire, the disorganised condition of the church, and the danger that the cardinals might not agree in an election, or might increase the existing perplexities. To this a reply was made in a treatise 'On the Ways of Uniting and Reforming the Church in a General Council,' which has been commonly (but perhaps incorrectly) attributed to Gerson.[r] The writer is strongly opposed to the assumptions and to the corruptions of the papacy. He considers that the necessity of the case is so strong as to overpower all ordinary difficulties. The pope, he says, is not above the Gospel; he received his office for the general good, and for the general good he ought to resign it, if necessary.[s] The popes should be urged to cession; and if this cannot be obtained, it would be legitimate to pursue the great object even by the use of fraud, violence, corruption, imprisonment, and death.[t] In such a question all Christians, even to the lowest in station, are interested; all, and more especially those in high authority, are entitled to interfere.[u] The emperor, as general advocate of the church, ought to call a general council,[x] and a new pope ought to be chosen, who must neither be one of the existing claimants, nor a member of the college of cardinals; for cardinals ought, in the writer's opinion, to be always regarded as ineligible on account of the danger of collusion, which might lead to the choice of unsuitable men.[y] And the work concludes with suggesting some reforms which the future council ought to take in hand.[z]

The influence of the school to which these writers belonged had been apprehended by John, and he had endeavoured to gain them by bestowing large privileges and other benefits on

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[q] Printed in Gerson's works, ii. 867 seqq. To D'Ailly has also been ascribed the tract 'De Necessitate Reformationis,' written some years later (in V. d. Hardt, I. vii., or Gerson, ii. 895 seqq.); but it is by a German, probably Theodoric of Niem. See V. d. Hardt's Introduction; Schwab, 481-2.

[r] V. d. Hardt, I. v.; or in Gerson, ii. 161, seqq. See Schwab, 470-491, who points out differences of principle from Gerson as to doctrine and morals, and considers it to be probably the work of a Frenchman who had lived in Italy, and knew the curia by personal observation. He suggests Andrew, abbot of Rendufe, in the Portuguese diocese of Braga, as the probable author.

[s] Ap. Gerson, 168.

[t] "Quod si nec isto modo poterit ecclesia proficere, tunc dolis, fraudibus, armis, violentia, potentia, promissionibus, donis et pecuniis, tandem carceribus, mortibus, convenit sanctissimam unionem ecclesiae et conjunctionem quomodolibet procurare." He grounds this on the authority of Cicero (De Offic. iii. 5)—"Hoc spectant leges, hoc volunt, incolumem esse civium conjunctionem; quam qui dirimunt, mortibus, exilio, vinculis et damnis coerceant secundum leges." (Gers. col. 170.) [For the last three words the original reads only *coercent.*]

[u] Ib. 163, 171-2, &c.

[x] Ib. 187, 190, &c.

[y] Ib. 195.

[z] Ib. 200-1.

the university of Paris, and by raising Peter d'Ailly, as one of its most eminent members, to the dignity of cardinal.[a]

The eyes of all Christendom were now turned with intense interest to the expected council. It was not merely to decide between the claims of rival popes, but was to settle the question whether a pope or a general council were the highest authority in the church. As the time of meeting drew near, multitudes of every class poured into Constance, and the arrivals continued for some months after the opening of the council.[b] Of the ecclesiastical members, some appeared in plain and simple style, and others in pomp which displayed the union of secular wealth with ecclesiastical dignity. Among the latter class John of Nassau, the primate of Germany, distinguished himself by entering the city in complete armour, attended by a splendid train of 352 men, with seven hundred horses.[c] The whole number of ecclesiastics present, with their attendants, is reckoned at 18,000. During the sittings of the council there were usually 50,000 strangers within the walls of Constance; sometimes twice that number, with 30,000 horses.[d] Among those who were attracted to the great ecclesiastical assembly by the hope of gain were persons of all sorts—merchants[e] and traders, lawyers in great numbers and in all their varieties, artists and craftsmen, players, jugglers, and musicians to the number of 1700, and no less than 700 avowed prostitutes.[f]

John had obtained from the magistrates of Constance certain privileges as to jurisdiction. He ordered the arms of his rival Gregory to be torn down from the lodgings of Gregory's repre-

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[a] Th. Niem de Necess. Reform. c. 26 (V. d. Hardt, i.); Neand. ix. 129. At the same time (June, 1411) other eminent men, as Zabarella and Fillastre, were made cardinals, seemingly with a view to the pope's reputation. Bp. Hallam, of Salisbury, is also commonly reckoned among them; but this seems inconsistent with the fact that the title is never given to him in the documents of the council of Constance. See Ciacon. ii. 800-4; Lenf., Conc. de Pise, ii. 71; Schwab, 466.

[b] Thus the Parisian deputation arrived on Feb. 18, 1415. Lenf. Conc. de Const. i. 112.

[c] This was "in profesto octavarum Epiphaniæ" (1415). Mart. Thes. ii. 1611.

[d] Leon. Aret. in Murat. xix. 929; Hefele, vii. 91.

[e] Bernard Baptisé, a Gascon abbot, in a sermon before the council, on the 11th Sunday after Trinity, 1417, speaks of one lawyer as having made 1000 florins that year. V. d. Hardt, i. 886.

[f] U. v. Reichenthal in Aschbach 42, who adds, "On die heimlicher, die lass ich bleiben." Cf. G. Dacher, in V. d. Hardt, v. 50. Fistenport, in Hahn, 'Miscellanea,' i. 401, says 450 "publicæ meretrices," and 320 "joculatores et fistulatores." Hus reports the Swabians as saying "Constantiam triginta annis purgari non posse peccatis quæ concilium in ea urbe perpetraverit." (Ep. 85.) See the 'Publica Conquestio' of a doctor named Theobald, in V. d. Hardt, i. 908-9. In V. d. Hardt, iv. 1017 seqq. are some regulations of the council as to lodgings, provisions, &c., which give curious hints as to prices and habits. Cf. v. 51-2.

sentative, the cardinal of Ragusa; and when this act was afterwards called in question, the majority of the council justified it on the ground that such a display ought not to have been made within the territories where John was acknowledged, nor unless Gregory himself were present.[g]

On the 5th of November, the council was opened with a solemn service: and on the 16th the first general session was held.[h] Among the members of the council (of whom, however, many did not arrive until later), were the titular patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Jerusalem,[i] twenty-two cardinals, twenty archbishops, nearly a hundred bishops and thirty-three titular bishops, a hundred and twenty-four abbots, and two hundred and fifty doctors, with many secular princes or representatives of princes.[k]

Of the Italian prelates, the most active in the council was Zabarella, cardinal-archbishop of Florence;[m] of those from the Northern kingdoms, the leaders were Peter d'Ailly and the bishop of Salisbury, Robert Hallam, who had already borne a conspicuous part in the council of Pisa.

The treasures which John had at his disposal enabled him to exercise much influence. He contrived, by underhand movements, to divide the interests of the various nations, and to distract them from an agreement in action; and it is said that he made himself master of secrets through informants who resorted to him by night, and whom he was accustomed to absolve formally from the guilt of perjury which they incurred by their revelations.[n]

Very early in the proceedings of the council there were indications of a spirit which it was impossible for John to misinterpret. Thus, when it was proposed by some Italians, on the 7th of December, that the council of Pisa should be confirmed—a step by which the new assembly would have bound itself to the pope of the line there established—it was resolved, in opposition to this proposal, that the council should be regarded as a continuation of that of Pisa, and therefore could not confirm its acts:[o] and it was evident that the intention was

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[g] Mansi, xxvii. 532; V. d. Hardt, iv. 21. Gregory had refused to attend on the ground that the council had been summoned by an intruder. Rayn. 1414.4.

[h] V. d. Hardt. iv. 16.

[i] Simon de Cramault is also in the list, but is styled cardinal of Reims, without any reference to his title of Alexandrian patriarch.

[k] See the lists in V. d. Hardt, V. ii. 8 seqq.; Lenf. ii. 365 seqq.

[m] His tract 'De Schismatibus authoritate Imperatoris tollendis' is in Schard, 'Syntagma,' 235 seqq.

[n] Th. Niem in V. d. Hardt, ii. 380-1, 389.

[o] Mansi, xxvi. 513; V. d. Hardt II. viii. 193-6; Giesel. II. iv. 23; Schwab, 500; Hefele, vii. 72-3.

not to decide between the rival claimants of the papacy, but to persuade all three to a cession of their claims and to elect a new pope to the vacant office.[p]

On the morning of Christmas-day, before dawn, Sigismund, who had lately received the German crown at Aix-la-Chapelle,[q] arrived at Constance, having crossed the lake in a boat; and forthwith he proceeded to assist at a solemn mass which was celebrated by the pope. Habited in a dalmatic, and with the crown on his head, he read (according to the privilege of his office)[r] the Gospel of the decree which went out from Cæsar Augustus; and the words were heard as betokening an assertion of the imperial superiority over the papacy. John put into his hand a sword, for the defence of the church: and the emperor swore that he would always labour for that end to the utmost of his power.[s] But, although this engagement was sincerely made, Sigismund was firmly resolved to pursue his own policy, instead of lending himself to the pope's schemes; and it was in vain that John, knowing the necessities by which he was encumbered in the attempt to maintain the state of imperial dignity, endeavoured to propitiate him by presents or loans of money.[t]

Dec. 28.

Three days later, Cardinal d'Ailly preached before the emperor, from the text, "There shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars." The sun he interprets as representing the papacy, the moon as the imperial power, the stars as the various estates of the church. There can, he holds, neither be real reform without union, nor real union without reform. The pope, if he deviate from the likeness of the sun by entering ill, by living ill, by ruling ill, is but a false image of the sun. There cannot be three suns, but only one true sun. The emperor attends the council, not that he may be over it, but that he may benefit it;[u] not to define spiritual and ecclesiastical matters by royal authority, but to maintain by his power those things which the synod shall determine. The members of the council—the stars—are assembled by the call of the supreme pontiff, who alone has the right to convoke general councils. The stars are to have their share of influence, as well as the sun and the moon. The power of de-

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[p] Mansi, xxvii. 523.

[q] Nov. 8. He was crowned by Theodoric de Morse, who had been elected, but not yet consecrated, as archbishop of Cologne. Gobel. Pers. 339; Aschb. i. 110.

[r] See pp. 126, 143.

[s] Th. Vrie in V. d. Hardt, i. 151-5; ib. iv. 28; U. v. Reichenth. in Marmor, 38-9.

[t] Milm. vi. 18.

[u] "Non ut præsit sed ut prosit." Col. 112.

creeing and defining belongs, not to the pope alone, but to the whole general council; and to assert the contrary is a flattery of the pope which deserves to be severely reprobated.[v]

In order to avoid disputes as to precedence, it was arranged that the members of the council should sit promiscuously, and that this should not be regarded as infringing on the privileges of any one.[x] But questions arose as to the right and as to the manner of voting. In earlier councils the power of voting had been restricted to bishops and abbots; but d'Ailly argued that it ought now to be extended to other classes; that the precedents of ancient councils showed much variety; that, as the present questions did not relate to the church's faith or to the sacraments, the examples of former times were not binding; that the titular bishops, of whom many were present at the council, were not entitled to be held of the same account with the bishops of the earlier church; that the learning possessed by doctors of theology and of civil and canon law—a class which had arisen out of the universities, and had, therefore, been unknown in the days of the older councils—was of such value as to render them fitter to be members of a council than an ignorant bishop or abbot; and that the representatives of princes, of absent prelates, and of capitular churches, ought also to be admitted.[y] Fillastre, cardinal of St. Mark, in arguing on the same side, maintained that many parish priests were, both by the weight of their character and by the importance of their charges, more to be regarded than some bishops; and he declared that "an ignorant king or prelate is but a crowned or mitred ass."[z] The arguments for extending the right of voting prevailed, to the disadvantage of John, who had relied on the numbers of his titular bishops. But his interest was yet more seriously affected by a novelty which was introduced as to the manner of voting. Hitherto the decisions of councils had been determined by a majority of the whole body. But as John had at his command a host of insignificant prelates—titulars, officials of his court, and needy occupants of petty Italian sees—it was proposed, in order to counteract this undue influence, that each nation should debate by itself, and that the final decision should be given by representatives of the several nations, which were thus to be on an equality. This proposal, derived from the arrangements of the university of Paris,

Feb. 7.

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[v] V. d. Hardt, I. iii. 435, or Gerson, ii. 900; Hefele, vii. 76.

[x] V. d. Hardt, iv. 19.

[y] Ib. ii. 221-7.

[z] Ib. 228.

was carried by the emperor's influence; and the four nations —Italian, French, German, and English—proceeded to their separate deliberations.[a] Their meetings were held in the refectories and chapter-houses of the various convents in the town, while the general sessions of the council took place in the cathedral.[b]

Feb. 15.

Cardinal Fillastre, who, as dean of Reims, had formerly been a zealous champion of the papacy, sent forth a paper, in which, after a consideration of other expedients, it was proposed that each of the rival popes should cede his claims, and should receive valuable preferment in the church by way of consolation.[c] On becoming acquainted with this scheme, John is said to have been violently angry; but stronger measures were at hand.

Feb. 16.

A paper of charges against John was produced before the council—it is supposed, by an Italian.[d] These charges were in part so dark and monstrous that it was said that they ought to be kept secret out of reverence for the papal office, and in order to avoid the general scandal of Christendom.[e] John, who through his secret informants became aware of the movement, was inclined to admit some of the accusations, to deny others, and to take his stand on a supposed principle that a pope could not be deposed except for heresy; but he was persuaded by his confidential advisers to await the progress of events. In the mean time the German, French, and English nations, without knowing that he had any suspicion of the charges, resolved that he should be advised to resign his dignity; and John, alarmed by the intelligence which he had secretly gained, agreed to the proposal, with the condition that his rivals should also resign.[f] Immediately after having entered into this engagement, he began to attempt an escape from it; he rejected two forms of cession which were proposed by the council, and the council rejected a form of his proposing;[g] but

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[a] V. d. Hardt, ii. 230 seqq.; iv. 40. As to the constituent parts of the nations, see Marmor, 31. For instance, the English nation included Ireland, "das ist Schottenland," together with Arabia, Media and Persia, India, Prester John's country, Ethiopia, Egypt, Morocco, &c. (Ulr. v. Reichenth. ib. 35). The cardinals, on May 2, claimed that they might have a vote as a nation—being almost as numerous as the English representatives, and personally more important; but they were told that they must vote with their respective nations. V. d. Hardt, iv. 140.

[b] Marmor, 24-8.

[c] V. d. Hardt, ii. 208 seqq.

[d] The data is not certain. Lenf. i. 105.

[e] Th. Niem in V. d. Hardt, ii. 391.

[f] V. d. Hardt, ii. 233; Th. Niem, ib. 392; Th. Vrie, ib. i. 160.

[g] V. d. Hardt, iv. 13-4; Th. Niem, ib. ii. 393-4.

at length he was induced, at the second general session, to swear before the high altar of the cathedral, after having himself celebrated mass, that he would freely resign the papacy if the other claimants would also resign, or if in any other way his resignation might extinguish the schism and restore peace to the church.[h] This promise was received with unbounded joy; the emperor kissed John's feet, and thanked him in the name of the council, and the patriarch of Antioch added the thanks of the whole church. *Te Deum* was sung, and the bells of the cathedral announced the happy event to the world.[i] When, however, John was asked to put his engagement into the form of a bull, he refused with vehement anger; but, on being requested by Sigismund in person, he saw that further resistance would be useless, and on the 7th of March he issued a bull of the desired tenor.[k]

March 2.

It was Sigismund's wish that the council should settle the religious difficulties which had arisen in Bohemia, as well as the great schism. He therefore requested his brother Wenceslaus to send Hus to Constance, and promised him a safe-conduct.[m] Hus, who had always professed to desire the opportunity of appealing to a general council,[n] willingly accepted the summons. He presented himself before a synod held by the archbishop of Prague in August, 1414, and publicly challenged any one to impugn his faith, on condition of suffering, in case of defeat, the same penalties which would have fallen on Hus if convicted.[o] The challenge was not accepted, and Palecz describes the Hussite party as so exasperated, that it was unsafe to call them by their leader's name.[p] The archbishop, on being questioned by the nobles who befriended Hus, declared that he had no charge of heresy to bring against him, but that, as he had been accused by the pope, he must make his excuses to the pope; and they wrote to Sigismund, requesting that Hus might be allowed to defend himself freely, lest Bohemia should be unjustly discredited.[q] Hus obtained certificates of his orthodoxy from the king, from the archbishop, and from the papal inquisitor for Bohemia—Nicolas, bishop of Nazareth, to whom he had submitted himself for examination.[r] Yet in truth

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[h] V. d. Hardt, ii. 240-1; iv. 45-6.

[i] Ib. ii. 241; iv. 46; Mart. Thes. ii. 1616.

[k] V. d. Hardt, iv. 53. "Pacis bonum," &c.

[m] Petrus de Mladenovic (secretary to John of Chlum) in Docum. 237-8.

[n] Palacky, Gesch. III. i. 312.

[o] Mladenov. 238; Hus, Epp. 33-5.

[p] Ap. Hus, Opera, i. 255*. Palecz spoke of them as *Quidamistæ*. ib.

[q] Docum. 53.

[r] Opera, i. 2*, 3*; Mladenov. 239, 242-4.

his position was one which it is now hardly possible to understand; for while he believed himself to be a faithful adherent of the system established in the church, his opinions were, in some respects, such as later experience has shown to be altogether subversive of it.[s]

On the eve of setting out for the council he showed some signs of misgiving. He was warned by friends not to trust the promised safe-conduct; and some letters which he wrote by way of farewell indicate a foreboding that he might never be allowed to return.[t] On the 11th of October, without waiting for the arrival of the safe-conduct,[u] Hus began his journey under the escort of three noblemen appointed by the Bohemian king, John and Henry of Chlum, and Wenceslaus of Dubna. As he passed through the towns of Germany, he offered to give an account of his faith, and engaged in frequent discussions. Notwithstanding the old national quarrel as to the university of Prague (which was afterwards revived as a charge against him), he was well received everywhere, especially at Nurenberg; nor was there any attempt to enforce the interdict which had been pronounced against him.[x]

On the 3rd of November Hus arrived at Constance,[y] and two days later (on the very day of the opening of the council) he received the promised safe-conduct, which Sigismund had granted at Spires on the 14th of October.[z] In answer to an application by John of Chlum, John XXIII. declared that Hus should be safe at Constance if he had slain the pope's own brother; and he suspended the interdict and ban, although he desired that Hus should refrain from attendance at mass, lest some excitement should arise.[a] But Hus never ceded his right to perform the priestly functions, and he continued to celebrate mass as before.[b] In the mean time two of his bitterest enemies arrived at Constance,—Stephen of Paleez,[c] whose breach with him has been already mentioned, and one Michael of Deutschbrod,

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[s] Neand. ix. 459.

[t] *E. g.* Epp. 37-8; Palacky, Gesch. III. i. 315. In Ep. 38 (which was not to be opened until after his death), he warns a friend against the company of women and other temptations of the clergy—among them, against an undue fondness for chess, over which Hus laments that he himself, before he was a priest, had sometimes lost his temper.

[u] Ep. 37; Mladenov. 244.

[x] Epp. 39, 41, 43; Mladenov. 245; Opera, i. 1*; Palacky, Gesch. III. i. 316-7.

[y] Ulr. v. Reichenth. in Marmor, 69.

[z] Epp. 40, 49; Mladenov. 245; Palacky, Gesch. III. i. 318.

[a] Ep. 43; Opera, i. 1*; Mlad. 246.

[b] Ep. 42. The writer (perhaps John Cardinalis, a Bohemian priest), reports that "Aliquis, nescitur an amicus vel inimicus, heri intimavit in ecclesia, quia Mgr. Hus dominico proximo prædicabit ad clerum in ecclesia Constantiensi, et *cuilibet præsenti dabit unum ducatum.*"

[c] Mlad. 246.

who, after having been a parish priest at Prague, had become a projector of mining speculations, but had since been appointed by the pope to the office of proctor in causes of faith, and thence was commonly styled *De Causis*.[d] These and other adversaries posted upon the doors of churches bills denouncing Hus as an excommunicated and obstinate heretic; they supplied the pope, the cardinals, and other members of the council with extracts maliciously selected from his writings; they circulated tales and rumours against him, representing his errors as of the darkest kind, and yet as so popular in Bohemia that, if he were allowed to return, the lives of the clergy would not be safe there.[e]

Proposals were made by which Hus might probably have been allowed to escape easily; but he had always insisted on a public hearing, and he looked for the expected arrival of the emperor.[f] By the industrious exertions of his enemies, and by the suggestion that he was planning a flight from Constance, the authorities were persuaded to place him under restraint. On the 28th of November he was decoyed into the pope's residence, and was thence removed for custody to the house of the precentor of the cathedral;[g] and on the 6th of December he was transferred to a dungeon in the Dominican convent, where the stench and other inconveniences soon produced a serious illness.[h] Meanwhile his friend John of Chlum protested loudly against this as an insult to the emperor, who had granted his safe-conduct. He reproached the pope to his face, and, by an appeal to Sigismund, procured an order that Hus should be set at liberty;[i] and, as this was disregarded, he affixed to the church doors on Christmas-eve, when the emperor was approaching the city, a protest in Latin and in German against the treachery which had been practised towards Hus, and the neglect of the emperor's warrant for his liberation.[k]

While confined in his noisome prison, without access to

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[d] Ep. 77; Opera, i. 4; Mlad. 246; V. d. Hardt, iv. 21, 146; Palacky, Gesch. III. i. 320.

[e] Mlad. 246; Palacky, Gesch. III. i. 321.

[f] Epp. 36, 41; Opera, i. 5; Neand. ix. 466. John Cardinalis writes on Nov. 10, "Auca nondum est assata, nec timet de assatione, quia praesenti anno sabbato ante Martini festum ipsius occurrit celebris vigilia, ubi aucæ non comeduntur." Ep. 42.

[g] Mlad. 248-9, 252; V. d. Hardt, iv. 22; Palacky, Gesch. III. i. 322-3. Against the idea of his having attempted to escape, see Lenf. i. 88-90; Seyfr. 143; Milm. vi. 15; Hefele, vii. 70.

[h] Mlad. 252; Palacky, Gesch. III. i. 324-6.

[i] V. d. Hardt, iv. 26; Mlad. 251; Palacky, Gesch. III. i. 324-5; Neand. ix. 474. In answer to John of Chlum, the pope said that the arrest was the act of the cardinals; but in a letter written by his direction to the university of Paris (Mansi, xxvii. 14) he speaks of it as his own act.

[k] V. d. Hardt, iv. 27; Mlad. 252-3.

books, and almost at a loss for the means of writing,[m] Hus composed some tracts on religious subjects, at the request of his keepers and for their instruction, and was required to draw up answers to a set of charges brought against him by Palecz and Michael de Causis,[n] the pope having on the 1st of December appointed certain commissioners for the investigation of his case.[o] These charges were partly grounded on extracts unfairly made from his treatise 'Of the Church' and other books, partly on the evidence of unguarded letters which had been intercepted.[p] On being questioned as to the articles, he explained the sense in which he believed them; but on being asked whether he would defend them, he answered "No," and added that he stood at the determination of the council.[q] He declared his wish to adhere to the church, to the tradition of the fathers, and to the canons, except where these were opposite to Scripture; and he professed himself willing to retract any errors, and to be instructed by any man[r]—of course, with the secret condition that the instruction should agree with his previous convictions. As being accused of heresy, he was not allowed the assistance of an advocate; whereupon he told the commissioners that he committed his cause to Him who would shortly judge them all, as his advocate and proctor.[s]

With regard to the treasury of the merits of the saints, their intercession, and the power and dignity of the Blessed Virgin, he expressed himself in accordance with the current theology of the time.[t] As to the eucharistic presence, he held that it was enough for a simple Christian to believe the verity of the Saviour's body and blood; but for himself he acknowledged the change denoted by the name of transubstantiation, and made use of the term itself.[u] This change he held to be wrought by Christ Himself through the medium of the priest; and therefore that a wicked priest might consecrate effectually, although to his own condemnation.[x] One of the charges against him related to the administration of the cup to the laity. The

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[m] Opp. i. 29*, seqq. In Ep. 45, he entreats John of Chlum to send him a Bible; "et si Petrus [de Mladenovic] scriptor vester habet incaustum, ut mihi det, et pennas aliquot, et unum parvum calamare."

[n] Doc. 194, 199, 204, seqq.

[o] Opera, i. 7; Mlad. 252, 254; Hefele, vii. 71.

[p] Epp. 48, 51; Neand. ix. 478.

[q] Ep. 51.

[r] Ib.

[s] Ep. 54. A Parisian deputy, in speaking on the affair of John Petit (see below, p. 298) said that if Hus had been allowed an advocate, he could never have been convicted. (Gerson, v. 444; Neand. ix. 478.) But perhaps this means that the speaker disapproved, not of the condemnation of Hus, but of the arts employed on behalf of Petit.

[t] Opp. i. 51.

[u] Ib. 39-40, 162; Neand. ix. 487.

[x] Opp. i. 39-40.

necessity of this had been maintained by one James (or Jacobellus) of Misa, a parish priest of Prague,[y] after Hus had set out for Constance; and Hus, on having his attention drawn to the question, declared the practice to be scriptural, primitive, and desirable, but would not affirm the necessity of it.[z]

Unfortunately for Hus, the liberal or reforming party in the council was not disposed to favour him. The Parisian school, while bent on limiting the power of the papacy, insisted on strictness of orthodoxy, and regarded Hus as likely, by opinions which to them seemed extravagant and revolutionary, to bring danger and discredit on their own projects of reform. Gerson[a] had written to the archbishop of Prague, urging him to use severe measures against the errors which had arisen in Bohemia, and, if ecclesiastical censures should be insufficient, to have recourse to the secular arm.[b] He had obtained from the Theological faculty of Paris a condemnation of twenty propositions extracted from Hus's writings;[c] and in forwarding this condemnation to the Bohemian primate, he had spoken of the doctrine that one who is in mortal sin has no dominion over Christian people[d] as one against which "all dominion, both temporal and spiritual, ought to rise, in order to exterminate it rather by fire and sword than by curious reasoning."[e] From Gerson and his

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[y] As to Jacobellus, see notes on Seyfrid, 34, 56. His diminutive name was given to him as being short of stature. He was a native of Stibro, a Bohemian town which in Latin is called Misa, from the neighbouring river Miess.

[z] Doc. 194; Opera, i. 42-4; V. d. Hardt, iii. 336; iv. 187; Ep. 51. Hus's correspondence with Jacobellus was intercepted and copied, in order to be used against him, by the contrivance of Michael de Causis (Ep. 48). Jacobellus has been said to have derived his opinion from Peter of Dresden, a Waldensian who had been driven to take refuge in Bohemia. (Æn. Sylvius, Hist. Bohem. i. 35, p. 204.) But the existence of this Peter is questioned, and it is said that the story is not found until twenty years later; so that the opinion of Jacobellus is probably traceable rather to the teaching of Matthias of Janow (Palacky, III. i. 332-3; Neand. ix. 488). Hus, when asked by the Bohemians at Constance, on May 31, 1315, to declare himself as to the administration in both kinds, said that it was scriptural, and that he would wish it to be granted by bull to such as out of devotion should desire it, "circumstantiis adhibitis" (V. d. Hardt, iv. 291). After the council had condemned it, on June 15, he wrote more strongly in favour of it (Epp. 78, 80; Giesel. II. iv. 414): but an undated letter, in which he is made to exhort a priest to inculcate the practice (Ep. 92) is probably spurious or interpolated.

[a] A passage quoted above, p. 257, n. t has been alleged as illustrating the extravagancies into which Gerson is supposed to have been led by his zeal for unity, and the unscrupulousness with which he was prepared to treat Hus as an enemy to the church's peace. But, as we have seen, there is reason to doubt the authorship.

[b] Doc. 523, May 27, 1414.

[c] Ib. 185, 528.

[d] See above, p. 219.

[e] Doc. 528, Sept. 24, 1414. Hus writes "O si Deus daret tempus scribendi contra mendacia Parisiensis cancellarii, qui tam temerarie et injuste, coram tanta multitudine, non est veritus proximum erroribus annotare. Sed forte Deus scripturam mea vel sua morte praeripiet, et melius in judicio definiet, quam ego scriberem." Ep. 56.

party, therefore, no sympathy was to be expected by the Bohemian reformer.

Sigismund, on receiving from John of Chlum the first notice of Hus's imprisonment, was indignant at the violation of his safe-conduct, and threatened to break open the prison.[f] After reaching Constance he was still so much dissatisfied on this account, that he even withdrew for a time from the city; but it was represented to him that, if he persisted in such a course, the council must break up, and he shrank from the thought of not only endangering his own reputation for orthodoxy, but rendering all his labours void and perpetuating the division of Christendom.[g] He was plied with arguments and with learning from the canon law, urging that his power did not extend to the protection of a heretic from the punishment due to his errors; that the letter which he had granted ought not to be used to the injury of the catholic faith; that he was not responsible, inasmuch as the council had granted no safe-conduct, and the council was greater than the emperor.[h] It would seem, too, that his feelings with regard to Hus were altered by the reports which reached him, so that he came to regard the Bohemian reformer as a teacher of mischievous errors, both in politics and in religion. The king of Aragon wrote to him that "faith is not broken in the case of one who breaks his faith to God;"[i] and unhappily the emperor consented to violate truth, honour, and humanity by declaring that the council was at liberty to take its own course as to inquiries into charges of heresy.[k] At a later time he attempted to palliate this concession by alleging the importunities with which he had been assailed, and the difficulties of his position.[m]

The consent which Pope John had given to the violation of the imperial safe-conduct in the case of Hus was to recoil on himself; and it was in vain that, when the council proceeded against him, he appealed to the promises which had been made to him. In the hope of propitiating the emperor (of whom it is

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[f] V. d. Hardt, IV. i. 26.

[g] Palacky, III. i. 328; Schwab, 583; Aschb. ii. 97.

[h] V. d. Hardt, iv. 396; Schröckh, xxxiv. 625-6; Schmidt, iv. 139.

Doc. 540. But this letter probably did not reach Sigismund until after his step had been taken. For passages written in a like spirit, see Schwab, 283.

[k] V. d. Hardt (iv. 32) and Hefele (vii. 76) give Jan. 1, 1415, as the date; but Schwab seems to be right in saying that this is too early (282 .

[m] Letter to the Bohemians, in Lenf. ii. Suppl. 450. Schwab (583) quotes a letter against Sigismund in Martene Coll. Ampl. ii. 1445, as if he had taken credit (*sich gerühmt*) at Paris for his breach of faith. But surely this is not the meaning of the words—"Hoc . . . non est veritas palam . . . *confiteri*."

March 10, 1415.

March 14.

said that he habitually spoke in very contemptuous terms),[n] he bestowed on him the golden rose, which was the special mark of papal favour;[o] but Sigismund was not to be diverted from his purpose by this gift, which, instead of keeping it, he dedicated to the Blessed Virgin in the cathedral.[p] Strict orders were issued that no one should be permitted to leave Constance; and John, after some urgency, was brought to promise that he would not depart until after the council should have ended its sessions.[q] Some differences of opinion now began to show themselves between the nations. The Germans and the English were bent on sacrificing John for the unity of the church; Hallam, bishop of Salisbury, told him to his face, in the emperor's presence, that a general council was superior to the pope, and the speech met with no rebuke from Sigismund, to whom John complained of it.[r] But the Italians had always been with John, and the French now began to show a milder disposition towards him—chiefly, it would seem, from a spirit of opposition to the English members, whose king was at this very time preparing to carry his arms into the heart of France.[s]

March 16.

In the hope of effecting some diversion, John proposed that the council should remove to Nice, or some place in its neighbourhood, or that he himself should repair to the same region for a conference with his rival Benedict; but these schemes met with no favour, and he found himself driven to another course.[t] On the evening of the 20th of March,[u] while the general attention was engrossed by a tournament given by Duke Frederick of Austria (whom, as we have seen, John had before engaged in his interest),[x] the pope escaped from Constance in the disguise of a groom, and fled to Schaffhausen, which was within the duke's territory.[y] Thence he wrote to the council that he had no intention of evading his engagements, but had left Constance in order that he might execute them with greater liberty and in a more healthful air;

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[n] "Asserens eum esse pauperem et bibulum," and falsely asserting that he wanted to get money from the pope as the price of keeping him in the papacy. Th. Niem, 396.

[o] See p. 142.

[p] V. d. Hardt, iv. 55.

[q] V. d. Hardt, ii. 393; iv. 59, 126, 133. But this may have been ambiguous—the pope assuming that his departure would put an end to the council. Lenf. i. 123.

[r] V. d. Hardt, iv. 59. John afterwards absurdly represented the bishop as having said that he himself was above the pope and the whole council. Ib. ii. 260.

[s] Ib. iv. 58.

[t] Ib.

[u] Hefele, vii. 90.

[x] V. d. Hardt, ii. 216. See above, p. 255.

[y] Th. Niem, 395; V. d. Hardt, v. 56-9.

and he declared that Duke Frederick had not been privy to his flight.[z]

On the 23rd of March, when the council was about to send envoys to the fugitive pope, Gerson delivered a discourse in which the principles of the reforming party were strongly pronounced.[a] The Head of the church, he said, is Christ; the pope is its secondary head. The union between Christ and the church is inseparable, but the union of the church and the pope may be dissolved. As the church, or a general council which represents it, is directed by the Holy Ghost, even a pope is bound to hear and to obey such a council under pain of being accounted as an heathen and a publican. A pope cannot annul its decrees, and, although it may not take away the pope's power, it may limit that power. A general council may be assembled without the consent or mandate of a lawfully elected and living pope —among other cases, if he should himself be accused, and should refuse to call a council; and also if there be a doubt between rival claimants of the papacy. And the pope is bound to accept the decisions of a council with a view to the termination of a schism.[b]

About the same time the university of Paris sent two papers of conclusions, which, although not fully adopted by the council, were of great use to it.[c] In these papers it was laid down that the pope could not dissolve the council, and that any attempt to do so would bring him under suspicion of schism, if not of heresy; that the church is more necessary, better, of greater dignity, more honourable, more powerful, more steady in the faith, and wiser than the pope, and is superior to him; that the pope holds his power through the church and as its representative; and that the council may judge and depose him, even as it may be necessary to take a sword out of the hand of a madman.[d]

The language of Gerson's sermon became known to John on the same day by means of the envoys to whom it had been addressed. In the hope of breaking up the council, he immediately summoned his cardinals, with the

March 23.

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[z] V. d. Hardt, ii. 252. In his letter to the Duke of Orleans, he admitted the contrary. Ib. 261; Hefele, vii. 92, 96.

[a] V. d. Hardt, ii. 265-271; iv. 65; Mart. Thes. ii. 1619.

[b] Gerson, Opera, ii. 201, seqq. In his treatise 'De Auferibilitate Papae ab Ecclesia,' Gerson said that a pope may be taken away by resignation, or by the church, or a general council representing it, either with or without his own consent, if his continuance would be injurious to the church. Opp. ii. 209, seqq.

[c] As to the dates, see Hefele, vii. 116.

[d] V. d. Hardt, ii. 273, seqq.; cf. iv. 175-6.

members of his household and the officials of his court, to join him; and seven cardinals, with many of the inferior persons, obeyed the summons.[e] Yet it would seem that the pope was made a coward by his conscience; for, instead of hurling anathemas at his opponents in the lofty style of Hildebrand, he could only have recourse to complaints and evasions.[f] He wrote to the king of France, to the Duke of Orleans, to the university of Paris, and others, querulously setting forth his grievances against the emperor and the council.[g]

There was indeed reason to fear that the council would be unable to continue its sessions; some were even afraid that it might end in a general tumult and plunder. Sigismund, by firmly exerting his authority and influence, succeeded in keeping the great body of the assembly together, and in holding them to the pursuit of the object for which they had met. At the third general session, on the 26th of March, it was affirmed that, notwithstanding the withdrawal of the pope, or of any others, the sacred council was not dissolved, but remained in its integrity and authority; that it ought not to be dissolved until it should have effected the extirpation of the schism and a reform of the church in faith and morals, in head and members; that it was not to be transferred to any other place; and that none of the members should leave Constance without its permission until its proceedings should be duly concluded.[h]

In a general congregation, on the 29th of March, Gerson proposed a strong censure against John on account of his flight; but the cardinals succeeded in averting it.[i] At the fourth session, on the following day, it was resolved that the council's power, derived immediately from Christ, was superior to all dignities,—even to that of the pope, who was bound to obey it in matters relating to the faith and to the extirpation of the schism.[k] When this document came to be read aloud by Cardinal Zabarella, he was persuaded by his brother-cardinals to leave out such parts as were most strongly antipapal;[m] but, as the nations complained loudly of this, the omitted passages were at the next session

April 6.

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[e] V. d. Hardt, ii. 253; iv. 67; Theod. Niem, ib. ii. 398-9. [f] Milm. vi. 33.

[g] V. d. Hardt, ii. 253, 262.

[h] Ib. iv. 707; Th. Niem, ib. ii. 398. To this time belongs a placard, which was posted on the doors of the bishop's palace, reflecting severely on John and the cardinals, and exhorting the council to stedfastness. See Mart. Thes. i. 1620.

[i] V. d. Hardt, iv. 81, 85; Hefele, vii 99-101.

[k] V. d. Hardt, iv. 86. Bp. Hefele treats this point tenderly. The council, he says, was not a general council until its last session, when it was in harmony with Martin V. vii. 101.

[m] Ib. ii. 281. The mutilated form is given, ib. iv. 89.

read out by the archbishop of Posen.[n] At the same session it was resolved that Sigismund should be requested to bring back John, and that no one should be allowed to leave Constance without permission.[o] In the mean time John, alarmed by the March 29. intelligence which he daily received as to the proceedings of the council, removed on Good Friday from Schaffhausen to the castle of Lauffenberg,[p] where, in the presence of witnesses, he executed a written protest, declaring that his concessions had been made through fear of violence, April 2. and therefore were not binding;[q] and he wrote to the council, alleging the same motive for his flight.[r] From Lauffenburg the pope went to Freiburg, in the Breisgau,[s] where a deputation from the council, headed by two cardinals, waited on him, with a request that he would appoint proctors to perform the promised act of resignation. The pope received them in bed, and answered roughly, but promised to send proctors after them.[t] From Freiburg he sent to the council a statement of the terms on which he was willing to resign—that he should be legate throughout all Italy for life, and should have a like authority in the region of Avignon, with an income of 30,000 florins, and a share with the other cardinals in the emoluments of the *capella*. But the council regarded the proposal as a proof that John intended to trifle with them by requiring extravagant and impossible conditions.[u] Frederick of Austria was cited to answer for his complicity in the pope's April 7. flight, and, as he did not appear, was put under the ban of the empire as a traitor to it, the council, and the church.[x] His neighbours, both ecclesiastical and secular, were summoned to chastise him,[y] and, in conjunction with the imperial forces, overran his territories, so that he was compelled to sue at the emperor's feet for forgiveness, to promise that he May 5. would give up the pope, and to receive submissively by investiture a part of his former dominions, to be held at the imperial pleasure.[z]

From Freiburg John, still wishing to be at a greater distance

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[n] Ib. ii. 82; iv. 88, 96, 98. See Lenf. i. 151-6.

[o] Ib. iv. 102.

[p] Th. Niem, v. 399.

[q] Ib. 400.

[r] V. d. Hardt, iv. 102.

[s] Th. Niem, v. 400.

[t] "Adhuc jacens in lecto, et scalpendo se inferius inverecunde, respondit satis aspere." V. d. Hardt, ii. 400.

[u] V. d. Hardt, ii. 403-4; iv. 106.

[x] Ib. iv. 103.

[y] Although the Swiss had lately concluded a fifty-years' peace with him, the emperor insisted that this would not excuse them from performing their feudal duty. Mailáth, i. 223; Aschb. ii. 71-5.

[z] Th. Vrie, 199; Mart. Thes. ii 1631, 1635; V. d. Hardt, ii. 405-6; iv. 103, 158-163; Mailáth, i. 221-7. Hence he got the name of *Frederick with the empty pocket*. Hefele, vii. 121.

from the council, proceeded to Breisach and to Neuenburg, but Frederick of Austria, in fulfilment of his engagement to bring him back, desired that he would return to Constance; while the papal officials, finding no prospect of advantage in adhering to John, deserted him and rejoined the council.[a]

In the mean time argument ran high in that assembly. The patriarch of Antioch, although hostile to John personally, asserted the papal pretensions in their extremest form—quoting from Gratian a dictum that if the pope, by his misconduct and negligence, should lead crowds of men into hell, no one but God would be entitled to find fault with him.[b] But to this d'Ailly replied in a tract, which was afterwards embodied in his larger treatise 'Of Ecclesiastical Power,' maintaining the authority of the general council over the pope, and taxing the patriarch with having been one of the flatterers who, "by feeding John with the milk of error, had led him to his ruin."[c] Wearied and irritated by John's evasions and artifices, the council, at its seventh session, cited him to appear in person May 2. within nine days, to answer charges of heresy, schism, simony, maladministration, notorious waste of the property of the Roman and other churches, and diminution of their rights; of incorrigibly scandalous life; and of having attempted, by his clandestine flight, to hinder the union and reformation of the church.[d] John proposed that, instead of appearing, he should appoint three cardinals as his proxies; but those whom he named declined the task, and the council resolved that in a criminal case proxies could not be admitted.[e] Witnesses were examined in support of the charges.[f] On the 13th of May, there seemed to be a chance of a diversion in John's favour, as Sigismund received letters informing him that the Turks were ravaging Hungary, in alliance with the Venetians; but his answer was that, even if he should lose the whole kingdom, he would not forsake the church and the council.[g] On the 14th the pope was cited, and, as he did not answer, was pronounced contumacious; on the following day sentence of suspension was publicly pronounced against him;[h] and the council resolved to proceed to deposition, if it should be necessary. A fresh examination of witnesses—thirty-seven in number—was then under-

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[a] V. d. Hardt, ii. 405-6. Some are said to have returned "quia sperabant reperire bonam coquinam." Mart. Thes. ii. 1621.

[b] Grat. Dist. xl. c. 6; V. d. Hardt, ii. 295-300; iv. 129; Lenf. i. 136-7; Hefele, vii. 112.

[c] V. d. Hardt, iv. 129-131; vi. 63, seqq.

[d] Ib. iv. 143-6.

[e] Ib. 165, 169-170.

[f] Ib. 187.

[g] Mart. Thes. ii. 1632-3, 1640.

[h] Ib. 181-6.

taken, and some of John's wrongful bulls and grants were put in evidence.[i] The heads of accusation were seventy-two, but May 16. there was much of iteration among them.[k] Some of May 25. Sess. 11. them were not read aloud, out of regard for decency and for the reverence due to the papacy.[m] Carrying back the inquiry to his earliest years, the indictment charged him with having been rebellious to his parents, and given to all vices from his youth. He was said to have got his preferments by simony; to have been guilty of gross maladministration as legate; to have contrived the death of Alexander V. As pope, he was charged with having neglected the duties of religion; with rape, adultery, sodomy, incest; with corruption of every sort in the bestowal of his patronage. He was styled a poisoner, a murderer; he had denied the resurrection of the dead and eternal life; he had intended to sell the head of St. John the Baptist, from the church of St. Sylvester, to some Florentines for 50,000 ducats. It was alleged that his misconduct was notorious and scandalous to all Christendom; that he had obstinately neglected the admonitions which had been addressed to him from many quarters; that he had dealt deceitfully with the council, and had absconded from it by night in the disguise of a layman.[n] The evidence was considered to be so strong that his deposition was resolved on, as being guilty of simony, maladministration of his office, dilapidation of the church's May 29. property, and scandalous life.[o] His seal was broken; all Christians were released from allegiance to him; and he was condemned to be kept in custody until the election of a new pope, to whom the further disposal of him was to be left. It was decreed that no election should take place without the consent of the council, and that no one of the existing claimants should be eligible.[p]

John had been brought back by Duke Frederick to Radolfszell, near Constance,[q] whence, on the 26th of May, he addressed a letter to the emperor, reminding him of favours which John professed to have done to him in helping him to the crown, in seconding his wishes as to the council, and in other ways, and im-

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[i] V. d. Hardt, iv. 219, 228, 253.

[k] Hefele, vii. 130.

[m] V. d. Hardt, iv. 196, seqq.; 228; Gobel. Pers. 340.

[n] The fifty-four articles which were read aloud are in V. d. Hardt, iv. 237-248; the others, which are said to have been proved, although not read, ib. 248, seqq. Cf. ii. 407. As to the witnesses, see iv. 250.

[o] Ib. iv. 269.

[p] Ib. 281-4. It was regarded as significant that, on the 29th of May, the words "Nunc judicium est mundi; nunc princeps hujus mundi ejicietur foras" (Joh. xii. 31) were read in the Gospel at high mass.

[q] May 18. V. d. Hardt, iv. 82.

ploring him to observe his promise of a safe-conduct. But Sigismund, instead of being softened by this letter, appears to have been rather irritated by the contrast between its tone and that which he knew to be employed by the pope in speaking and writing of him to others.[r] On the second day after the sentence of the council had been passed, it was announced to John by a deputation of five cardinals. May 31. He listened to it with submission and calmness, begging only that regard might be had to his dignity in so far as might be consistent with the welfare of the church. He voluntarily swore that he would never attempt to recover the papacy, and, stripping off the insignia of his dignity, he declared that he had never known a comfortable day since he had put them on.[s]

The ex-pope was made over to the care of the elector palatine; for it was considered that the iniquities which had been proved against him, and his attempt to escape, had annulled the imperial safe-conduct.[t] For some years he was detained as a prisoner, chiefly at Heidelberg;[u] even after the council, at its first session under Martin V., had decreed that Dec. 28, 1417. he should be transferred by the emperor and the elector to the pope.[x] At length, however, by the payment of a large sum to the elector, he obtained leave to go into Italy, where at Florence he made his submission to the new pope, and from him received the dignity of cardinal-bishop of Frascati. But within a few months he died at Florence, without having taken possession of his see.[y]

The council had, after John's flight from Constance, again directed its attention to the case of Hus, who, having been discharged from the custody of the pope's servants, was made over to the bishop of Constance, and by him was kept in chains at the neighbouring castle of Gottlieben.[z] The Parisian reforming party, as has been already said, was resolved to assert its own orthodoxy by disavowing all sympathy with one whose April 6. ideas it regarded as crude, unsound, and revolutionary; and when a new commission was appointed for the examina-

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[r] Ib. 259-262; Th. Niem, ib. ii. 408.

[s] Ib. iv. 276, 286, 291-6.

[t] V. d. Hardt, iv. 297-8; Th. Niem, ib. ii. 408. On June 3, he was removed to Gottlieben, lately the place of Hus's confinement. V. d. Hardt, iv. 296.

[u] J. Fistenport, in Hahn, Miscell. ii. 402.

[x] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1497.

[y] Lenf. ii. 261; Hefele, vii. 322. He was buried in the Baptistery of Florence, and it is said that the greatness of the Medici family was advanced by the wealth which rewarded its kindness to the dethroned pontiff.

[z] Opera, i. 7*; V. d. Hardt, iv. 287; Mladenov. 255.

tion of his case[a]—the flight of Pope John having vitiated the authority of the earlier commissioners—D'Ailly, as a member of it, took a strong part against him. Reports of James of Misa's practice as to administration of the eucharist in both kinds were received from Prague, and were circulated in exaggerated forms. It was said that Hus's principles as to endowments had been carried out by the spoliation of many Bohemian churches.[b] The bishop of Leitomysl, one of Hus's bitterest and most persevering enemies, represented that in Bohemia the sacramental wine was carried about in unconsecrated bottles, and that the laity handed it to each other; that laymen of good character were considered to be better authorised to administer the sacraments than vicious priests; that cobblers presumed to hear confessions and to give absolution.[c]

The Bohemian and Moravian nobles protested strongly and repeatedly both against the treatment of Hus and against the imputations which were thrown on the faith of their nation.[d] They urged that Hus might be allowed a free hearing, while he himself entreated to be heard, and declared that he was willing to be burnt rather than to be secluded;[e] and the proposal of a hearing being supported by Sigismund, the reformer was transferred from Gottlieben to the Franciscan convent at Constance, and on the 5th of June was brought before the council.[f] Worn by long imprisonment, by the severities by which it had been aggravated, and by serious illness of various kinds, he was called on to answer the questioning of all who might oppose him, while, as being suspected of heresy, he was denied the assistance of an advocate.[g] An attempt had been made, before his admission, to get him condemned on account of certain passages which his enemies had extracted from his writings; but this had been defeated by the exertions of John

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[a] V. d. Hardt, iv. 100.

[b] Opp. i. vi. [misprinted xii.]; cf Doc. 198.

[c] V. d. Hardt, iv. 287; Mladenov. 258, 264.

[d] V. d. Hardt, iv. 32, 33, 288; Mladenov. 256, 261, 264, 266; Doc. 535, 548, 552 (a letter with the seals of 270 nobles, May 12), 259 (the bishop of Leitomysl's reply); Hefele, vii. 131, 171. See Palacky, Gesch. III. i. 344-5, as to the pretences set up in answer.

[e] Ep. 60.

[f] V. d. Hardt, iv. 290, 306; Hefele, vii. 149.

[g] Epp. 63, 66-7; Palacky, III. i. 331. In Ep. 67, Hus mentions that he had dreams which had been fulfilled—not, he says, to claim the character of a prophet, but to show what were his trials of body and mind. In a letter, written in the beginning of June, he says to John of Chlum:—"Qui concesserunt pecunias, nescio quis solvet eis præter Dominum Jesum Christum, propter quem concesserunt. Optarem tamen quod aliqui ditiores componerent et solverent pauperioribus." This is a remarkable illustration of the reformer's principle as to the maintenance of the clergy. Stephen of Dolan charges the Hussites with contradicting their own principles, by getting all that they could in benefices, offerings, bequests, &c. Pez, IV. ii. 563.

of Chlum and Wenceslaus of Duba, who requested the emperor to intervene.[h]

June 7.

On the first day of Hus's appearance, the uproar was so great that he could not find a hearing;[i] on the second day, Sigismund himself attended, to preserve order—a task which was by no means easy.[k] Of the charges brought against him, Hus altogether denied some, while he explained others, and showed that his words had been wrongly construed.[m] In the doctrine of the eucharistic presence, he agreed with the current teaching of the church, and differed from that of Wyclif, with whom it was sought to connect him. D'Ailly, a zealous Nominalist, endeavoured to entrap him by a scholastic subtlety as to the ceasing of the universal substance of bread after the consecration; to which Hus replied that, although the substance ceases to be in the individual piece of bread, it remains as subject in other individual pieces.[n] An English doctor suggested that the accused was equivocating like Berengar and Wyclif; but Hus declared that he spoke plainly and sincerely.[o] Another Englishman protested against the introduction of irrelevant philosophical matters, inasmuch as Hus had cleared his orthodoxy with regard to the sacrament of the altar.[p]

Much was said as to the connexion of Hus's doctrines with those of Wyclif, which the council had lately condemned under forty-five heads;[q] indeed an English Carmelite, named Stokes, sarcastically told him that he need not pride himself on his opinions as if they were his own, since he was merely a follower of Wyclif.[r] Hus explained that he had found himself unable to join in the late condemnation on all points; thus, he would not say that Wyclif erred in censuring the Donation of Constantine, or in regarding tithes as alms and not as an obligatory payment.[s] On being pressed as to having expressed a wish that his own soul might be with that of Wyclif, he explained

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[h] V. d. Hardt, iv. 306-7; Mladenov. 275; Palacky, III. i. 331.

[i] Ep. 63; Mlad. 275; V. d. Hardt, iv. 307.

[k] V. d. Hardt, iv. 308.

[m] Ib. 308, seqq.; Mlad. 274.

[n] Ep. 65; Mlad. 277; V. d. Hardt, iv. 308.

[o] Ep. 65; Mlad. 277, 309; V. d. Hardt, iv. 309.

[p] Mlad. 277. Lenfant thinks that the Eucharist was probably the subject of one of the two articles which Hus (Ep. 63) speaks of as having been struck out of the indictment. i. 312.

[q] May 4. See Mansi, xxvii. 631; V. d. Hardt, iii. 168, 212, seqq.; iv. 137; Hefele, vii. 116-9. It was decided that, as Wyclif had died an impenitent heretic, his body and bones, "si ab aliis fidelium corporibus discerni possint," should be exhumed and cast out of ecclesiastical sepulture (V. d. Hardt, iv. 150-7.) As to the execution of this sentence, see Fuller, ii. 423-4.

[r] Doc. 308.

[s] V. d. Hardt, iv. 310, 327; Mlad. 279.

that he had said so in consequence of the reports which had reached him as to Wyclif's good life, and before his writings were known in Bohemia; nor had he intended to imply a certainty of Wyclif's salvation.[t] As to the opinion that a priest in mortal sin could not consecrate, he stated that he had limited it by saying that one in such a state would consecrate and baptise unworthily.[u] But when he was charged with holding that a king, a pope, or a bishop, if in mortal sin, was no king, pope, or bishop, his answers were such as to provoke from Sigismund an exclamation that there had never been a more mischievous heretic, as no man is without sin.[x] Much was said on predestination and the subjects connected with it; as to which Hus seems to have drawn his opinions from Wyclif.

The question of the papal supremacy brought out the uncritical nature of Hus's views. He traced the pope's pre-eminence to the supposed Donation of Constantine; and, although D'Ailly told him that he would do better to refer it to the sixth canon of Nicæa (as that canon was then commonly understood), he still adhered to his belief in the Donation.[y] In answer to a charge of having urged his followers to resist their opponents by force of arms, Hus denied that he had recommended the material sword; and it would seem that some words of his as to the spiritual armour of the Christian had been misinterpreted.[z]

The affair as to the expulsion of the Germans from Prague was brought forward, and was urged by Paleez and by another Bohemian doctor;[a] but as to this it appears that Hus was able to satisfy his judges.[b] He was also questioned, among other things, as to having said that, unless he had voluntarily come to Constance, he could not have been compelled to do so by all the authority of the council and of the emperor. He explained the words by saying that he might have been safely concealed among the many castles of the nobles who were friendly to him; and this was eagerly confirmed by John of Chlum, while

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[t] V. d. Hardt, iv. 311; Mlad. 280.

[u] V. d. Hardt, iv. 310, 322; cf. Doc. 184. At a later hearing he said that popes, bishops, &c., being "foreknown" and in mortal sin, "non sunt vere tales quoad merita, vel digne coram Deo, pro tunc sunt tamen quoad officia tales." Mladenov. ib. 310.

[x] Mladenov. 299; V. d. Hardt, iv. 321. Gerson was severe on these notions (Neand. ix. 511). Even Neander thinks that Hus would have done better by explaining his paradoxical expressions. Ib. 508.

[y] V. d. Hardt, iv. 316-17; Mladenov. 291. Hus also refers repeatedly (as he had before done in his writings) to the story of the supposed female pope. V. d. Hardt, iv. 317, 323; Mladenov. 305.

[z] V. d. Hardt, iv. 311.

[a] It is not clear whether the name *Naso* is descriptive or a form of his real surname.

[b] V. d. Hardt, iv. 312; Mladenov 282; Doc. 197.

Cardinal d'Ailly angrily cried out against Hus's audacity.[c] D'Ailly told him that he had done wrong in preaching to the people against cardinals and other dignitaries, when there were no such persons to hear him; to which Hus could only reply that his words had been meant for the priests and learned men who were present.[d]

At the end of a trial which lasted three days, Palecz and Michael de Causis solemnly protested that they had acted solely on a sense of duty, and without any malice towards the accused; and d'Ailly then again repeated an opinion which he had often expressed in the course of the proceedings—that Hus had been treated with much consideration, and that his opinions were less offensively represented in the charges than they appeared in his own writings.[e] Exhausted by illness and fatigue, Hus was led back to prison, receiving as he passed a pressure of the hand and some words of comfort from John of Chlum. The emperor, who had in vain urged the prisoner to retract,[f] then declared that any one of the errors which had been brought home to him would have been enough for his condemnation; that, if he should persist in them, he ought to be burnt; that his followers ought to be coerced, and especially that his disciple who was then in custody—Jerome of Prague—should be speedily dealt with.[g]

After his third appearance before the council, Hus was left in prison for nearly a month. During this time June 8–
attempts were made by many persons—among them July 6.
by Cardinal Zabarella—to persuade him to abjure the errors which were imputed to him. It was urged on him that by so doing he would not admit that he had ever held the errors in question; that in England excellent men who were wrongly suspected of Wyclifism had made no scruple as to abjuring it.[h] But Hus regarded the matter in a more solemn light, and thought that to abjure errors which were falsely laid to his charge would be nothing less than perjury.[i] He regarded his fate as sealed, although he still professed himself willing to

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[c] V. d. Hardt, iv. 313; Mladenov. 283.

[d] Mladenov. 293; V. d. Hardt, iv. 317. Cf. Doc. 198.

[e] V. d. Hardt, iv. 328; cf. 309, 318, 320; Mladenov. 278, 285, 294. A Carthusian, speaking apparently of some private examination, says of Hus, "Nunquam vidi ita audacem et temerarium ribaldum, et qui ita caute sciret respondere detegendo (?) veritatem." Mart. Thes. ii. 1635. The date "xix. Maii" is evidently a misprint for xxix.

[f] Mladenov. 309.

[g] Ib. 314; V. d. Hardt. iv. 328-9.

[h] Epp. 75, 85; V. d. Hardt, iv. 313, 325-6, 329-333, 342, 345-6.

[i] V. d. Hardt, iv. 329.

renounce his opinions if any others could be proved to be truer;[k] and he wrote pathetic letters of farewell to some of his Bohemian friends.[m] On the 30th of June he was visited by Palecz, to whom, as having been his chief opponent, he expressed a wish to confess; but another confessor, a monk and doctor, was sent, who behaved with great tenderness to him, and gave him absolution without requiring any recantation of his opinions. At a later interview, Palecz wept profusely, and Hus entreated his forgiveness for any words of reproach which he might have used against him.[n]

On the 6th of July, at the fifteenth session of the council, Hus was again brought forward—having been detained outside the church until the mass was over, lest his presence should profane the holy action. The bishop of Lodi preached on the text "Our old man is crucified with Him that the body of sin might be destroyed" (Rom. vi. 6), applying the words to the duty of extirpating heresy and simony. The acts of the process against Hus were then read, ending with an exhortation to Sigismund to perform the sacred work of destroying the obstinate heretic by whose malignant influence the plague of error had been so widely spread.[o] To the charges was now added a new article—that he had supposed himself to be a fourth person in the Godhead; but this he disavowed with horror as an idea that had never entered his mind.[p] He declared that he had come to Constance freely, in order to give an account of his faith, and under the protection of the imperial safe-conduct; and as he said these words, he turned his eyes on Sigismund, who blushed deeply.[q] He frequently interrupted the reading of the charges against him, in order to protest his innocence; but the Cardinals D'Ailly and Zabarella reduced him to silence.[r] He appealed to the Saviour, and it was stigmatised as an attempt to overleap all the order of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. But Hus continued to protest and to appeal, and he added a prayer for the forgiveness of his

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[k] V. d. Hardt, iv. 345; Mladenov. 316.

[m] *E.g.* Epp. 71, 73.

[n] Ep. 84; V. d. Hardt, iv. 344–5.

[o] V. d. Hardt, iii. 1-5; iv. 389; Mlad. 317.

[p] Mladenov. 318; V. d. Hardt, iv. 393. The number of articles condemned was thirty, and they were afterwards included in Martin V.'s bull of Feb. 22, 1418—"Inter cunctas." See V. d. Hardt, iv. 1526; Hefele, vii. 200-4.

[q] Opera, ii. 346; V. d. Hardt, iv. 393. This incident became so famous that Charles V., when he was advised to arrest Luther at the Diet of Worms, answered, "I have no mind to blush, like my predecessor Sigismund." Yet Bp. Hefele, in his desire to extenuate the affair of the safe-conduct, thinks it a fabulous addition to the story, as it does not appear in Mladenoviez, vii. 223.

[r] Mladenov. 318; V. d. Hardt, iv. 392.

enemies, which called forth derision from some members of the council.[s]

The ceremony of degradation from the priesthood followed. Hus was arrayed in the vestments of the altar, and the various articles symbolical of the priestly authority and of the inferior orders of the ministry were severally taken from him by bishops, while at every stage he made some remark by way of protest.[t] As to the tonsure, a question arose whether it should be obliterated by shaving or by clipping the surrounding hair. "Lo," said Hus, addressing the emperor, "these bishops cannot agree even as to the way of mocking me!"[u] When the degradation was completed, a tall paper cap, painted with hideous figures of devils, was placed on his head, and a bishop said to him, "We commit thy body to the secular arm, and thy soul to the devil." "And I," said Hus, "commit it to my most merciful Lord, Jesus Christ."[x] As he was led away to death, he passed a spot where a heap of his books, which had been condemned by the council, was burning amidst the merriment of the crowd. At this sight he smiled, and repeated a remark which he had before made as to the condemnation of his Bohemian writings by persons who could not read them.[y] In answer to a question, he professed a wish to confess; but, as the confessor insisted that he should begin by acknowledging and renouncing his errors, Hus said that confession was not necessary, as he was not in mortal sin.[z]

On reaching the place of execution, he entreated that the bystanders would not believe him guilty of the errors which were imputed to him.[a] After he had been bound to the stake, he was once more asked by Duke Lewis of Bavaria whether he would recant; but he remained firm[b] and suffered with unshaken constancy, uttering to the last cries for mercy, professions of faith in the Saviour, and prayers for the forgiveness of his enemies.[c] His ashes and the scorched remnants of his clothes were thrown into the Rhine, lest they should be venerated as relics by his adherents.[d]

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[s] Mladenov. 319-320.

[t] V. d. Hardt, iv. 398, seqq.; Mlad. 320.

[u] V. d. Hardt, iv. 394; Mladenov. 321.

[x] Mladenov. 321; V. d. Hardt, iv. 433.

[y] Mladenov. 321; Joh. Barbatus, in Doc. 556; V. d. Hardt, iv. 343, 394, 436, 445-6.

[z] Ulr. v. Reichenthal, in Marmor, 74-5.

[a] V. d. Hardt, iv. 447.

[b] Mladenov. 323.

[c] Ib.; V. d. Hardt, iv. 447-8.

[d] Ulr. v. Reichenth. in Marmor, 75; V. d. Hardt. iv. 448; Th. Vrie, ib. i. 171; Doc. 558-9. There is a story that Hus, seeing a poor peasant (or, according to some, an old woman) carrying a faggot to add to his funeral pile, said with a smile, in words borrowed from St.

The death of Hus has usually been regarded as a deep stain on the reputation of the council which decreed it, and of the emperor who, notwithstanding the assurance of protection which he had given to the reformer, consented to his doom. But attempts at exculpation have often been made in the interest of the Roman church;[e] and even very lately it has been argued, by a writer whose moderation and candour are usually no less to be admired than his ability and learning, that there was no breach of faith in prosecuting Hus to the death, notwithstanding the safe-conduct which he had received.[f] The name of safe-conduct, indeed, appears to have been used in two senses—sometimes signifying the escort which accompanied Hus from Bohemia, and sometimes the passport which, although promised, did not reach him until after his arrival at Constance; and this double meaning will explain some difficulties which have been raised as to the emperor's proceedings.[g] It is pointed out that the passport did not profess more than to secure for Hus an unmolested journey to and from Constance; that Sigismund did not undertake, and could not have undertaken, to assure him against the consequences of an accusation of heresy; that the violation of the safe conduct amounted to nothing more than the arrest of Hus before trial or conviction; that the Bohemians do not charge the emperor with breach of a written engagement, but only with having taken part against Hus, whereas they had reckoned on him as a friend.[h] Yet even according to this view, the arrest of Hus, which is admitted to have been a breach of the safe-conduct, instead of being followed by his liberation, in compliance with the protests of his friends and with Sigismund's own declarations, led to his being immured in one loathsome dungeon after another, to his being loaded with chains, ill fed, and barbarously treated; and, when reduced to sickness and debility by such usage, and deprived of all literary means of

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Jerome, "O holy simplicity!" (Luther, Præf. III. in Hus, Opera. See Palacky, III. i. 367.) Another story—that Hus prophesied of Luther in the words "Hodie anserem uritis, sed ex meis cineribus nascetur cygnus, quem non assare poteritis"—is repeatedly given in Luther's works, and may probably have been made up in his time from some expressions in Hus's letters and from words spoken by Jerome of Prague at his death. See Gieseler, II. iv. 417; Palacky, l. c.; Hefele, vii. 213.

[e] Thus Mansi defends the proceedings against Hus on the ground that he had disregarded the prohibition to teach, &c. N. in Rayn. vii. 416; cf. Rayn. 1415. 22.

[f] See Hefele, vii. 218, seqq. Schwab, on the other hand, reprobates the older writers of the Roman communion who had tried to explain away the breach of faith. (583.) Aschbach (also a Roman catholic) says that Sigismund sacrificed his personal honour for the benefit of Christendom. ii. 128.

[g] See Lenf. i. 217; Neand. ix. 502; Hefele, vii. 156, 218.

[h] Palacky, III. i. 170, 357; Hefele, vii. 124, 220, 224.

defence, he was required to answer to the capital charge of heresy. Even on this supposition, therefore, the wrong by which the safe-conduct was violated was one which, in its consequences, subjected the accused to cruel sufferings, and destroyed the fairness of his trial.

But in truth it seems clear that the safe-conduct was supposed to imply much more than is here allowed. The excitement which arose on Hus's arrest is not to be accounted for by the mere informality of that act,[l] nor is it easy to reduce the complaints of his Bohemian partisans within the limits which the apologists of the council mark out.[k] Hus himself plainly declares his understanding of the matter to have been, that, if he should decline to abide by the sentence of the council, the emperor would remit him in safety to Bohemia, there to be judged by the king and the ecclesiastical authorities; and he speaks of the safe-conduct as having been violated, and of warnings which he had received against trusting to it.[m]

That this must be explained away by speaking of Hus as inconsistent, is, like the denial of Sigismund's having blushed on being reminded of the safe-conduct,[n] a necessity of the cause which is to be defended.[o] And how, unless there was some deception in the case, should the king of Aragon and the council have asserted principles which would justify the blackest perfidy towards one who was accused of heterodoxy?[p] Why should it have been necessary to urge that a safe-conduct could not protect a heretic, unless Sigismund, as well as Hus, had supposed that the document in question would avail? Why should the council have attempted to get over it by the false and unsuccessful assertion that Hus had not received it until a fortnight after his arrest?[q] Why, if the safe-conduct was not supposed to assure the safety of Hus at Constance, as well as on the way, were such efforts made to extort the recal of it from the emperor?

But, although the means by which his condemnation was brought about were iniquitous, and although there was much to

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[l] "Revera est hodie perturbatio propter salvum conductum sibi præstitum." Letter of the representatives of the university of Cologne, Martene, Thes. ii. 1611.

[k] See V. d. Hardt, iv. 188, 208-9, 212; Mart. Thes. ii. 1632.

[m] Ep. 70. These warnings clearly meant, not that the safe-conduct was defective, but that it would probably be violated.

[n] See p. 280.

[o] The proof of inconsistency is drawn from Hus's declarations that he was ready to die for his faith. (Hefele, vii. 225.) Bp. Hefele seems to have overlooked the fact that Hus's expressions in Ep. 70 give countenance to the story of his having put Sigismund to shame by a reference to the safe-conduct.

[p] See p. 268.

[q] See V. d. Hardt, iv. 212; Hefele, vii. 132.

blame in the circumstances of his trial, we can hardly wonder at the condemnation itself, according to the principles of his age. He set out from Bohemia with a confident expectation of being able to maintain his soundness in the faith; yet it is not easy to suppose this possible, if the nature of the tribunal be considered. The attestations of orthodoxy which he carried with him were probably in part influenced by the desire of the authors to clear their country from the imputations which had been cast on it, and were therefore not likely to tell strongly in his favour. In every point, except that of the eucharistic doctrine, Hus was but an echo of Wyclif, whose opinions had long been proscribed—whose English followers had been condemned to the stake by the church and the state alike. He did not, seemingly, understand how much his principles were opposed, not only to the system of the Roman court, but to the very being of the hierarchy.[r] Much of his language sounded very dangerous; and if the sense, when explained by him, was more harmless than it seemed, it might reasonably be asked what likelihood there was that this sense would be understood by the simple hearers to whom the words had been addressed. It would seem that his demeanour had in it something which suggested the suspicion of obstinacy or evasion; and his continual professions of willingness to renounce his opinions, if he could be convinced that they were wrong, must have appeared to his judges as merely nugatory; for no one surely would avow that he deliberately prefers error to truth.[s]

At the time when Hus set out from Prague, his old associate Jerome was absent on one of those expeditions in which his religious zeal and his love of adventure alike found a frequent exercise. On learning, at his return, the fact of his friend's imprisonment, Jerome resolved to join him at Constance, where he arrived on the 4th of April, 1415.[t] He withdrew to a little town in the neighbourhood, and publicly announced by a placard his readiness to defend his faith, if the council would grant him a safe-conduct for going and returning, adding that, if

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he should be convicted of heresy, he was willing to bear the punishment.[u] But, as his petition was refused, he complied with the solicitations of his friends and set out towards Bohemia, carrying with him letters testimonial from his country-

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[r] Palacky, III. i. 331-2.

[s] See Gerson, i. 33, 36-7.

[t] Hus &c. Opera, ii. 349; V. d. Hardt, iv. 93.

[u] Hus &c. Opera, ii. 319*; V. d. Hardt, iv. 101.

April 24.

men who were at Constance.[x] The council, however, at its sixth session, cited him to answer for himself; he was arrested, and was carried back in chains to Constance,[y] where at length the council granted him a safe-conduct, but with the significant reservation, "as much as is in us, and as the orthodox faith shall require, yet saving justice."[z] On the 23rd of May, Jerome, immediately after his arrival, and laden as he was with heavy chains, was examined before a general congregation of the council. Men who had been acquainted with his old adventures at Vienna and Heidelberg, at Paris and Cologne, gave evidence against him; among them was Gerson, who told him that at Paris his conceit of his eloquence had led him to disturb the university by many scandalous propositions as to universals and ideas.[a] At the end of the day he was committed to the care of the archbishop of Riga, and was imprisoned in a tower, where he was chained more cruelly than before, and for two days was kept on a diet of bread and water. At the end of that time, however, Peter Mladenoviez discovered the place of his confinement, and was allowed to supply him with better nourishment.[b]

After having been subjected to several examinations, Jerome, worn out by the hardships of his imprisonment, was brought on the 11th of September to condemn the errors imputed to Wyclif and Hus—with the reservation that, although mistaken and offensive, they were not heretical—that he did not commit himself to the truth of the imputations, and that he intended no disrespect to the characters of the teachers, or to the truths which they had delivered.[c] This qualified submission, however, was not enough for the council; and at the 19th general session, on the 23rd of September, a fresh declaration was extorted from him, in which he more explicitly abjured the tenets of Wyclif and Hus, and even included in the abjuration an opinion as to the reality of universals.[d] At this same session it was decreed,

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[x] Hus &c. Opera, ii. 319; V. d. Hardt, iv. 134; Palacky, III. i. 340.

[y] V. d. Hardt, iv. 119, 146, 216; Hus &c. Opera, ii. 349*; Hefele, vii. 111. See a letter from the Duke of Bavaria to the council, and the council's thanks to him, in Döllinger, Beitr. zur Culturgesch. ii. 318, 321.

[z] V. d. Hardt, iv. 119. The last words are wanting in some MSS. See Lenfant, i. 180, who remarks that there was no such reservation in the safe-conduct granted to Hus, and that, if there had been, he would not have ventured to go to Constance.

[a] Narratio, ap. Hus, ii. 350*; V. d. Hardt, iv. 216-8.

[b] Narratio, l. c.; V. d. Hardt, iv. 218; Poggius, ib. iii. 69.

[c] Hus &c. Opera, ii. 351; V. d. Hardt, iv. 498; Th. Niem, ib. ii. 415; Th. de Vrie, ib. i. 171-2.

[d] V. d. Hardt, iv. 501-514.

with an exact reference to the circumstances of Hus's case, that no safe-conduct granted by any secular prince, by whatsoever sanction it might have been confirmed, should prejudice the catholic faith or the church's jurisdiction, so as to hinder the competent spiritual tribunal from inquiring into and duly punishing the errors of heretics or persons charged with heresy, even although such persons might have been induced to present themselves at the place of judgment by reliance on the safe-conduct, and otherwise would not have appeared; and that the granter of such a document, if he had done his part in other respects, was in no way further bound.[e] By another document (which, however, may perhaps have been nothing more than a draft) it is declared that in the matter of Hus the king of the Romans had done his duty, and that no one should speak against him under pain of being held guilty of favouring heresy and of treason.[f]

Jerome, by abjuring the opinions which had been imputed to him, had entitled himself to liberty; but, although Cardinal d'Ailly and others insisted on this, suspicions as to the sincerity of the prisoner's recantation arose, and were strengthened by a tract which Gerson put forth on the subject of 'Protestation and Revocation in Matters of Faith.'[g] Fresh charges, derived from Bohemia, were urged against him by Palecz and Michael de Causis; and when d'Ailly, Zabarella, and others, indignantly resigned their office as judges, a new commission was appointed, before which Jerome was again examined.[h] He was accused of various outrages against monks and friars;[i] of having denied transubstantiation;[k] of having caused the canon of the mass to be translated or paraphrased into Bohemian verse, so that mechanics supposed them-

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April–May 1416.

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[e] "Nec sic promittentem cum alias fecerit quod in ipso est ex hoc in aliquo remansisse obligatum." (V. d. Hardt, iv. 521.) These words do not occur in all MSS., and the object of them is evidently not to exhort the giver of a safe-conduct to exertion, but to quiet his conscience in allowing himself to be overruled. Bp. Hefele's strong language of reprobation against Gieseler, as having misrepresented the council on this point (see Giesel. II. iv. 418; Hef. vii. 227-8) appears to me very unjust.

[f] V. d. Hardt, iv. 521. See Schröckh, xxxiv. 664-5; Hefele, vii. 228.

[g] Opp. i. 28-37; or V. d. Hardt, iii. 39, seqq. Bp. Hefele says that Gerson in this had no thought of Jerome, and that the tract was meant only against the bishop of Arras, who, in his advocacy of John Petit (see below, p. 298) was accustomed to make great *general* protestations (vii. 240). But Schwab refers it to both. 599, 630.

[h] V. d. Hardt, iv. 631; Lenfant, i. 499, 546.

[i] *E. g.* that he had thrown a Dominican who had preached against Wyclif into the Moldau, holding him by a rope, and requiring him to own that Wyclif was a holy and evangelical preacher. The friar, it is said, would have been drowned, but that he was rescued by friends. V. d. Hardt, iv. 667.

[k] Ib. 668.

selves able to consecrate by chanting it;[m] of having in the course of his travels allied himself with the Russian schismatics in opposition to the Latins;[n] of having lived luxuriously and riotously while in prison.[o] Some of these charges Jerome denied;[p] and in his answers he showed much dexterity and readiness, not unmixed with asperity and contempt towards his opponents.[q] At his final examination, being allowed to defend himself, he delivered an eloquent speech. The display of authorities which he produced for his opinions excited admiration in those who considered that for 340 days he had been immured in a gloomy dungeon.[r] He related the course of his life and studies. He explained the case of the university of Prague, and the unfair influence which the Germans had exercised in it.[s] He declared that no act of his life had caused him such remorse as his abjuration of Hus and Wyclif,[t] with whom he now desired to make common cause in all things, except Wyclif's doctrine of the eucharist.[u] He declared himself ready to share the fate of Hus, whose offence he represented as having consisted, not in any deviation from the faith of the church, but in his having attacked the abuses and corruptions of the hierarchy. He replied with courage and readiness to the many interruptions with which he was assailed; and the speech concluded with a commemoration of worthies, both heathen and scriptural, who had laid down their lives for the truth.[x]

May 26.

Urgent attempts were still made to persuade Jerome to fall back on the recantation which he had formerly made; Zabarella especially showed a friendly interest in him, and visited him in prison for the purpose of entreating him to save himself.[y] But all such efforts were fruitless, and Jerome suffered at the stake on the 30th of May, 1416, enduring his agony with a firmness which extorted the admiration of men so remote from any sympathy with his character as the scholar Poggio Bracciolini and the ecclesiastical politician Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini.[z]

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[m] "Cantilenas et carmina continentes in sensu et effectu verba canonis." Ib. 669.

[n] Ib. 678-680.

[o] Ib. 690.

[p] Ib. 634, 751-2.

[q] Thus he said to a Dominican, "Tace hypocrita!" and of another opponent he never spoke except as a dog or an ass. Poggius in V. d. Hardt, iii. 66.

[r] Ib. 69.

[s] V. d. Hardt, iv. 757-8.

[t] Hus &c. Opéra, ii. 352.*

[u] See Hefele, vii. 231.

[x] V. d. Hardt, iv. 757-8; Poggius, ib. iii. 67-9.

[y] Pogg. 70.

[z] "Nemo philosophorum tam forti animo mortem pertulisse traditur quam isti [Hus and Jerome] incendium." Æn. Sylv. Hist. Boh. c. 36. See Poggio's letter to Leonard Aretin, in V. d. Hardt, iii. 70-4; Shepherd's Life of Poggio, 69; V. d. Hardt, iv. 770. Poggio's letter has suggested a forged imitation, in which he is made to relate the martyrdom of

On the 4th of July, 1415, two days before the death of Hus, Gregory XII., the most sincere of the rival popes in desiring the reunion of the church, resigned his dignity. For this purpose he had given a commission to Charles Malatesta, lord of Rimini, whose labours at Pisa and elsewhere for the healing of the schism[a] have already been mentioned; and, in order to avoid an acknowledgment of the council as having been called by John XXIII., he affected to regard it as assembled by the emperor alone, and to add his own citation as pope, that it might entertain the proposed business.[b] Malatesta accordingly appeared at the fourteenth session, and formally executed the act of resignation;[c] whereupon the council decreed that no one should proceed to choose a pope without its sanction, and that it should not be dissolved until after an election should have been made.[d] The ex-pope became cardinal-bishop of Porto, and legate for life in the Mark of Ancona, with precedence over all the other members of the college.[e] His cardinals were allowed to retain their dignities;[f] and two years later, while the council was yet sitting, Angelo Corario died at the age of ninety.[g]

Benedict XIII. was still to be dealt with. Aragon and Scotland continued to adhere to him, and his pretensions were unabated. He had proposed a meeting with Sigismund at Nice, and John XXIII. had endeavoured to avert this by offering to confer in person with his rival; but the council, remembering the failure of the conference of Savona, had refused its consent.[h] It was now resolved that the emperor, as representative of the council, should treat with Benedict; and on the 15th of July,

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Hus (see Hefele, vii. 213). At Jerome's death, as at that of Hus, the bishop of Lodi (a Dominican) preached a sermon, in which he abused the two as obscure plebeians and rustics who had dared to disturb the peace of Bohemia—a reproach which, so far as Jerome's social station was concerned, was untrue. He taunts Jerome with the mildness of his treatment—*e. g.* "Tortus non fuisti; et utinam fuisses, quia vel sic humiliatus omnes errores tuos penitus evomuisses." (V. d. Hardt, iii. 54, 59, 60.) To this Jerome replied in a long speech, exposing the bishop's misrepresentations. (Ib. iv. 763.) Theodore of Vrie's account of Jerome's death is remarkable, and the more so as the Saviour is the supposed speaker. (Ib. i. 202-3; cf. Theod. Niem, ib. ii. 454.) Of Jerome, as of Hus, the story of "O sancta simplicitas!" is told. (Schröckh, xxxiv. 668.) There is also a story (no doubt made after the event) that he appealed to Almighty God, "ut coram eo centum annis revolutis responderetis." Hus, Opera, ii. 357.

[a] See his letters in Martene, Coll. Ampl. vii. 314. seqq.; Hefele, vi. 862, seqq.

[b] V. d. Hardt, iv. 366, seqq., 371. Th. de Vrie, 163, 167; Antonin. 479; Lenfant, i. 382; Hefele, vii. 183.

[c] V. d. Hardt, iv. 346, 375, 380; Th. Niem, ib. ii. 410.

[d] V. d. Hardt. iv. 375, 378.

[e] V. d. Hardt, iv. 471-81; Th. de Vrie, 168, 170.

[f] V. d. Hardt, iv. 376.

[g] Oct. 18, 1417. Lenf. i. 388; Hefele, vii. 184.

[h] See p. 184. Th. Niem, in V. d. Hardt, ii. 395-6; Th. de Vrie, ib. i. 207.

Sigismund, kneeling before the high altar of the cathedral, received the solemn benediction of the assembly;[l] and three days later[k] he set out with four cardinals for Perpignan, where he had invited Benedict to meet him.[m] At Narbonne he was joined by Ferdinand of Aragon, whose ambassadors had been in treaty with the council.[n] But at Perpignan he found himself disappointed. Benedict had taken offence at being addressed as cardinal, whereas he held himself to be the sole legitimate pope; nay, even as a cardinal, he asserted that, being the only one who had been promoted to the sacred college before the schism, he was entitled to nominate a pope by his own voice alone.[o] In accordance with the letter of an agreement, he remained at Perpignan to the end of June; but at midnight on the last day of the month he left the place, and pronounced Sigismund contumacious for having failed to appear.[p] On the 19th of August, he was at Narbonne, where he condescended to state his terms to the emperor's representatives.[q] But these and other proposals on the part of Benedict were so extravagant, that it was impossible to agree to them;[r] and Benedict, after some movements, shut himself up within the rocky fortress of Peñiscola, in Valencia, where the archbishop of Tours and others sought an interview with him, but were unable to persuade him to resign.[s] Sigismund succeeded in detaching from him the king of Aragon, with other princes who had thus far supported him,[t] and these, in person or by their representatives, formally renounced him at Narbonne on the 13th of December, 1415.[u] The act was publicly declared at Perpignan on the Epiphany following[x] by the great Dominican preacher St. Vincent Ferrer, in whose reputation for sanctity the cause of the Spanish pope had found one of its strongest supports, but who now, in disgust at Benedict's obstinacy, turned against

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[l] V. d. Hardt, iv. 468-75; Th. Niem, ib. ii. 415.

[k] A sermon by Gerson (ii. 273), in which the power of the council over popes is strongly asserted, was not delivered before the emperor's departure (as has often been said), but three days after it (Jul. 21). See Schwab, 520.

[m] V. d. Hardt, iv. 265; Th. Niem, ib. ii. 415. There is a narrative by the archbishop of Tours in V. d. Hardt. ii. 523, seqq. Sigismund was obliged to borrow for the costs of his journey. Aschb. ii. 136.

[n] Ib. iv. 47, 261, 305; Th. Niem, l. c.

[o] V. d. Hardt, ii 488, 529. He had said something like this to Gregory's envoys in 1407. Mon. Sandion. iii. 530.

[p] Hefele, vii. 244; V. d. Hardt, ii. 522.

[q] Martene, Coll. Ampl. vii. 1208; V. d. Hardt. II. No. xvi.

[r] V. d. Hardt, ii. 490, seqq.; 526; Martene. Thes. ii. 1647-50.

[s] V. d. Hardt, ii. 534-5.

[t] V. d. Hardt, ii. 538-9; Th. Niem, ib. ii. 423-4. 432, 434.

[u] It is said that he sent the king of Aragon a bull of anathema and deposition. Martene, Thes. ii. 1660.

[x] V. d. Hardt, ii. 551; Hefele, vii. 247-9.

him, and zealously exerted himself to promote the reunion of the church.[y]

Sigismund then proceeded to visit the courts of France and of England, endeavouring to reconcile the enmity which had lately arrayed the nations against each other on the field of Agincourt (October 25, 1415), and to unite Western Christendom in a league against the Turks;[z] and on the 27th of January in the following year, he reappeared at Constance, where he was A.D. 1417. received by the council with great demonstrations of honour.[a] In the mean time the representatives of the Spanish and Portuguese kingdoms had been admitted into the council as a fifth nation;[b] the agreement of Narbonne was confirmed,[c] and measures were urged forward against Benedict. Nov. 5–28, 1416. Articles were drawn up, in which the charge against him was grounded chiefly on his breach of his engagements as to resignation,[d] and he was cited to appear within a certain time.[e] The envoys who were intrusted with the delivery Jan. 22, 1417. of the citation at Peñiscola found him angry and obstinate, and brought back nothing but evasions and pretexts for delay.[f] After having been repeatedly cited in due

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[y] Theodoric of Niem says that Vincent was reported to have preached against Benedict even "quod juste persequendus sit usque ad mortem ab omnibus Christianis, et persequens aut interficiens eum mereatur." V. d. Hardt, ii. 431-2. Cf. ib. 522, 561; Antonin. 480; Mariana, xx. 7; Lenfant, i. 526.

[z] At Paris he gave great offence by taking the king's seat in the parliament, and by conferring knighthood on one of the parties in a suit, in order to qualify him for prosecuting it—"Car le roy est empereur en ce royaume, et ne le tient que de Dieu et l'espée seulement, et non d'autre." (Juv. des Ursins, 330.) Before landing at Dover, he was required to profess that he did not come as emperor. (Pauli, v. 132; Aschb. ii. 162.) For his reception in England, see Walsingh. ii. 305. Archbishop Chichele ordered prayers to be put up for his success in endeavouring to establish the unity of the church, Aug. 2, 1416 (Rymer, ix. 377). He made a very favourable impression in England (Gesta Henr. V. p. 104); but such were his necessities that he pawned the English king's gifts at Bruges. Pauli, v. 141; Aschb. ii. 170.

[a] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1089. There is a letter in English from John Forrester to Henry V., describing the emperor's return. The bishop of Salisbury was the first to get possession of the pulpit, in order to offer his congratulations, to the exclusion of Cardinal d'Ailly; and the English representatives were treated with great honour by Sigismund. It is said that the bishops of Chester [*i. e.* Coventry] and Salisbury are resolved to suive the reformation in the kyrk, in the hed and in the members." (Rymer, ix. 434; cf. Ulr. v. Reichenthal, in Marmor, 44.) In expectation of the emperor's return, the English, on Jan. 24, gave a banquet to the magistrates of Constance and others, which was followed by a play on the subject of the Nativity—this being the first instance of such a performance in Germany; and the play was repeated before the emperor on the 31st of January. V. d. Hardt, iv. 1088-9, 1091.

[b] Septr.–Oct. 1416. V. d. Hardt, iv. 909; Th. de Vrie, ib. i. 204.

[c] Ib. 586, seqq.

[d] Ib. 956-967, 980-995.

[e] Ib. 992; Th. Vrie, 211.

[f] Hard. iv. 1124-9, seqq.; 1148; Martene, Thes. ii. 1169. The envoys were black monks; and Benedict, on being informed of their arrival, said "Synodales corvos audiamus." When told of this, one of them remarked "Minime mirum videri debet, si corvi ad dejectum cadaver accedimus." V. d. Hardt, iv. 1145.

form at the door of the cathedral, he was pronounced contumacious on the 1st of April.[g] Further articles were drawn up, and, after long formal proceedings,[h] sentence of deposition was pronounced against him, as having been guilty of perjury, of scandal to the whole church, of favouring July 26. and nourishing schism, and of heresy, inasmuch as he had violated the article of the faith which speaks of "one holy catholic church."[i] The delivery of this judgment was followed by a jubilant chant of *Te Deum;* the bells of the churches were rung, and the emperor ordered that the sentence should be proclaimed with the sound of trumpets throughout the streets of Constance.[k]

Thus the papacy was considered to be entirely vacant, as the three who had pretended to it had all been set aside. But the question now arose, whether the council should next proceed to the election of a new pope, or to discuss the reformation of the church, which had been much agitated during the time of the emperor's absence.[m] On the one hand it was urged that, as the church had long been suffering from the want of an acknowledged head, the papacy should be filled without delay. On the other hand, it was represented that the reforming designs of the council of Pisa had been ineffectual because reform had been postponed to the election of a pope; that, since a reformation of the church ought to include the head as well as the members, a pope, by exerting his influence on those who naturally desired to stand well with him, might be able to put a stop to any movement for reform; that the chair of St. Peter, after the pollutions which it had lately undergone, ought to be cleansed, before any man, even the holiest, could sit in it without fear of contamination.[n] The emperor, supported by the German and English nations, urged that the council should enter on the question of reform.[o] The cardinals, with the Italians in general,[p] pressed for the election of a pope, and drew to their side the Spaniards, who were new to the affairs of the council, and the French, whose eagerness for reform was now overpowered by their enmity against the English.[q] The contest was keenly

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[g] V. d. Hardt, i. 1132; iv. 1206, 1214, 1220, 1224-31.

[h] See V. d. Hardt, iv. 1230, seqq.; 1270, 1280, 1294, 1310, 1315, 1317, 1332-3, 1335-6, 1351.

[i] Ib. 1367, 1373, seqq.; Th. Vrie, 214; Hefele, vii. 313.

[k] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1377.

[m] Ib. 556, 1335, 1395. Various schemes are printed in vol. i.

[n] Ib. iv. 1418-24.

[o] Ib. 1335, 1354, 1395.

[p] Pileus, archbishop of Genoa, however, spoke strongly in favour of reform. V. d. Hardt, I. p. xv.; iv. 1397.

[q] Ib. iv. 1395-6, 1415, &c.; Milm. vi. 62; Aschb. ii. 267.

carried on, both with tongue and with pen. Prayers were put up for the good success of the council in its designs, sermons were preached in exposition of the various views,[r] and from each side a formal protest was made against the course which was proposed by the other;[s] while invidious imputations were freely cast on the emperor and his adherents, as if, by maintaining that the church could be reformed without a head, they made themselves partakers in the heresy of Hus.[t]

Still Sigismund stood firm, notwithstanding the taunts and insults which were directed against him, until at length he found his supporters failing him. Such of the French and Italians as had been with him fell away.[u] By the death of Hallam, bishop of Salisbury, on the 4th of September, he lost his most-esteemed auxiliary,[x] while the English were deprived of a leader whose wisdom and moderation had guided them in the difficulties of their circumstances; and—partly, it would seem, in obedience to an order from their sovereign[y]—they joined the growing majority. Two of the most important German prelates were bribed into a like course;—the archbishop of Riga, who, having been hopelessly embroiled with the Teutonic knights, was to be translated by the council to Liége; and the bishop of Chur, to whom the see of Riga offered at once an increase of dignity and an escape from his quarrels with Frederick of Austria.[z] Finding that any further resistance would be useless, Sigismund yielded that the choice of a pope should precede the discussion of reform; but it was stipulated by him and the German nation that the future pope should, in conjunction with the council, make it his first duty to enter on a reform of the church, and that until this should have been effected the council should not be dissolved.[a]

At the thirty-ninth session, October 9, 1417, it was decreed that a general council should be held within the next five years, and another within the following seven years; that within every period of ten years for the time to come there should be a general council; that the pope might shorten the interval, but might not prolong it; and that for a sufficient cause (such as the occurrence of a schism) a council might be convoked at any time.[b] But when the Germans desired that the future pope should be pledged to the observance of these rules,

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[r] See Gerson, ii. 313; Schröckh, xxxi. 488; Hefele, vii. 288, &c.

[s] V. d. Hardt, i. 916-20; iv. 1419-26.

[t] Ib. iv. 1415; Mart. Thes. ii. 1680-5; Lenf. ii. 114; Aschb. ii. 270.

[u] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1418.

[x] Ib. iv. 1414; Lenf. ii. 115; Aschb. ii. 274.

[y] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1426.

[z] Ib. iv. 1427; Aschb. ii. 277.

[a] Ib. iv. 1431

[b] Ib.

they were told by the cardinals that a pope could not be so bound.[c]

Dissensions still continued to vex the council. The Aragonese on joining it, had objected to the acknowledgment of the English as a nation—maintaining that they ought to be included with the Germans;[d] and in this they were aided by Cardinal d'Ailly,[e] whose patriotism showed itself on all occasions in a vehement opposition to the English; while these stoutly asserted the importance of their nation and church by somewhat daring arguments, and put forward the venerable name of Joseph of Arimathea in opposition to that of Dionysius the Areopagite.[f] The Castilians had contests of their own with the Aragonese;[g] and they had even left Constance, in the belief that the council was hopelessly entangled, when they were brought back by the emperor's request. In the midst of these difficulties it was announced that Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, and uncle to the king of England, was at Ulm, on his way to the Holy Land; and the English representatives suggested that by his reputation and authority, by his known influence with the emperor and by his zeal for the peace of the church, he might be able to appease the differences which had arisen. The emperor with his own hand wrote to invite the bishop to Constance, where he was received with great honour; and by his mediation and advice he succeeded in effecting a reconciliation between the parties.[h]

Oct. 20.

Beaufort had recommended that the election of a pope should at once be taken in hand; and new questions arose as to the right of sharing in it. Some wished to exclude the cardinals altogether, as having abused their privilege in time past; while the cardinals asserted that the right of voting belonged to them

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[c] Ib. 1447.

[d] It need not be said that the outlying countries of the English nation (see p. 262 n. [d]) were not represented. Ulrich of Reichenthal says that the "Anglici et Scoti, Engelschen und Hyberni, das sind Schotten" were originally made a separate nation in consequence of the non-appearance of the Spaniards. (Marmor, 31.)

[e] *E. g.* De Eccl. Potest., V. d. Hardt, vi. 41.

[f] V. d. Hardt, iv. 952, 965-8, 1026-30; v. 57-103; Martene, Thes. ii. 1667. See a letter from the bishop of Durham, in Rymer, ix. 437. He mentions that Sigismund irritated the French by displaying the insignia of the Garter. An incredible story of a Spanish bishop, on occasion of a question of precedence, taking up an English ambassador, and carrying him like a child, is given on Spanish authority by Lenfant, ii. 59.

[g] Martene, Thes. ii. 1675-8; V. d. Hardt, iv. 1428.

[h] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1447; Walsingh. ii. 319; Lenf. ii. 134; Hefele, vii. 321-2. His services were rewarded by Martin V., who promoted him to the cardinalate on Nov. 28. and made him legate for England and Ireland. Against this legation Archbishop Chichele remonstrated, in a letter to Henry V.; but Beaufort was received as legate by Henry VI. V. d. Hardt, iv. 1502. See Ciacon. ii. 845; Hook, v. 70-1.

exclusively, but were willing to concede that, on this occasion only, representatives of the nations should be associated with them, and that the choice should be subject to the final approbation of the council.[l] In the mean time there were discussions as to the points in which a reform was desired. Among them were the duties of the pope, and the limits of his authority; the prevention of double elections to the papacy; the composition of the college of cardinals, in which it seemed desirable that the Italians should not be too strong;[k] reservations, annates, expectancies, commendams, simony, dispensations, non-residence; the qualifications and duties of bishops; the abuses of the monastic and capitular systems; the nature of the causes that should be treated in the Roman court; the question of appeals; the offices of the papal chancery and penitentiary; indulgences; the alienation of church property; the causes for which a pope might be corrected or deposed, and the manner of procedure in such cases.[m]

Of these subjects, that of annates caused the greatest difference of opinion. The cardinals were in favour of the exaction, while the French nation denounced it as a novelty which dated only from the pontificate of John XXII.[n] On this question, Cardinal d'Ailly, who had formerly been opposed to the tax, now took part with his brethren of the college.[o] With regard to the question of papal collation to benefices, it was remarked that, while many bishops, who were usually supporters of the papal interest, opposed it in this case from a wish to recover patronage for their own order, the representatives of universities sided with the pope, as being more likely than the bishops to favour the claims of learning in the bestowal of preferment.[p] In the course of these discussions much heat was occasionally displayed. At one meeting, the wish to delay the election of a pope was de-

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[l] V. d. Hardt, ii. 586; iv. 1355, 1418. On October 1, 1416, d'Ailly delivered a discourse exposing the extravagances of some as to the power of the pope, and maintaining that the nations ought to share with the cardinals in the election. Ib. iv. 909.

[k] Some were even for the abolition of cardinals altogether, as being a class instituted neither by the apostles nor by councils, and detrimental to the church. Pet. de Alliaco, De Reform. Eccl. in Gerson, ii. 908.

[m] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1449-52. A paper by Zabarella, 'Capita Agendorum in Conc. Const.' (V. d. Hardt, t. I. p. ix.). gives much information as to the reforms which were desired. The writer had died on the 26th of September. V. d Hardt, iv. 1429.

[n] Lib. de l'Egl. Gall. ii. 581, seqq; Martene, Thes. 1542-1609; V. d. Hardt, I. pt. xiii. See below, C. XI. i. 4.

[o] De Auctorit. &c., in Gerson, ii. 937, or V. d. Hardt, vi. 51-6.

[p] Hefele, vii. 317. Cf. Mart. Thes. ii. 1686; sup. p. 180, n. y. An English petition of 1399 stated that the statutes of provisors had operated against the preferment of the more deserving men Art. 28, Wilkins, iii. 242.

nounced as a Hussite heresy, and the emperor, in disgust at the pertinacity of the opposition, arose and left the hall. As the patriarch of Antioch and others of his adherents followed, a cry arose, "Let the heretics go!" and Sigismund, on being informed of the insult, knew that it was intended against himself.[q]

At length, on the 30th of October, the preliminaries of the election were settled; that six representatives of each nation should be associated with the cardinals as electors; and that a majority of two-thirds among the cardinals and in each nation should be necessary to the choice of a pope.[r] The day was fixed for the 8th of November, when high mass was celebrated, and the bishop of Lodi (whose eloquence had been less creditably displayed in the cases of Hus and Jerome) preached from the text, "Eligite meliorem"[s]—descanting on the qualities requisite for the papacy, and exhorting the electors to make choice of a pope different from those of the last forty years—one worthy of the office and bent on the reform of the church.[t] The electors—twenty-three cardinals and thirty deputies of the nations[u]—swore to the emperor that they would perform their duty faithfully, and were then shut up in conclave within the Exchange of Constance, under the guardianship of the Master of the Knights of Rhodes.[x] Their deliberations lasted three days, during which companies of people—Sigismund himself, and the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries, among them—frequently gathered round the building, imploring with prayers, and with hymns chanted in low tones, the blessing of God on the election.[y] At first, each nation was disposed to set up a candidate of its own;[z] but gradually this was abandoned, and on St. Martin's day an overwhelming majority, if not the whole body of electors, agreed in a choice, which was forthwith announced through an aperture made in the wall of the Exchange—"We have a pope—Lord Otho of Colonna!"[a] The news spread at once throughout the city, and produced an enthusiasm of joy; at last the schism which had so long distracted Christendom was ended. All the bells of Constance sent forth peals of rejoicing. A multitude, which is reckoned at 80,000, flocked from all quarters to the scene of the election.[b] The emperor

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[q] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1415.

[r] Ib. 1448, 1452; Antonin. 483.

[s] "Look even out the best" (Eng. Version) II. Kings, x. 3.

[t] V. d. Hardt, i. 931, seqq.

[u] Ib. iv. 1473, 1479.

[x] Ib. iv. 1391, 1471-80. Ulrich of Reichenthal's account of this is curious. Marmor, 120-5.

[y] Ib. 1481; Ulr. v. Reichenth. in Marmor, 131.

[z] Ulr. ib. 130-2.

[a] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1482-3.

[b] Ulr. v. Reichenth. in Marm. 132-3.

himself, disregarding the restraints of state, hurried into the room where the electors were assembled, and fell down at the feet of the pope, who raised him up, embraced him, and acknowledged that to him the peaceful result was chiefly due.[c] For hours together crowds of all classes thronged to the cathedral, where the new pope was placed on the altar and gave his benediction.[d] In honour of the day on which he was elected, he took the name of Martin V.; and, after having been ordained deacon, priest, and bishop on three successive days, he was anointed and crowned as pope on the 21st of November.[e]

Martin was now about fifty years of age. He belonged to the highest nobility of Rome,[f] had been trained in the study of canon law, and had been created cardinal of St. George by Innocent VII. He had held to Gregory XII. until the council of Pisa declared against that pope, and he had been one of the last to forsake John XXIII. His morals were irreproachable, and the prudence and moderation of his character were much respected.[g] It is, however, said of him by Leonard of Arezzo, that whereas before his elevation he had been noted rather for his amiability than for his talents, he showed, when pope, extreme sagacity but no excess of benignity.[h]

Very soon Martin began to give indications that those who had chosen him in the hope of reform were to be disappointed. Almost immediately after his coronation, he set forth, as was usual, the rules for the administration of his chancery;[i] and it was seen with dismay that they differed hardly at all in substance from those of John XXIII.; that they sanctioned all the corruptions which the council had denounced, such as annates, expectancies, and reservations; nay, that this last evil was even aggravated in the new code.[k] And now that Western Christendom had one undoubted head, a man in whom high personal character was added to the dignity of his great

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[c] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1483-6. The electors are said to have appeared as almost dead from the privations of the conclave. Ib. 1485.

[d] Ib. 1485-6.

[e] Ib. 1486-7, 1489-90; Ulr. Reichenth. in Marm. 133, seqq.

[f] He was son of Agapetus Colonna, who had played an important part during the schism, but was not, as Lenfant says (ii. 155) a cardinal. See in Litta, 'Famiglie Italiane,' the genealogy of the Colonnas, tav. iii.-iv.

[g] Schröckh, xxxix. 508; Milm. vi. 64; Schwab, 662; Gregorov. vi. 637–9.

[h] "Ita opinionem de se prius habitam redarguit ut sagacitas quidem in eo summa, benignitas vero non superflua neque nimia reperiretur." (Murat. xix. 930). Eberhard of Windeck says that he was poor and modest as a cardinal, but when pope was avaricious and too much given to the accumulation of money. Mencken, i.

[i] Nov. 12. They were formally published on Feb. 26, 1418. Schwab, 662.

[k] The two sets of rules are in V. d. Hardt, vol. I. pt. xxi. See Schmidt, iv. 122; Schröckh, xxxi. 510; Milm. vi. 65-6; Hefele, vii. 329.

office, the authority of the council waned before that of the pope. The emperor himself was superseded in the presidency of the assembly, and Martin's power over it increased, while his address was exerted to prevent all dangerous reforms.[m] He set forth a list of matters as to which a reform might be desirable;[n] he constituted a reformatory college, made up of six cardinals, with representatives of the various nations,[o] and at the forty-third session of the council some decrees were passed as to exemptions, simony, tithes, the life of the clergy, and other such subjects.[p] But it was found that the several nations were not agreed as to the changes which were to be desired; and Martin skilfully contrived to break up their alliance by treating separately with each for a special concordat.[q] When the French urged Sigismund to press for reformation, he reminded them that they had insisted on giving the election of a pope precedence over the question of reform, and told them that they must now apply to the pope, since his own authority in such matters had ended when the election was made.[r]

The Germans had presented two petitions for reform; among other points they urged that the cardinals should be fairly chosen from the various nations, and that their number should be limited to eighteen, or at the utmost should not exceed twenty-four.[s] They also desired that means should be provided for the correction of a pope, so that popes might be punished and deposed by a general council, not only for heresy, but for simony, or any other grave and notorious offence. On this it would seem that no new enactment was considered to be necessary.[t] Martin, however, put forth some proposals for a reform of the curia, in which, while he eluded some of the chief points in the German proposal,[u] he agreed that the number of cardinals should be reduced, so as not to exceed twenty-four, that a regard should be paid to their qualifications, and that the dignity should be distributed in fair proportions among the various nations.[x] He promised also an improved

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[m] Giesel. II. iv. 37.

[n] V. d. Hardt, vol. I. pt. xxiii.; iv. 1509.

[o] Ib. iv. 1492.

[p] Ib. 1535-10.

[q] Ib. 1512. The concordat with the Germans is in V. d. Hardt, vol. I. pt. xxiv.; that with the English in pt. xxv.; with the French, in vol. iv. 86, seqq. It does not appear what the concessions to the Spaniards were, ib. iv. 1513. See Hübler, 'Die Costanzer Reformation,' Leipz. 1867

[r] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1503; Gob. Pers. 345.

[s] V. d. Hardt, I. pt. xxii.; iv. 1493; Schröckh, 511-3; Hefele, vii. 333.

[t] V. d. Hardt, l. c., art. 13, p. 1008, 1033. There is a curious variation between a MS. at Vienna, which reads "Nihil respondit," and one at Gotha, which has "Non videtur, prout nec visum fuit multis nationibus, circa hoc aliquid novum statui vel decerni."

[u] Aschb. ii. 330

[x] V. d. Hardt, vol. I. pt. xxiii. art. 1.

disposal of his patronage, and a redress of various crying grievances. To the Germans the promise as to the cardinalate appeared to hold out an important boon; for the instances in which Germans had been admitted to that dignity were exceedingly rare;[y] but the hopes excited by Martin's concession were very imperfectly realized, as the number of German cardinals has never been great.[z]

Jan. 6, (?) 1418.

The Spaniards, in ridicule of the faintness with which reform was taken in hand, put forth a satirical 'Mass for Simony.' The piece was composed in the usual form of such services, and included prayers for the removal of the evil, with a lesson from the Apocalypse, descriptive of the woman sitting on the scarlet-coloured beast.[a]

The concordats into which Martin had entered did not find much acceptance with the nations for which they were intended. That with England appears to have passed without notice.[b] In France, although the kingdom was then in the depth of the weakness caused by internal discords and by the English invasion, the spirit of ecclesiastical independence, hallowed by the saintly renown of Louis IX., and strengthened by the policy of Philip the Fair, and by the ascendancy of later French sovereigns over the court of Avignon, was strongly manifested. The king was made to declare himself desirous to obey the council, but with the limitation "so far as God and reason would allow."[c] The concordat was rejected by the parliament of Paris; the principles of the Pragmatic Sanction were maintained; and the dauphin, who governed in his father's name, refused to acknowledge Martin, whose election he supposed to have been carried by the hostile influences of Germany and England, until after the pope's title had been examined and approved by the university of Paris.[d]

Among the subjects which engaged the attention of the council, was a book in which John Petit, a French Dominican, had some years before asserted the right of tyrannicide in justi-

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[y] Schmidt says (iv. 124) that the only German who had as yet been a cardinal was Conrad of Wittelsbach, archbishop of Mentz, whose promotion by Alexander III., in the year 1163, had been intended as a measure of annoyance against his sovereign, Frederick Barbarossa. (Ciac. i. 1083.) Other names of Germans in the time before the council of Constance may, however, be found in Chacon's index, t. iv.

[z] Schmidt, iv. 129.

[a] (c. xvii.) The 'Missa pro Simonia,' is in V. d. Hardt, iv. 1504.

[b] Milm. vi. 69. It is in V. d. Hardt, pt. xxv. The sixth article provides that some Englishmen, chosen indifferently with men of other nations, shall be employed in the offices of the curia.

[c] Lib. de l'Egl. Gall. ii. 599. March, 1418 (misprinted 1417 in the heading).

[d] Schröckh, xxxi. 521-3.

fication of the treacherous murder of the Duke of Orleans by John "the Fearless," duke of Burgundy.[e] Petit himself had died in 1410, and is said to have professed on his death-bed regret for the doctrines which he had published;[f] but his book had been examined, and eight propositions extracted from it had been condemned, by an assembly of theologians, canonists, and jurists, under the presidency of the bishop of Paris in 1414.[g]

Sess. xiii. June 15.

The matter was brought before the council of Constance in June, 1415, by Gerson, who had taken an active part in the earlier stages;[h] and it occupied much time, during which he and Cardinal d'Ailly exerted all their powers to obtain a condemnation of the atrocious opinions which Petit had enounced.[i] The contest was obstinately and hotly waged, with the pen as well as with the tongue; Petit's defenders were stigmatized as Cainites and heretics, while they retaliated by comparing Gerson to Judas, Herod, and Cerberus,[k] and by taunting him with favours which he had formerly received from the Burgundian family.[m] The influence in favour of Petit was so powerful, that his book escaped with the condemnation of only one especially outrageous proposition,[n] while his name was

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[e] For the murder, which took place in 1407, see Monstrelet, i. 210, seqq. Petit's vindication had been pronounced before the king, March 8, 1408, and may be found in Gerson's works, vol. v. 15, seqq., or in Monstrelet, i. 241, seqq. For the part which he had taken in the proceedings in the university as to the schism, see the Monk of St. Denys, b. xxvi. cc. 1, 2, 17, &c.

[f] Gerson, v. 168.

[g] Hefele, vii. 180. See on this affair, Gerson, vol. V, pt. ii.; Bulæus, v. 236, seqq.; 284, seqq.; D'Argentré, I. ii. 184, seqq.; for the sentence, Gerson, v. 322. The bishop of Arras remarks bitterly on the Paris condemnation. ib. 391.

[h] V. d. Hardt, iv. 331; Monstrelet, iii. 268; Schwab, 438, seqq.; 609, seqq. Gerson himself had, in earlier years, spoken of tyrannicide as lawful, quoting from Seneca, "Nulla Deo gratior victima quam tyrannus" (Consil. 7, Opp. iv. 624), and he was always opposed to the doctrine of passive obedience. But the murder of the Duke of Orleans had changed his opinion as to tyrannicide, which he had denounced in his treatise 'De Auferib. Papæ.' (ib. ii. 218.)

[i] D'Ailly was objected to as a judge, on the ground that he had shared in the Paris sentence. (V. d. Hardt, iv. 337.) He preached against Petit's doctrine, March 23, 1417 (ib. 1191-4; cf. 1087, 1091, &c.; Gerson, ii. 319-329, 330, 338, seqq.) The Dominicans pretended that the questions raised by Petit did not belong to faith, but to a cause of blood, and therefore were unfit to be treated by clergy. See against this, Gerson, ii. 326, 389.

[k] See two pieces in verse, 552, Gerson, v. 555-6.

[m] Ib. v. 745, B; Schwab, 610.

[n] "Quilibet tyrannus potest et debet licite et meritorie occidi per quemcunque vasallum suum vel subditum, etiam per insidias et blanditias vel adulationes, non obstante quocunque juramento, seu confœderatione facta cum eo, non expectata sententia vel mandato judicis cujuscunque." (V. d. Hardt, iv. 389, 439.) Nine other propositions had been presented to the council, but it evaded condemning them (ib. 451, 722, 725, 728; Gerson, v. 274). In them the word *tyrannus* does not seem to mean a sovereign, but one who gains a wrongful ascendency over a sovereign, and uses all practices against him—one who in any way has power, and who abuses it. Thus Petit justifies the murder, on the ground that the Duke of Orleans had compassed the king's death by magical arts (Gerson, v. 35, seqq.). He quotes

unmentioned in the censure; and even this sentence was afterwards set aside on the ground of informality.[o] July 6, 1415. It is noted that among the defenders of Petit's book was Peter Caucher, Vidame of Reims, who afterwards, as bishop of Beauvais, gained an infamous celebrity by his part in the condemnation of the Maid of Orleans.[p]

Another book, also written by a Dominican, John of Falkenberg, was brought before the council, on the ground that the author, who wrote in the interest of the Teutonic knights, had grossly attacked the king of Poland, and had declared it to be not only lawful, but highly meritorious, to kill him and all his people.[q] Before the election of Martin, this book had been condemned to the flames by the committee on matters of faith; but the sentence had not been confirmed in a general session, and the Poles found that Martin, although he had himself subscribed the earlier condemnation, was resolved as pope to do away with its effect. Being thus denied redress, they appealed to a general council, but Martin declared that no such appeal from a pope could be allowed.[r] On this Gerson put forth a tract in which the new pope's declaration was shown to be opposed to the principles on which the council had acted.[s] But Martin, whether acquainted with Gerson's tract or not, proceeded in direct opposition to his views. In answer to the allegations of the Poles, that the book contained "most cruel heresies," and therefore ought to fall under the censure of an assembly which had for one of its chief objects the extirpation of heresy, he declared that he approved of all that the council had done as to matters of faith. He enjoined silence on the complainants, under a threat of excommunication, and, although they still persisted, even to the last session of the council—styling Falkenberg's opinions a "doctrine of devils"—their struggles to obtain a condemnation were fruitless.[t]

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very strange authorities on a subject of Christian morality—including Aristotle, Cicero, and Boccaccio (ib. 27). For a comparison of Petit's propositions with Gerson's statement of them, see Schwab, 612-4: for a defence of Gerson against charges of misrepresentation brought by Leyser, a law-professor of Wittenberg, A.D. 1735, see ib. 644.

[o] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1513; Milm. v. 59.

[p] Martin, v. 555.

[q] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1531; Lenf. i. 211-2; Giesel. II. iii. 267-8; Schwab, 665; Hefele, vii. 343. Falkenberg had defended Petit with much asperity. See his tracts in Gerson, v. 1013, seqq.; Schwab, l. c.

[r] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1532; Giesel. II. iii. 267-8; Hefele, vii. 368-9.

[s] "An liceat a summo Pontifice appellare." Opera, ii. 303.

[t] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1551, 1555-60. In consequence of the manner in which the cases of Petit and Falkenberg were treated, the friars continued to assert the lawfulness of tyrannicide as a *probable* opinion. Giesel. II. iii. 268.

April 19, 1418.

At the forty-fourth session, Pavia was named as the place where the next general council should be held. The French representatives, who disliked this proposal, absented themselves from the meeting at which it was to be brought forward.[u]

The forty-fifth and last session was held on the 22nd of April, 1418, when the pope bestowed his absolution on all the fathers of the council, with their followers, and on all other persons who had been present on account of business connected with it.[x] The emperor had been rewarded for his labours by a grant of a year's ecclesiastical tithe from his dominions;[y] and, although some German churches engaged a Florentine lawyer, Dominic de Germiniano, to oppose this grant as informal, illegal, and oppressive, such was the ascendancy of the pope over the council that the advocate was fain to conclude his pleading with a proposal that the impost should be collected in a way less burdensome than that which had been originally intended.[z]

Although Sigismund had endeavoured to prolong the pope's stay in Germany, and the French had urged him to settle at Avignon, his answer to such solicitations had been that Rome and the patrimony of St. Peter required his presence.[a] On the 16th of May, he left Constance with a magnificent display of pomp. Arrayed in his most splendid robes of office, he rode under a canopy which was supported by four counts, while the emperor and the elector of Brandenburg walked beside him, and held his bridle on either side; Frederick of Austria, with other secular princes and nobles, twelve cardinals, and a vast train of ecclesiastics of all grades, followed; and it is said that the whole cavalcade amounted to 40,000.[b] The scene might be regarded as symbolical of the victory which the papacy had gained. The council which had deposed popes had been mastered by the pope of its own choosing; the old system of Rome, so long the subject of vehement complaint, had escaped untouched; and no mention had been made of any reform in doctrine.[c]

While the pope was thus triumphant, Gerson, the great theologian of the council, withdrew from it to obscurity and exile. Paris was in the hands of the English, and of the ferocious Duke of Burgundy, to whom he had made himself obnoxious. The

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[u] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1547-9.

[x] Ib. 1560.

[y] Jan. 26, 1418. Ib. 1509; ii. 589.

[z] V. d. Hardt, ii. 608; Giesel. II. iii. 43.

[a] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1580; Schröckh. xxxi. 530.

[b] Ulr. v. Reichenth. in Marmor, 144; V. d. Hardt, iv. 1582-3; Lenfant, ii. 258.

[c] Milm. vi. 70-1.

university of which he had been the glory, and which had sent him forth at the head of its representatives, could no longer receive him; and he was glad to accept an asylum from the Duke of Bavaria.[d] The offer of a professorship at Vienna drew from him a poem of thanks to Frederick of Austria;[e] but he remained in his seclusion until, after the death of the Duke of Burgundy in September, 1419, he removed to Lyons, where he spent the last ten years of his life in devotion, study, and literary labour.[f] The latest of his works was a commentary on the Canticles; and three days after having completed it he died, at the age of sixty-six, on the 12th of July, 1429.[g]

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[d] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1583-4.

[e] Opp. iv. 787; Schwab, 758.

[f] There are forty tracts, of greater or less size, which belong to the time of his residence at Lyons. C. Schmidt, in Herzog, v. 97.

[g] Ib., l. c. 98-9; Schwab, 772.

CHAPTER IX.

THE GREEK CHURCH — CHRISTIANITY IN ASIA — CONVERSIONS.

I. During the last period of the Byzantine empire, the relations of the Greek church with the papacy were mainly governed by political circumstances. The emperors, in their need of assistance against the Mussulmans, who pressed continually more and more on them, made frequent solicitations to the Christians of the west, and, in order to recommend their cause, they professed a zeal for the reconciliation of the churches. But in this they were supported only by a small courtly party, while the mass of the Greeks held the Latins in abomination;[a] and, as the material aid, for the sake of which the desire of unity had been professed, was not forthcoming, such concessions as were made by the emperors or their representatives were usually disavowed with abhorrence by their people. Such, as we have seen, had been the result of the reconciliation which had been formally concluded at the council of Lyons in 1274;[b] and, in their resentment on account of the subsequent breach, Benedict XI. and Clement V. encouraged Charles of Valois to assert by arms a claim to the throne of Constantinople, in right of his wife. Clement gave to the enterprise the character of a crusade, bestowed the privileges of crusaders on all who should take part in it, and assigned to Charles a tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues of France in order to furnish him with means. But nothing came of this project.[c]

A.D. 1306.

At a later time, Andronicus II., and his grandson of the same name (who, after having been his colleague, assumed the whole government in 1328[d]) were driven by fear of the Ottoman Turks to make overtures to the popes and to the western

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[a] Thus Petrarch testifies of them, "Constat quia nos canes judicant, et si loquendi libertas affuerit, canes vocant. Interfui ego solemni die, dum Romano ritu missa celebraretur. Græcus quidam, homo non illiteratus, sed multo maxime stultus atque arrogans, exclamavit, 'Ego non possum pati,' inquit, 'Latinorum nugas.'" Senil. vii. p. 912, ed. Basil.

[b] See vol. iii. pp. 477, 486.

[c] See above, pp. 10, 47; Raynald. 1304. 28-30; 1306. 2; 1307. 6, seqq.

[d] Niceph. Gregor. l. ix. 6-7; Gibbon, v. 114-8. For this part of the history, see Finlay, Gr. and Byz. Empires, b. iv. c. 11.

princes.[e] In 1333, the younger Andronicus sent a message to John XXII. by two Dominicans who were returning from the east; and in consequence of this, two bishops were sent from Avignon to the court of Constantinople.[f] But the Greeks, in distrust of the sophistical skill which they attributed to the western theologians, refused to have anything to do with what they styled the Latin novelties; and the mission had no effect.[g] In 1337, Benedict XII. wrote to Andronicus for the purpose of confirming him in his desire of ecclesiastical unity; and two years later, Barlaam, a Basilian monk of Calabria, who had acquired great favour in the Byzantine court, appeared at Avignon with a knight named Stephen Dandolo, bearing recommendations from the kings of France and Sicily.[h] The instructions of these envoys charged them to labour for the reunion of the churches, while the need of assistance against the Turks was mentioned as a secondary and comparatively trifling matter. But it was requested that the aid might be sent at once, because the emperor would be unable, so long as the war should last, to assemble the eastern patriarchs for the general council which was proposed as a tribunal for the decision of the questions by which east and west were divided.[i] Even the Jews, said Barlaam, although the most ungrateful of mankind, after having been miraculously fed by the Saviour, wished to make Him a king; and, in like manner, assistance of this kind would prepare the minds of the Greeks to welcome the proposals of religious union.[k] The pope, however, declined the project of a general council, on the ground that the doctrine of the Holy Spirit's procession had already been settled by some of the greatest councils—even including (he said) the general council of Ephesus—and that he could not allow it to be again brought into question.[m] The proposal of a compromise, by which each party should for the present be allowed to hold its own opinions, was rejected, on the ground that the faith of the Catholic Church could be but one.[n]

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[e] Raynald. 1324. 39; Allatius de Eccl. Occid. et Orient. perpetua Consensione, l. ii. c. 16; Schröckh, xxiv. 371.

[f] Niceph. Gregor. x. 8; Rayn. 1333. 17, 19; 1334. 1, seqq.

[g] Nic. Greg. l. c. (who makes himself the hero of the affair); Rayn. 1334. 5.

[h] Bened. XII. in Allatius de Eccl. perp. Cons. 787, seqq.; Rayn. 1339. 19, seqq.; Migne, Patrol. Gr. cli. 1331. Nicephorus Gregoras, who had been in controversy with Barlaam, describes him as acquainted with Latin theology, but knowing nothing of Greek beyond a smattering of secular literature. XI. x. 1; XIX. i. 4.

[i] Barl. in Migne, Patrol. Græc. cli 1334-5; Gibbon, vi. 214; Giesel. II. iii. 362.

[k] Barl. in Migne, Patr. Gr. cli. 1335.

[m] Bened. in Rayn. 1339. 25, 32, 34; Migne. l. c. 1337. The reference to the council of Ephesus may have meant that that council forbade the composition of new creeds. (Can. 7.)

[n] Rayn. 1339. 26; Migne, 1337.

Other expedients suggested by Barlaam found no greater favour; nor was any hope of aid held out, except on condition that the Greeks should first renounce their errors, and should send some of their number to be instructed in the west.[o]

Barlaam, on returning to the east after this fruitless mission, became involved in a strange controversy with some monks of Mount Athos and their supporters. These monks, who were styled Hesychasts (or quietists) imagined that by cultivating an ascetic repose they might attain to behold the light of the Godhead. They are described as fixing their gaze on the central part of their own persons, in the hope that through the contemplation both their spiritual and their bodily eyes would be enlightened by the divine radiance.[p] Barlaam, it is said, designedly chose out one of the more simple monks, whom the imperial chronicler John Cantacuzene describes as little superior to an irrational animal, and, by affecting the character of a disciple, drew from him answers which showed a very gross apprehension of spiritual things; whereupon he denounced the whole community, as if the views in question were shared by all its members.[q] At Thessalonica, where he first broached the subject, he was confronted by Gregory Palamas, a monk of Mount Athos, who enjoyed an extraordinary reputation for ascetic sanctity;[r] and, having fled in fear[s] of the rabid monks to Constantinople, where he persuaded the patriarch John to assemble a synod[t] for the consideration of the question, he there again found Palamas his opponent.[u] The question of the light which the mystics of Mount Athos supposed themselves to see brought on a discussion as to the light which shone around the Saviour

A.D. 1341.

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[o] Migne, 1338; Giesel. II. iii. 364.

[p] Simeon Xerocercus in Allat. de Eccl. Occid. et Orient. perp. Consens. 829; Rayn. 1341. 71; Mosh. ii. 705. Gieseler refers to Kämpfer and to Bernier for evidence of like practices in Siam and in India. (II. iii. 368.) On the controversies arising out of this, see Petav. Theol. Dogm. l. 1. cc. 12-3.

[q] Joh. Cantac. ii. 39, p. 329, ed. Paris, 1645. Barlaam derided the monks as ὀμφαλοψύχοι, Messalians, &c. (J. Cant. p. 320.) See Philotheus (patriarch of Constantinople), in Migne, Patrol. Gr. cli. 585; Tom. Synodic. ib. 680.

[r] J. Cantac. ii. 39, pp. 330-2; Philotheus, in Migne, Patrol. Gr. cli. 586, seqq. Palamas was afterwards appointed archbishop of Thessalonica, but was refused by the people, and was obliged to withdraw to Lemnos. (Joh. Cantac. iv. 15.) For his miracles, Philoth. 636, seqq. But, although regarded as a saint by some Greeks, he is violently reprobated by others, whose opinions are collected by Allatius, Græcia Orthod. i. 756, seqq.; cf. De Eccl. Perp. Consensu, 803-821. Palamas accused Barlaam of dishonest tricks. (Theophanes, in Migne, Patr. Gr. cl. 913.) Nicephorus Gregoras is strongly against Palamas, and describes his partisans as ignorant, furious, and immoral. XVIII. i. 3-5; ii. 4; iii. seqq.

[s] Nic. Greg. XI. x. 3.

[t] This has been reckoned by some Greeks as the IXth general council. Petavius, i. 85.

[u] Philoth. 506, seqq., in Migne, cli. Palamas and other opponents of Barlaam are in the same volume. Cf. Nic. Greg l. c. (ib. cxlviii.).

at His transfiguration. This light Palamas maintained to be uncreated;[x] while Barlaam argued that, if so, it must be God, forasmuch as God alone is uncreated. But, he continued, since no man hath seen God at any time, the Hesychasts must hold the existence of two Gods—the one, the invisible maker of all things; the other, the visible and uncreated light.[y] The decision of the council was adverse to Barlaam, who, according to John Cantacuzene, when he saw that the case was going against him, consulted the grand domestic (Cantacuzene himself), acknowledged himself to have been in error, and was joyfully embraced by Palamas.[z] But if this account be true, his submission must have been insincere; for he soon after removed to Italy, where he joined the Latin church, and wrote some letters in its behalf, which contrast strongly with his arguments of an earlier time as a champion of the Greeks.[a] Through the interest of Petrarch, whom he had assisted in the study of Plato,[b] he was promoted to the bishoprick of Gerace in 1312;[c] and his equivocal reputation as a divine is combined with a more creditable fame as one among the chief revivers of Greek letters in the west.[d]

The controversy begun by Barlaam was kept up by his pupil Gregory Acindynus;[e] but repeated judgments were pronounced against their opinions, and at a great synod, held at Constantinople in 1350, it was declared, with a show of patristic authority, that the light of Mount Tabor was uncreated, although not of the substance (*οὐσία*) of God,[f] while Barlaam and Acindynus were cut off from the body of the church, and were declared to be incapable of forgiveness after death.[g]

The death of Andronicus III., in 1341, left the empire to his son John Palæologus, a boy nine years old, who was under the guardianship of the grand domestic, John Cantacuzene.[h] After

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[x] Hagiorheticus, in Migne, Patr. Gr. cl. 1231; Theophanes, ib. 925, 928; Joh. Cantacuz. ii. 39, pp. 332-3; ii. 40, p. 334; Mosh. ii. 707.

[y] Joh. Cantac. p. 323; Palamas, in Patrol. Gr. cl. 928; Mansi, xxv. A.D. 1341.

[z] Joh. Cantac. ii. 30, p. 336. But the truth of this account seems very questionable. See Allatius de Eccl. Perp. Consensu, 830; Hefele, vi. 567.

[a] Patrol. Gr. cli. 1255, seqq.; Raynald. 1341. 73, seqq. Hence some (as Canisius (iv. 362) have fancied that there were two Barlaams. Allat. de Eccl. Perp. Cons. 810.

[b] Petr. Variar. Ep. 21, p. 1102.

[c] Ughelli, ix. 315.

[d] See below, c. XI. iv. 3.

[e] See his iambics against Palamas, Patrol. Gr. cl. 813.

[f] Mansi, xxvi. 127 seqq. (especially 139, 183); Philoth. in Patrol. Gr. cli. 600, seqq.; Tomi Synod. ib. 679-674; Gr. Acind. ib. 1191, seqq.; Joh. Cantac. ii. 40, p. 337; iii. 98; iv. 23; Giesel. II. iii. 370. Niceph. Gregoras, who took part against Palamas, is very full on this (xviii. 6–xxi.) and complains that his party was unfairly treated. As to Gregoras, see Joh. Cantac. iv. 21.

[g] Mansi, xxvi. 191; Joh. Cantac. iv. 23.

[h] J. Cantac. ii. 2, p. 352; Nic. Grig. xii. 2-3; Gibbon, vi. 120.

a time Cantacuzene, alarmed by the intrigues of a party which included the empress-mother and the patriarch John of Apri, endeavoured to seize the empire, as the only means of securing his own safety;[l] but he was driven into exile, from which he delivered himself by the fatal measure of calling the Turks into Europe as his allies—giving his daughter in marriage to their leader, Orkan, on condition that she should be allowed to preserve her religion.[k] The empire was now shared by John Palæologus, his mother, Anne of Savoy, and Cantacuzene, who became the father-in-law of the young prince, and held the chief power in his own hands.[m] While Cantacuzene was in exile, the empress-mother had addressed a letter to Clement VI., expressing a strong desire to unite her subjects with the church in which she had herself been brought up, and entreating the pope to send her assistance in the mean time.[n] Cantacuzene now sent ambassadors to the court of Avignon; and the reception which they met with from Clement led him to believe that a reconciliation was certain, and that a crusade was to be undertaken in his behalf.[o] But, although he repeatedly protested to the envoys whom Clement sent to Constantinople that he would gladly give his life for the reunion of the churches, he declared that the guilt of the separation lay on the Latins, who had caused it by their innovations and assumptions; and that he would not submit his conscience to any less authority than that of a council fairly gathered from the whole church.[p] The pope is said by Cantacuzene to have expressed his willingness to try this course;[q] but the negotiation was broken off by the death of Clement,[r] and by the forced abdication of the emperor, who spent his last years as a monk on Mount Athos, where he employed himself in composing an uncandid history of his own time.[s]

Oct. 26, 1341.

Feb. 8, 1347.

May 21.

A.D. 1347.

A.D. 1347–50.

Jan. 1355.

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[l] See his chronicle, book iii.; Nic. Greg. xii. 11-2. Cantacuzene says that Andronicus had often urged him to become his colleague. (ii. 40, p. 337.) John had been made patriarch through the policy of Cantacuzene while grand domestic (ii. 21). He assumed the state of a pope and of an emperor (iii. 2, 36), but eventually was deposed, and became insane. iii. 99; iv. 3; Nic. Greg. xiv. 3.

[k] J. Cantac. iii. 63, seqq.; Nic. Greg. xiii. 1, seqq.; Gibbon, vi. 122-7. Ducas says that it was the empress-mother Anne who first invited the Turks, and that Cantacuzene, by the offer of his daughter, detached Orkan from the opposite party. (8-9.) The example of such dealings with the barbarians had been set by a rival politician, Apocauchus. (Nic. Greg. xiii. 8, seqq.)

[m] J. Cantac. iv. 1, 4; Nic. Greg. xviii.; Ducas, 10; Gibbon, vi. 126; Finlay, Gr. and Byz. Emp. ii. 517, seqq.

[n] J. Cantac. iii. 87.

[o] Ib. iv. 9.

[p] Ib. iv. 9, pp. 735-6; Rayn. 1350. 32, seqq.; Gibbon, vi. 217.

[q] J. Cantac. iv. 9, p. 737.

[r] Ib. iv. 10.

[s] Ib. 42; Ducas, c. 11, p. 21; Finlay, ii. 574. For the character of the book, see Gibbon, vi. 114; Finlay, ii. 511, 530.

Oct. 1369.

But John Palæologus, when thus rid of his guardian, was of all Greek emperors the most inclined to make concessions to Rome.[t] As the son of a western princess, whose influence over him still continued, he felt nothing of the bigoted prejudice with which the Greeks in general regarded the Latins; and his dangers both from the Turks and from Cantacuzene's son made him ready to seek for assistance from the west on any terms.[u] In 1355 he made overtures to Innocent VI., offering to send his son Manuel to the pope, to have him instructed in Latin under the superintendence of a legate, and to establish schools for teaching Latin to young Greek nobles; and promising, if he should fail as to any of these proposals, to abdicate in favour of his son, who should then be wholly under the control of the pope.[x] A Carmelite, Peter Thomasius, was thereupon sent to the Byzantine court, and made an easy convert of the emperor.[y] In 1366, John subscribed in Hungary a form of faith agreeable to that of the Latin church, and professed homage to the pope; he renewed his assurances to Urban V.;[z] and in 1369, while Constantinople was under siege by Amurath, the pope's return from Avignon was adorned by the presence of the eastern emperor as well as by that of the emperor of the west at Rome.[a] John acknowledged the Roman supremacy, and the double procession of the Holy Spirit; he did homage to the pope in St. Peter's by bending the knee, and by kissing his feet, hands, and mouth; he assisted at a mass celebrated by the pope;[b] and he performed that "office of a groom" which the Christians of the west had been persuaded to connect with the memory of Constantine the Great.[c] But all these compliances were ineffectual as to the object for which they were made. The pope's exhortations to the knights of Rhodes, to the king of Cyprus, to the Venetians and the Genoese, that they should help the emperor against the enemies of Christendom, were unheeded. It was in vain that John endeavoured to enlist the great condottiere Hawkwood in his service. He himself, on his way homewards, was arrested for debt at Venice; and he found himself at last obliged to conclude a humiliating treaty with the Turks.[d]

The advance of these assailants continued without check.

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[t] Gibbon, vi. 217.

[u] Allat. de Eccl. Perp. Cons. 843; Gibbon, vi. 217-8.

[x] Raynald. 1355. 34; Vita II. Innoc. VI. in Baluz. i. 348.

[y] Vita St. Pet. Thomas., Acta SS. Jan. 29.

[z] Baluz. i. 403.

[a] See above, p. 142.

[b] As it was not Christmas day, the privilege of reading the Gospel (see p. 260) did not come into question. See Gibbon, vi. 219.

[c] Wadding, 1369. 1, seqq.; Gibbon, vi. 218-19; Ffoulkes, ii. 307. (See vol. i. p. 75).

[d] Gibbon, vi. 219; Finlay, ii. 579.

In 1395, Bajazet, who from the brilliant rapidity of his movements acquired the name of Ilderim (or Lightning),[e] penetrated into Hungary, and boasted an intention of subduing Germany and Italy, and of feeding his horses with oats at the high altar of St. Peter's at Rome.[f] The princes and nobles of France were roused by an embassy from King Sigismund of Hungary to hasten to his aid against the infidel invaders; and a brilliant array of 100,000 men set out, vaunting that, if the sky should fall, they would support it on the points of their lances, and indulging in visions of carrying their victorious arms even to the deliverance of Jerusalem.[g] But the foolhardy confidence of these crusaders—their luxury, licentiousness, and want of discipline—proved fatal to the enterprise. Disdaining the advice of Sigismund, which was founded on his knowledge of the Turkish mode of warfare, they were utterly defeated at the battle of Nicopolis. Some of their leaders were slain; others, among whom was the count of Nevers (afterwards noted as Duke John the Fearless, of Burgundy), were made prisoners, and were detained for ransom, before the arrival of which not a few of them had perished under the cruel usage of their captors.[h] The failure of this expedition roused much indignation against the rival popes, whose pretensions distracted Western Christendom, and made any combined action of its nations impossible.[i]

A.D. 1396.

Sept. 28.

In 1391 John Palæologus was succeeded by his son Manuel, who was able to obtain the services of John le Maingre, one of the most distinguished soldiers in the late unfortunate crusade, and afterwards famous under the name of Boucicaut. By his advice, Manuel, who had already applied by letter both to Boniface IX. and to the French king,[k] undertook in 1400 a journey into Western Europe for the purpose of begging assistance.[m] Both in France and in England he was received with great honours;[n] but although Charles VI., in addition to be-

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[e] Gibbon, vi. 166. Chalcocondylas translates the word by λαίλαψ. 78.

[f] Froissart, xiii. 292; Gibbon, vi. 167.

[g] Froissart, xiii. 292-6; Monach. Sandionys. xvii. 22, seqq.; Juv. des Ursins, 124-6; Gibbon, vi. 167; Mailáth, ii. c. 19; Sismondi, xii. 72-6, 87-91.

[h] Mém. de Boucicaut, in Petitot, vi. 454, seqq.; Mon. Sandion. xvii. 27, seqq.; Juv. des Ursins, 126-7; Froiss. t. xiii. l. iv. 52, 55, 58; Chalcocondylas, l. ii. pp. 39-40, ed. Paris, 1650; Ducas, 13, p. 26; Phranzes, i. 14 (Patrol. Gr. clvi.); Gibbon, vi. 169-70; Aschbach, i. 98-105.

[i] Martin, v. 452.

[k] Juv. des Ursins, 139; Mon. Sandion. xviii. 8; Rayn. 1398. 40.

[m] Mém. de Boucic. 499, seqq.; Ducas, c.14; Mon. Sand. xx. 3; Chalcocondylas, l. ii. p. 44. This gives Chalcocondylas occasion to introduce some curious sketches of the western countries. See, *e. g.*, his account of Britain for the strange habits of promiscuous intercourse which he imputes to the English,—for London, the Thames and its tides, &c., l. ii. pp. 48-50.

[n] Mon. Sand. xxi. 1; Juv. des Ursins 143; Walsingh. ii. 247.

stowing a pension on him until his fortunes should improve,[o] promised him 1200 fighting men for a year,[p] and although Henry IV. vowed a crusade, and taxed his people as if for the relief of the Greek empire,[q] no effective aid was to be got. Manuel, by adhering to his own religion,[r] by refraining from all interference in the controversy between the popes, and by passing through Italy in the year of jubilee without visiting Rome, offended Boniface IX., who charged him with irreverence towards an image,[s] and discouraged the idea of assisting him. He had been forced to submit to terms dictated by Bajazet;[t] July 28, 1402. and but for the overthrow of that conqueror by Tamerlane, at the battle of Angora, while Manuel was yet in the west,[u] the fall of the Byzantine empire[x] would probably have been no longer delayed.

II. During this time there was frequent correspondence between the popes and the Armenian church, and projects of union were entertained with a view to an alliance against the Mussulman power.[y] But the Armenians failed to satisfy the popes entirely as to their orthodoxy; and the help which they obtained from the west was insufficient to protect them against their assailants. In 1367 Armenia fell under the yoke of the Mamelukes; and the Christians were soon after exposed to persecution at the hands of the conquerors.[z]

In other quarters also, where the Mahometans extended their conquests, the Christians suffered severely, and many were put to death for their religion,[a] while others apostatised.[b]

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[o] Mon. Sand. xxiii. 10.

[p] Boucic. 500.

[q] Rymer, viii. 174 (renewing an order of Richard II. two years earlier, ib. 82); Pauli, v. 64.

[r] Juvenal des Ursins says that at Paris the Greeks "faisoient le service de Dieu selon leurs manières et cérémonies, qui sont bien estranges, et alloit voir qui vouloit." (143.) Manuel went, however, to divine service with the French king, who was blamed by some for so associating with a schismatic. Mon. Sand. xxi. 8.

[s] Gibbon (vi. 222) suggests that this was probably a piece of sculpture, such as the Greeks were forbidden to venerate.

[t] Ib. 172.

[u] Ducas, 16; Chalcocondyl. l. iii. p. 82; Gibbon, vi. 190.

[x] It has been commonly supposed that the Greeks were represented by the archbishop of Kiew and others who appeared at the council of Constance in Feb. 1418 (V. d. Hardt, iv. 1511; Hefele, vii. 342). But in truth these had nothing to do with the Byzantine church or empire, and were sent by a prince of Lithuania who had become a convert to the Latin church. See Ffoulkes, ii. 314.

[y] *E.g.* Rayn. 1317.8, seqq.; 1321. 1, seqq.; Wadding, 1341. 2-3; Mansi, xxv. 655; Hefele, vi. 570.

[z] Giesel. II. iii. 371-8.

[a] Joh. Cantac. iv. 14-5. It was believed that the Jacobites were favoured because those of Egypt had the power of diverting the Nile from its course, and thus had a hold on the sultan of Egypt, and for his sake, as well as on account of the corn which that country exported, were treated with consideration by other Mahometan princes. Ib. 15.

[b] Giesel. II. iii. 378.

III. The period which we are surveying was disastrous for the Christianity of the further east. Although the popes continually flattered themselves with the hope of gaining the Mongols, who were now pushing their conquests far and wide,[c] these for the most part embraced the religion of Islam; and the hopes of conversion which from time to time were held out by the envoys of Asiatic princes, on condition of an alliance against their Mussulman or other enemies, invariably proved to be delusive.[d]

In China, where, as we have already seen,[e] the Franciscan John of Monte Corvino laboured until 1330, the propagation of the Gospel was carried on with much success, chiefly by other members of the same order.[f] But in 1369 the Chinese drove out the Mongols, and established a system of jealous exclusion of all foreigners; in consequence of which the Christianity of China soon became extinct.[g]

The great Asiatic conqueror Timour (or Tamerlane) appears to have observed an equivocal policy in matters of religion, and is described by some as friendly to Christians;[h] but, whatever his own belief may have been, he outwardly, and as a matter of policy, at least, conformed to Islam.[i] At the end of the period, a few scattered communities, chiefly Nestorian, were all that remained to represent the Christianity of Asia.

IV. In Europe the end of the fourteenth century witnessed the conversion of the last considerable people which had until then professed heathenism. Lithuania,[k] under its great prince Jagello, had by conquests from Russia become a kingdom in all but name. In 1382 Jagello, whose mother had been a Christian, made proposals of marriage to Hedwig, who by the death of her father, Louis, king of Hungary and Poland, had become heiress of the latter kingdom. He offered that he and all his people

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[c] *E. g.* Rayn. 1318. 1, seqq.; 1333. 31, seqq.; 1310. 75, seqq. Wadding is full as to the share taken by the Franciscans; and there is a collection of letters in the appendix to Mosheim's Hist. Eccl. Tartarorum.

[d] Giesel. II. iii. 358.

[e] Vol. iii. p. 348.

[f] Joh. Vitodur. in Eccard, i. 1895-7; Wadding; Mosh. Hist. Eccl. Tart. 111, seqq.; Acta. There were some Englishmen among these missionaries. Mosh. 112-3, 131.

[g] Schröckh, xxx. 525.

[h] Antonin. 454. See Th. Niem, ii. 29, 30; iii. 42.

[i] Mosh. Hist. Tart. 116-29; Schröckh, xxx. 526. There is a letter of Henry IV. congratulating Timour on his victory over Bajazet; and in other letters there is frequent mention of an Englishman, named John Greenlaw, as "archbishop of the east." Pauli, v. 65.

[k] As to earlier dealings with this country, see Rayn. 1323. 19; 1324. 45, seqq. It was said that the Teutonic order cared more for getting tribute from their neighbours as heathens than for converting and emancipating them. Joh. Vitodur. 1871.

should be baptised, and that his territories should be united with Poland. The advantages of this arrangement outweighed both the contract into which she had already entered with an Austrian prince, and her personal dislike of Jagello.[m] Jagello was baptised by the name of Ladislaus.[n] Bishopricks were established at Wilna and in seven other towns; and the king set vigorously about the fulfilment of his promise as to the conversion of his people. These were at first unwilling to change their religion; but when they saw temples and altars overthrown, the sacred groves cut down, and the serpents which had been objects of worship killed, their faith in their old gods was shaken, and they rushed to be baptised in such multitudes that it was found necessary to lead them in companies to the bank of the river, where a whole band was sprinkled at once, and all the members of it received the same baptismal name.[o] Ladislaus himself travelled about the country, teaching the Lord's Prayer and the Decalogue; and the work of conversion was forwarded by the white woollen dresses, of Polish manufacture, which were bestowed on the neophytes.[p] Although, however, the profession of Christianity thus became general in Lithuania, Æneas Sylvius cites a Camaldolese monk, named Jerome of Prague, who visited the country in the beginning of the fifteenth century, as testifying that the worship of fire and of serpents was still widely kept up in it.[q]

The conversion of the Finns and of the Laplanders is also referred to this period; but it would seem to have hardly reached more deeply than to the reception of baptism, and of the priestly benediction in marriage.[r]

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[m] Rayn. 1382. 26; 1386. 11; Schröckh, xxx. 493-4.

[n] Rayn. 1386. 4.

[o] Raynald. 1387. 15; Schröckh, xxx. 491-5. See above, vol. ii. 466.

[p] Rayn. 1387. 15; Schröckh, xxx. 491-6. See vol. ii. p. 392.

[q] De Europa, c. 26, pp. 417-8.

[r] Schröckh, xxx. 499.

CHAPTER X.

SECTARIES — MYSTICS.

I. While the church was agitated by the reforming movements of Wyclif and Hus, some of the older parties which had incurred its condemnation continued to exist, and to draw on themselves fresh censures and penalties.

The Cathari, although almost extinguished in southern France by the wars of the thirteenth century, and by the relentless vigilance of the inquisition,[a] were very numerous in Bosnia and the neighbouring regions;[b] and the popes found little inclination on the part of successive kings of Hungary to exert themselves for the suppression of the sect.[c]

The Waldenses also, as appears from the records of the inquisition of Toulouse, were among the victims of that tribunal.[d] They are found in other parts of France,[e] as also in Germany, where many of them suffered death as heretics;[f] and it appears to have been in the beginning of this time that they made their way in considerable numbers into the valleys of Piedmont,[g] where fanciful history and impossible etymology represent them as having lived even from the time of the apostles.[h] In the years 1402-3, the famous Spanish Dominican

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[a] Giesel. II. iii. 301. See the 'Liber Sententiarum Inquisitionis Tolosanæ, 1307-23,' annexed to Limborch's 'Hist. Inquisitionis.' The Cagots, in a letter addressed to Leo X., in 1514, claimed to be descended from the Cathari. Giesel. l. c.

[b] Of this sort were perhaps the heretics in Austria who are mentioned by John of Winterthur, in Eccard, i. 1834. Many of them were burnt.

[c] Rayn. 1340. 73, &c.; Giesel. II. iii. 301-2.

[d] See, for the cases of Waldenses, as distinguished from others, the table opposite p. 1 of the Lib. Sentent.; and Maitland, 'Facts and Documents,' 218.

[e] Gregory XI. complains of them to the king of France as existing in Dauphiny, Savoy, &c., and as favoured by the nobles. Rayn. 1373. 20; 1375. 26; Wadd. 1375. 12, seqq.

[f] Giesel. II. iii. 303-4; Mailáth, i. 192.

[g] Giesel. 303. The first mention of them in the diocese of Turin is in a decree of Otho IV. A.D. 1198, authorising the bishop to extirpate these "tares;" but it does not appear in what part of that large diocese they were. There are some traces of them in the same region during the thirteenth century, and in 1312 they were numerous in certain valleys—their "chapters" being sometimes attended by 500 persons. (Herzog, xvii. 516.) In 1332, John XXII. complains that they had killed a parish-priest whom they suspected of having given information against them to the inquisitor, and had besieged the inquisitor himself in a castle. Wadd. 1332. 6.

[h] See vol. iii. 198-9.

Vincent Ferrer was employed in that region for the conversion of the sectaries, among whom he says that there were Cathari as well as Waldenses;[l] but, although his eloquence is said to have been accompanied by miraculous circumstances—that the most distant persons in his audience heard him as distinctly as the nearest, and that his preaching was understood by all, although they might be ignorant of the language in which he spoke—its force was not sufficient to root out the opinions against which it was directed.[k] There was much persecution of the Waldenses in Northern Italy during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and in consequence of this many fled to Apulia and Calabria,[m] where their settlements continued to exist, until in 1560 they were exterminated by a massacre which is one of the blackest crimes connected with the suppression of the reformation in Italy.[n]

II. Other parties of separatists from the church were spoken of under the general name of Beghards, which in Italy, Spain, and southern France, commonly designated Fraticelli,[o] but in Germany and Flanders the sectaries of the "Free Spirit."[p] Of these Cologne was the chief seat, and many of them suffered there[q] and in other towns of the Rhine country.[r] The secret

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[l] Acta SS. Apr. V. 480; Rayn. 1403. 24. Vincent Ferrer was born in 1357, died in 1419, and was canonised by Pius II. in 1458. Acta SS. 479, 525.

[k] The miracle as to language is variously related. Nicolas of Clemanges says that Vincent (whose piety he highly extols) immediately on landing in Italy, spoke Italian like a native, and that while speaking in Italian he was understood by persons who knew nothing of the language. (Ep. 113.) But, according to his biographer in the Acta SS. (c. 14) he always preached in his native tongue, which persons unacquainted with it heard as if it were their own. (The like is related of St. Antony of Padua, Hist. Litt. xxiv. 105.) To a reader who looks slightly at Vincent's sermons, one of the most striking things is the coolness with which he passes off legendary matter—or possibly his own inventions—as if they were authentic scripture. Thus, in a sermon on the institution of the Lord's Supper, we read—"Et communicavit seipsum, sicut sacerdos se communicat, deinde alios; nec frangendo placentulam frangebatur corpus Christi sicut modo frangitur imago in fractione speculi. Deinde communicavit apostolos, dicens, 'Accipite et manducate, hoc est corpus meum.' 'Domine,' dixit Petrus, 'iste panis est corpus vestrum?' 'Petre,' dixit Christus, 'non est panis, sed est corpus meum; ideo communica.' Dixit Petrus postquam communicavit, 'O Domine, iste cibus me confortavit totum, et animam meam illuminavit.' Tunc dixit Christus sibi, 'Ego do vobis potestatem idem faciendi.' Communicavit etiam Judam, &c." (Sermones, Pars Hyemalis, 724, ed. Antv. 1572.) In the next sermon there is a very strange narrative as to the Blessed Virgin and the preparations for the Last Supper.

[m] Herzog, xvii. 517-8.

[n] Giesel. III. i. 511.

[o] Giesel. II. iii. 301-5; Eymeric, 281, 441; Liber Sentent. 298, &c. See Mosheim de Beghardis, c. iv. Wadding labours anxiously, but in vain, to deny the Franciscan origin of the Fraticelli, *e. g.* 1317. 25-45.

[p] J. Vitodur. in Eccard, i. 1906; Rayn. 1312. 17, seqq.; Mosh. de Begh. 254, seqq.; Giesel. II. iii. 306, 223. For the sect of the Free Spirit, see vol. iii. 569.

[q] J. Vitodur. 1811.

[r] Mosh. de Begh. 270, 295, seqq.; Giesel. II. iii. 305-7. See as to Count

progress of their pantheistic and immoral doctrines was favoured by the difficulty of distinguishing between such Beghards and the harmless devotees who were confounded with them under a common name; while the more dangerous class studied to conceal their peculiarities by affecting a likeness, in dress and manners, to those Beghards and Béguines whom the popes by repeated declarations endeavoured to preserve from molestation.[s] The name of Lollards, which eventually marked the followers of Wyclif, is found as early as 1309, when it seems to be applied to the sect of the Free Spirit in Holland and Brabant,[t] and was used indifferently with that of Beghard.[u] Another name given to sectaries of the same kind was that of Turlupins; those who were so styled in the Isle of France, about the year 1372, are described as having held that nothing which is natural is matter for shame;[x] and a woman of the sect, Mary of Valenciennes, is spoken of by Gerson as having written a book "with almost infinite subtlety" on the text, "Have charity, and do what thou wilt."[y]

III. The popes laboured to secure the co-operation of the secular power for the suppression of heresy. We have seen how, in a former age, the Emperor Frederick II. attempted to rescue his own reputation for orthodoxy by the severity of his laws and proceedings against sectaries;[z] and in other cases the opposite motive of a desire to stand well with the papacy led to a course which was practically the same. Thus the Emperor Charles IV., in the code which has from him the name of *Carolina*, ordered that obstinate heretics should be put to death, and that receivers of heretics should forfeit their property; but the opposition of the Bohemians was so decided that these severe laws could not be put into execution.[a]

The inquisition was now extended in Germany, France,

Ulric of Schaumburg, a great Austrian noble who belonged to this sect, Mailáth, i. 162. A bishop of Magdeburg, having discovered some women "de alto Spiritu" in 1336, imprisoned them for a short time, and having thus brought them to recant, set them at liberty. Mosh. 298.

[s] See vol. iii. p. 568; Giesel. II. iii. 220, 222, 306.

[t] See above, p. 220; Giesel. III. ii. 221.

[u] Mosh. 279.

[x] "De nulla re naturaliter data erubescendum esse." Gerson, Serm. de S. Ludov. Opp. iii. 1345; cf. De Exam. Doctrin. ib. i. 19; Bayle, art. *Turlupins*; Mosh. 413, 416, seqq.

[y] "Adducens pro se illud ab apostolo [?] sumptum—*Charitatem habe, et fac quod vis.*" (Gers. De libris caute legendis. Opp. i. 55.) A party in Ireland, A.D. 1335, is said to have maintained that Christ suffered for his own sins, and to have denied the authority of the pope and the virtue of the sacraments. Theiner, Monum. 269, 299.

[z] Vol. iii. p. 397.

[a] Schröckh, xxxiii. 466-7.

Spain, Poland, and other countries.[b] Boniface VIII. had endeavoured to regulate its proceedings, and Clement V., at the council of Vienne, found himself obliged to admit that in many cases the inquisitors had given just cause of complaint. He therefore decreed that the bishops should be associated with these, who had until then been independent of the episcopal power; and while each of the orders was authorised to proceed in some respects without reference to the other, the co-operation of both orders was in some cases required.[c] In some countries, such as England, however, the inquisition was never able to establish itself;[d] and elsewhere, as in the south of France, it found itself hampered by the unwillingness of the secular authorities to assist, by their interference with its sentences, or even by their direct opposition.[e] To the questions of heresy which had engaged the labours of the inquisitors, was added in Germany the duty of inquiring into the practice of witchcraft.[f] The belief and the fear of this unhallowed art became rife,[g] and secular authorities, as well as those of the church, concerned themselves with discovering and punishing those who were supposed to be guilty of it.[h] Multitudes of wretches suffered in consequence—many of them after having confessed the commission of monstrous and impossible crimes.[i] One writer

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[b] Schröckh xxxiii. 472. Among the books destroyed by inquisitors were poems of the Carolingian cycle, in which the clergy were satirised. Hist. Litt. xxiv. 97.

[c] Clementin. V. iii. 1.

[d] See a letter from Benedict XII. to Edward III. in Rayn. 1335. 60.

[e] Martin, V. 309. Eymeric gives forms for excommunication of secular officials who abet heretics or refuse to aid the inquisition; also a form of interdict on the places where such persons have authority. 396, seqq.; 560-2.

[f] Eymeric. 335; Glossa Archidiac. in VI. Decret. ib. 202; Schröckh, xxxiii. 168; see Janus, 275, seqq.

[g] Nic. de Clemangis, de Studio Theol. in D'Achery, i. 479; W. Nang. contin. ib. iii. 81; Gerson, i. 210, seqq.

[h] Hase, 337. It is not clear whether we should range under the head of heresy or under that of witchcraft the fate of Cecco [*i. e.* Francis] of Ascoli; who, in 1327, was burnt at Florence by the inquisition, for a tract, in which he applied principles of fatalism, derived from astrology, to the coming of antichrist and of the Saviour. (G. Villani, x. 39.) Sometimes the aid of sorcery was called in for purposes which in themselves were lawful. A council at Langres directs that people should be taught that a good object, such as recovery of a child's health, or of stolen things, as church-plate, &c., does not excuse resort to unhallowed arts. (Rayn. 1404. 22.) See as to the pretensions, failure, and punishment of two persons, professedly Austin friars, who undertook to cure Charles VI. of his madness, Monach. Sandionys. xviii. 2; xix. 10; Juv. des Ursins, 136.

[i] For instance, a woman who was burnt at Toulouse in 1275 confessed "se multoties rem veneream cum Sathana habuisse, et ex eo monstrum peperisse, cujus caput erat lupinum, cauda serpentina, et reliquæ partes corporis similes membris hominis; illudque monstrum nutrivisse per duos annos carnibus infantum anniculorum, quos nocte furabatur, et post duos illos annos monstrum illud aufugisse, et visum amplius non fuisse; se monstruosum hunc partum edidisse anno ætatis 53, quo tempore vidua erat." (Chron. Will. Bardin, in Hist. de Langued. t. iv. Preuves, col. 5.) There is curious matter in the proceedings against Dame Alice Kyteler by the bishop of Ossory, 1324 (published by the Camden Society).

reckons the number of sorcerers who were burnt within a century and a half at 30,000, or more, and believes that but for this wholesome severity the entire world would have been ruined by magical practices.[k]

IV. The practice of associating for penitential flagellation, which had been suppressed in the thirteenth century on account of the fanatical excesses connected with it,[m] was still revived from time to time. In seasons of public calamity, when trust in the ordinary resources of the church was shaken, this practice was again and again taken up by multitudes as a more powerful means of propitiating the wrath of heaven.[n] The appearance of a flagellant party after the ravages of the Black Death, and the condemnation of flagellancy by Clement VI., have been already related.[o] One Conrad Schmidt, a Thuringian, on finding the principle of flagellation thus discountenanced by the church, developed it into a system hostile both to the clergy and to their doctrines.[p] He taught that flagellation was a baptism of blood; that it superseded the sacraments and other rites of the church, which were said to be ineffectual on account of the vices of the clergy; that salvation was possible for such persons only as should flog themselves at the least on every Friday at the hour of the Saviour's passion; that this was the new faith which saved all, whereas the old faith of the Gospel condemned all; that the Saviour, by changing water into wine, had signified that in the last days the baptism of water was to be superseded by the baptism of blood.[q] The party claimed to represent the Flagellants of sixty years before, from which time it was that they supposed the ministry and sacraments of the church to have lost their power. They had wild prophetical fancies—that Conrad Schmidt himself and one of his associates, who was burnt as a heretic, were Enoch and Elijah—the souls of those ancient saints having been infused into them at their birth; and that at the last day, which was fixed for the year 1364, Schmidt was to be the judge of the quick and the dead. With these and other strange opinions were combined the principles of dissimulation and evasion which are imputed to many kinds of sectaries; the Flagellants were confounded with other parties under the general name of Beghards; and their

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[k] Paramus, Inquis. Sicula, quoted by Rayn. 1404. 23.

[m] See vol. iii. p. 455.

[n] Schröckh, xxxiii. 447; Giesel. II. iii. 313.

[o] pp. 121-5.

[p] Th. Vrie, in V. d. Hardt, i. 86; Giesel. II. iii. 316-7.

[q] Gobel. Pers. 336; Giesel. II. iii. 317.

rule required them to conform outwardly to the church, and to punish themselves by stripes in secret for this compliance.[r]

In 1372, Gregory XI. instructed an inquisitor in Germany that these people should be treated as heretics on account of their denial of the sacraments;[s] and this order was carried out at various times by burning many of them. Perhaps the most remarkable persecution was that of 1414, when about ninety of Schmidt's adherents were burnt at Sängershausen in Thuringia, and many others in other German towns.[t]

In Italy also the same fanaticism appeared from time to time.[u] And in 1399 a great movement—excited by two priests who are variously described as having come from Spain, from Provence, and from Scotland—began in Lombardy, whence it proceeded southwards to Florence, Rome, and Naples. The penitents professed to have received a revelation from the Blessed Virgin that her Divine Son's wrath was provoked by the sins of mankind. They were dressed in white, and the numbers of their various companies, in which persons of all ranks were mixed, are reckoned at from 10,000 to 40,000. They chanted the *Stabat Mater* with vehement supplications for mercy; they declined all sustenance except bread and water, fasted much, and refused to make use of beds during the time of their pilgrimage. When one company had finished its devotions at Rome, it was succeeded by another. Multitudes were drawn to join the penitents; there was a profuse show of contrition in confessing of sins, enemies were reconciled, and in other ways there was much amendment of life. But Boniface IX. condemned the movement as being opposed to the discipline of the church; and its good effects soon passed away.[x]

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[r] Th. Vrie, in V. d. Hardt, i. 86-7, 126; Gobel. Pers. 336; Förstemann, 163; Giesel. II. iii. 319. One odd precept was that the best way of giving alms was in the shape of *hot* bread (Genes. xviii. 6!). Giesel. II. iii. 318.

[s] Rayn. 1372. 33.

[t] Th. Vrie, in V. d. Hardt, i. 126 (where, after the church had complained of the Flagellants, the Saviour is represented as consoling her by mentioning these burnings); Gobel. Pers. 337; Giesel. II. iii. 318.

[u] *E. g.* Murat. Antiq. Ital. vi. 479; Cron. di S. Miniato, in Baluz. Misc. i. 458 (A.D. 1311). Innocent VI. wrote in 1361 to the archbishops of Benevento, Naples, and Salerno about a similar movement. Theodoric of Niem connects the movement with some 'trufatores' who found their way from Scotland to Italy, where they made crucifixes sweat by tricks, and drew many persons into fanaticism which ended in licentiousness. One of them was burnt at Acquapendente, and the others contrived to escape. ii. 26. See Murat. Ann. VIII. ii. 335.

[x] Storia di Parma in Murat. xii. 752; Annal. Mediol. ib. xvi. 832; Annal. Bergom. ib. 917-21; Sozom. Pistoriensis, ib. 1168; Chron. Placent. ib. 559; Chron. Patav. ib. xvii. 1166-8; Leon. Aret. ib. xix. 919; Chron. Aquit. in Murat. Antiq. vi. 861; Antonin. 445; Platina, 277; Walsingh. ii. 242-3; Raynald. 1400. 5; D'Argentré, I. ii. 157; Förstemann, 104, seqq. Muratori is very

About the same time there was a fresh outbreak of flagellation in Flanders,[y] and Henry IV. of England issued a proclamation by which it was ordered that, if any of the party should arrive in an English port, they should not be suffered to land.[z]

A few years later, St. Vincent Ferrer appeared as the leader of a party of Flagellants;[a] and from the fact of his countenancing such a movement we may infer that it was free from the fanatical excesses, and from the enmity to the clergy, which had marked the Flagellants of earlier days. He seems, however, to have been convinced by the arguments of Gerson, and he wrote to the council of Constance that he submitted to the authority of that assembly in all things, and abandoned the manner of devotion which had been called in question.[b]

V. Very different in character from these wilder movements was the mysticism which now appeared as prevailing widely in Germany. The origin and growth of this may be in no small degree referred to the peculiar troubles of the time. The clergy sank in estimation, and hence many persons of a religious disposition, as well as others, became inclined to disparage the outward forms of religion. The abuse of the sentence of interdict, which was now often pronounced for reasons merely political—a sentence which involved multitudes of innocent persons in suffering for the alleged guilt of their superiors, and

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favourable to these penitents, and traces to them and to the earlier Flagellants some confraternities which continued to exist in his own time. Antiq. Ital. vi. 474, 479-82; Annal. VIII. ii. 331-5.

[y] Corn. Zantfliet, in Martene, Coll. Ampl. v. 358.

[z] Lingard, iii. 464.

[a] See Förstem. 147.

[b] Gerson, ii. 658, 660; P. de Alliaco, ib. 659; Giesel. II. iii. 319; Förstem. 148-152, 158; Heller, in Herzog, art. *Ferrer.* Vincent was invited to the council, partly on account of this question, and partly in the hope of using his influence over Benedict XIII., but he did not attend it in person. (Schwab, 709.) Gerson pays him the compliment of saying that his name and his spiritual conquests seem to show that he is figured by him who in the Apocalypse (vi. 2) is described as riding on a white horse, "et data est ei corona, et exiit vincens, ut vinceret." (ii. 658.) Somewhat akin to the practices of the Flagellants was the "dancing mania" which broke out in 1374. At Aix-la-Chapelle and elsewhere, men and women, holding each other by the hands, danced and leaped until they were exhausted—calling, it is said, on names of devils, "videlicet *Friskes* et similia." At Liége, the common people believed this to be a judgment because they had been badly baptized by concubinary priests, against whom they were about to direct their vengeance; but the clergy had recourse to exorcisms, by which the dancers were brought to a right mind, and accounted for their leaping by saying that they had fancied themselves in a river of blood; whereupon the clergy were more honoured than before. (Pet. Herentals, in Baluz. Vitæ Pap. Aven. i. 481-5; Herm. Corn. in Eccard, ii. 1126; Förstem. 224; cf. C. Zantfliet, in Mart. Coll. Ampl. v. 301.) This dancing was called after St. Vitus, because, on a renewal of it at Strasburg, in 1418, the affected persons were carried for cure to two chapels in the neighbourhood, dedicated to that saint. Giesel. II. iii. 282; Hecker, Epidem. of Middle Ages, tr. by Babington, ed. 3. 74-84; Förstem. 235.

which, by denying the ordinary means of grace, drove the awakened cravings of the soul to seek for sustenance elsewhere—contributed greatly to foster the mystic tendency. And the expectation that the end of all things would speedily come, the eager study of such prophecies as those of St. Hildegard and Abbot Joachim, the readiness to believe in visions and new revelations, affected the mind in a similar way.[c]

Some of these mystics styled themselves "Friends of God"—a name derived from the Saviour's words "Henceforth I call you not servants; but I have called you friends."[d] They abounded chiefly on the Upper Rhine, especially at Basel and Strasburg; but they had also correspondence with brethren in Switzerland, at Cologne, and in the Low Countries.[e] It has been disputed whether the name designated an organised society, connected with the Waldenses or other sectaries who were avowedly separated from the church. But this idea seems to be now abandoned. The "Friends of God" were not a sect, although liable to be mistaken for sectaries, and involved by the vulgar in the general odium of Beghardism. The visions and revelations on which they relied[f] are foreign to the character of the Waldensian system.[g] While judging the clergy freely, they did not venture to question the doctrine of the church. They were devoted to the Blessed Virgin,[h] they reverenced saints and relics, they held the current belief in purgatory. Their love of symbolism enabled them to reconcile the ordinary faith and worship with the peculiarities of their own system, which they regarded as additional, but not contradictory, to that of the church.[i]

In this society were included monks and clergy, nobles, merchants, men and women of all classes, even down to tillers of the soil.[k] They had priests to administer the eucharist, but in other respects did not attach importance to ordination.[m] Thus Nicolas of Basel, a layman, who had founded the party, was regarded as its chief and as its most enlightened member;

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[c] Neand. ix. 550.

[d] Ib. 551. (S. Joh. xv. 15.)

[e] C. Schmidt, 'Die Gottesfreunde im XIV. Jahrhundert,' Jena. 1854.

[f] C. Schmidt's Tauler, 165, 168; Gottesfr. 13-4.

[g] Giesel. II. iii. 244-5, 251; Milm. vi. 374. This Schmidt acknowledges (Gottesfr. 7) after having maintained the opposite view in his book on Tauler (161, 194-5); and he gives up the distinction which he (Tauler, 27; cf. Hahn, ii. 356) formerly drew between the Friends who were in communion with the church and those whom he supposed to be sectaries.

[h] See the strange fanciful account of her devotions in Tauler's sermon on the Purification.

[i] Schmidt, Tauler, 166; Gottesfr. 8; Neand. ix. 554. See also Schmidt's article *Gottesfreunde*, in Herzog.

[k] Schmidt, Tauler, 169.

[m] Id. Gottesfr. 15-6.

and one of its characteristics was the principle of submission to certain men whose superior sanctity had raised them to the highest grade, and invested them with oracular authority, "as in God's stead."[n] The Friends, while professing to be purely scriptural, interpreted the Scriptures allegorically and mystically, and some parts of their system were concealed from the lower grades of believers by being disguised in a symbolical form.[o] They denounced the subtleties and the dryness of scholasticism, and regarded the mixture of philosophy with religion as pharisaical.[p] Their preachers were distinguished by the warmth, the earnestness, and the practical nature of their discourses; instead of contenting themselves, as was then common, with warning against the grossest sins by the fear of hell, they rather dwelt on the blessedness of heaven, and exhorted to the perfection of the Christian life, and to union with God.[q] The way, they taught, is entire resignation to the Divine will; if this were attained, men would pray neither for heaven nor for deliverance from hell, but for God Himself alone.[r] Hence they did not, like the monks, break away from their earthly ties, but regarded these as the providential conditions under which their work was to be carried on; and although some of them gave themselves to contemplation, the principle of resignation to God's will stimulated others to action, as they regarded themselves as His instruments.[s] It was held that the highest reach of love was to prefer the salvation of another to our own.[t]

On the same principle of resignation, it was taught that all temptations ought to be welcomed; even sensual temptations were to be regarded as a check on spiritual pride, and to be without temptation was a token of being forsaken by God.[u] All bodily discipline was represented as designed for spiritual purposes, and as marking a stage after passing through which such things would not be necessary for the believer. But sufferings of God's sending were always to be gladly accepted.[x]

The history of Nicolas of Basel, the founder of this remarkable society, is for the most part very obscure. He was a man of wealth, which he did not renounce, but devoted to religious purposes. He appears to have at first had four associates, and

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[n] Ib. 16-8. See Giesel. II. iii. 250; Neand. ix. 560; Schmidt's Tauler, 196.

[o] Schmidt's Gottesfr. 8, 15.

[p] Id. Tauler. 165.

[q] Neand. ix. 552.

[r] Schmidt, Tauler, 195; Gottesfr. 9.

[s] Ib. 9-11.

[t] Tauler, quoted by Schmidt, 166.

[u] Schmidt, Gottesfr. 12-3.

[x] Ib. 11-2; Neand. ix. 555, 590-1; Tauler, Predigten, i. 63, 108, ed. Kuntze, Berl. 1841-2 (a modernised edition).

eventually the number of those admitted to the highest grade was thirteen.[y] The chief seat of the association was a house built by Nicolas, on a mountain within the Austrian-Swiss territory;[z] and the inmates were not subject to any monastic rule. In 1377, when the return of Gregory XI. from Avignon appeared to open prospects of reform, Nicolas and one of his brethren repaired to Rome, and sought an interview with the pope, whom they urged to heal the evils of the church. On Urban's professing himself unequal to such a work, Nicolas threatened him with death within a year, and foretold the coming schism; and his predictions were, of course, fulfilled.[a] At length Nicolas, after many years of labour, was seized at a place called Vienne, near Poitiers, and was burnt as a Beghard.[b]

It was from the Dominican brotherhood that most of the great teachers of mysticism came forth.[c] The first of them, Henry Eckart, became provincial of the order for Saxony in 1304, and lived at Cologne.[d] With Eckart, the great object of endeavour is represented to be the union and identification of the soul with God, whom he speaks of as the only being. By contemplation, he says, the divine part of the soul may become one with God, and son to Him; the soul is transformed into God, even as the eucharistic bread and wine are changed into the body and blood of the Saviour.[e] The word which Eckart used to denote the desire of this union was *poverty*, by which was expressed the fact that man has nothing of his own;[f] in order to attain to the pure knowledge of God, all joy and fear, all confidence and hope, must be laid aside; for all these are of the creature, and are hindrances to union.[g] Eckart's mysticism was largely indebted to the works of the pretended Dionysius the Areopagite, and had much in common with Neoplatonism.[h] His language often runs into manifest Pantheism;[i] but, although in this respect he bears a likeness to the sectaries of

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[y] Schmidt, Gottesfr. 18.

[z] Ib. 18, and append. 176.

[a] Ib. 21-3, 178. Gregory is reported to have said, "If you could give the emperor as good counsels as you have given me, it would be of great benefit to Christendom."

[b] Giesel. II. iii. 198; Schmidt's Tauler, 198-205—on the authority of John Nieder, prior of the Dominicans at Basel, about 1430, and author of a book entitled 'Formicarius.'

[c] Pfeiffer, Die Deutschen Mystiker, Einleit. 9.

[d] Martensen, 'Meister Eckart,' Hamburg, 1832; Bach, 'Meister Eckhart, der Vater der deutschen Speculation,' Wien, 1861, p. 51. His writings are in vol. ii. of Pfeiffer's 'Deutsche Mystiker.'

[e] Giesel. II. iii. 245-6; Neand. ix. 571; Martensen, 9; Bach, 53.

[f] So Tauler's 'Nachfolgung des armen Lebens Christi' is founded on the idea of poverty.

[g] Martens. 37.

[h] Giesel. II. iii. 245.

[i] See passages quoted by Neand. ix. 569, and by Giesel. II. iii. 246.

the Free Spirit, he was in no way connected with them, but differed essentially from them in his ardent desire for the salvation of the soul, and in his freedom from the impurity which stained their teaching.[k] There was, however, enough to draw on him the suspicion of heterodoxy; and, after a previous examination by the authorities of his order in 1324, the matter was taken up by the archbishop of Cologne, who in 1327 censured twenty-eight propositions extracted from his writings.[m] These Eckart retracted in so far as they might be contrary to the doctrine of the church; but a more special retractation was required, and against this demand he appealed to the pope.[n] By this step he appears to have secured himself from further trouble, until his death in 1329;[o] but in that same year he was condemned by John XXII., as having held twenty-eight erroneous propositions.[p] It would seem, however, that the Dominicans exerted themselves in favour of his memory; for although the pope, in the following year, by the bull '*In agro Dominico*,' renewed his censure of the propositions, it may be supposed that by omitting to connect the name of Eckart with them, he intended (in so far as retractation was possible for a pope), to withdraw the charge against him.[q]

Notwithstanding the suspicions which had been cast on Eckart's orthodoxy, his writings continued to be the chief study of the later mystics, among whom John Tauler was the most famous.[r] Tauler was born at Strasburg in 1290, and at the age of eighteen entered the Dominican order. He studied for some time at Paris, although it it not known whether it was from that university that he derived his degree of doctor in theology; and in the course of his studies he showed a preference for the mystical and spiritual writers—the pseudo-Dionysius, the school of St. Victor's, St. Bernard, and, above all, St. Augustine—over the scholastic authors who were then of greatest authority.[s] On returning to his native city he fell under the influence of Eckart and other mystics, which was then powerful

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[k] Giesel. II. iii. 245-8; Neand. ix. 572-9; Martens. 37; Bach, 57. Gieseler (p. 219) supposes that the sectaries of the Free Spirit took advantage of Eckart's fame to pass off in his name a book 'Of the Nine Rocks'—different from that of Rulman Merswin which is mentioned below.

[m] Giesel. II. iii. 247; Martensen, 12; Bach, 56.

[n] Bach, 56.

[o] Ib. 57.

[p] Rayn. 1329. 70-2.

[q] Giesel. II. iii. 219. Bach disagrees with this inference. 57.

[r] See C. Schmidt's 'Jo. Tauler von Strasburg,' Hamb. 1841, with the same writer's article *Tauler*, in Herzog's Encyclopaedia, and the Life prefixed to a translation of some of Tauler's sermons by Miss Winkworth, Lond. 1857. Tauler styles Eckart "der berühmte Lehrer Eccardus." Predigten, i. 63.

[s] Schmidt, 2.

at Strasburg; yet, unlike Eckart, he was inclined rather to practical work than to speculation,[t] and he often denounces the mistaken contemplativeness and the passive quietism which he regarded as perversions of the true mysticism; for in this he held that love for man ought to go hand-in-hand with the aspiration after union with God.[u]

Strasburg was then agitated by the differences between the pope and the Emperor Louis; the bishop adhered to the pope, and the citizens, by siding with the emperor, incurred the sentence of interdict.[x] In consequence of this, the clergy were divided; while some shut up their churches, others, in defiance of the interdict, deemed it their duty to continue their pastoral labours. In such circumstances it was natural that persons of all classes should be drawn together by the desire of finding some satisfaction for their spiritual needs, to which the church appeared to deny the means of support; and thus the association of the "Friends of God" became greatly increased in numbers.[y] Among those who remained at their posts was Tauler, although the brethren of his order in general left the town. The circumstances of the time gave him prominence; he became famous as a preacher, and in that character he extended his labours on the one side to Basel (where, as at Strasburg, the imperialist citizens had been laid under an interdict by the bishop), and on the other side to Cologne; the fame of his eloquence even made its way across the Alps into Italy.[z]

In 1540, he was visited by a layman, who had listened to several of his sermons and expressed a wish to confess to him. Tauler heard the confession, and administered the sacrament of the altar to the stranger, who afterwards visited him again, and requested him to preach on the manner of attaining the highest perfection which is possible in this life. Tauler complied, although reluctantly, and addressed to a crowded audience an earnest exhortation to renunciation of self and of self-will. Once more the layman, who had taken notes of the sermon, appeared, and told Tauler that he had come a distance of thirty miles, not so much to hear him as to give him advice; that he, the famous preacher, who had already reached his fiftieth year, was still but a man of books, a mere Pharisee. Tauler, although startled and shocked by such words, warmly thanked his monitor for having been the first to tell him of his faults, and en-

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[t] Schmidt, 3-6.

[u] *E. g.* Predigten, i. 75, 211-2.

[x] Ib. 8-14.

[y] Schmidt, 14-6; Milm. vi. 373.

[z] Schmidt, 16-7.

treated his further counsel. The stranger prescribed some ascetic exercises; he himself, he said, had gone through such things, but had now outgrown them, so as to need them no longer; and he further charged Tauler to abstain for two years from preaching, from hearing confessions, and from study, shutting himself up in the seclusion of his cell. Submission to the dictates of those who were supposed to possess spiritual experience was, as we have seen, a characteristic of the "Friends of God," and Tauler obeyed. The monitor was no other than Nicolas of Basel, who, in his watchful observation of all who might be supposed likely to sympathise with him, had marked Tauler during the visit which the preacher had lately made to Basel,[a] and had undertaken the journey to Strasburg for the purpose of gaining him.[b] Tauler struggled through the prescribed exercises, being upheld by the counsels of Nicolas, and even assisted by his money, while his former friends mocked at him for the change which had taken place; but when, at the end of the two years, he attempted to resume his preaching, and his fame had drawn together a great audience, his utterance was choked by his feelings; he burst into tears and found himself unable to proceed. It was supposed that he had lost his senses, and his superiors forbade him the pulpit. Nicolas of Basel, on being consulted, told him that perhaps he had not yet overcome his love of self, and advised him to remain silent for some time longer; after which, by the direction of Nicolas, Tauler asked and obtained leave to preach in Latin before the brethren of his order. In this he acquitted himself so as to raise general admiration, and the late prohibition was taken off. He resumed his public preaching, which was now animated by a warmth and a depth unknown in his earlier time; such was the effect of his first sermon that twelve persons were struck down as if dead.[c] He strenuously urged reformation, nor did he spare the faults of the clergy, so that with them he became unpopular, and he and his associates were stigmatised as Beghards.[d] In addition to labouring as a preacher, Tauler wrote some German tracts, of which the most celebrated is one on 'The Imitation of the Saviour's Life of Poverty;' and he acted as the spiritual director of many persons, among whom Rulman Merswin, a wealthy

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[a] Schmidt places this visit in 1338. Herzog, xv. 485.

[b] Nicolas is not named, but there is enough to show that he is meant. Tauler noted down the conversation at the time (Schmidt, 26-7). The truth of the story has been questioned as by Quetif and Echard, who think it partly symbolical. i. 677.

[c] Schmidt 36.

[d] Ib. [illegible]

retired merchant, and author of a book entitled 'The Nine Rocks,' is especially mentioned.[e]

The great pestilence of 1348 raged with such violence at Strasburg that 16,000 persons died in the city alone.[f] The interdict was still in force, and the clergy in general, professedly out of obedience to the sentence, refrained from the exercise of their ministry. In these circumstances, Tauler and a few others, among whom was Ludolf of Saxony, prior of the Carthusian convent,[g] stepped forward, arguing that it was contrary to Scripture and to reason that, for the political offence of one man, multitudes of innocent persons should be excluded from the means of grace and from the benefit of the Redeemer's sufferings.[h] They tended the sick, aided them with spiritual counsel, administered the last consolations of religion, and buried the dead with the offices of the church. But by these and other things the bishop of Strasburg was offended, so that when Charles IV. visited the city, and reconciliation with the church was offered to the inhabitants, Tauler was required, as a suspected Beghard, to give an account of his faith before the emperor.[i] The result is not recorded; but it was probably in consequence of this that he withdrew to Cologne, where he laboured zealously to correct the prevailing habits of luxury, and to counteract the teaching of the professors of the Free Spirit.[k] The time of his return to Strasburg is unknown; but he was there in 1361, when, feeling the approach of death, he invited Nicolas of Basel to visit him. In compliance with this request, Nicolas repaired to Strasburg, and during an illness of many weeks Tauler was sustained by the comfort of intercourse with the man whose influence had determined the course of his maturer spiritual life, and whom he now desired to draw up a narrative of their early

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[e] See Schmidt, 177, seqq.; and Miss Winkworth, 144. Merswin was also under the direction of Nicolas of Basel (Giesel. II. iii. 253; Schmidt, 179, 202). His book of 'The Nine Rocks,' was written in 1352 (Schmidt, 47) and is printed with Suso's works. He complains (cc. 5-14) of degeneracy, luxury, and contempt of spiritual things, as prevailing among all classes of the clergy from the pope downwards—among monks and friars, beghards and laity. The nine rocks, each of which, as it rises higher, is steeper and harder to climb, are peopled by persons who have overcome some sins, but not all. The number on each successive rock is less than on that immediately below it; on the last of them, only three men appear, and these seem as if wasted by their toil, although inwardly shining like angels from the love that is in them.

[f] Schmidt, 45.

[g] For Ludolf, see Quetif and Echard, i. 568. He had left the Dominicans for the Carthusians, in order that he might give himself to contemplation. He is known as the author of a 'Life of Christ,' from which it has been supposed that Jeremy Taylor may have borrowed "the outline and first conception of his own book" on the subject. See Bp. Heber, in Eden's edition; i. cxxvii. Ludolf's book has lately been reprinted at Paris.

[h] Schmidt, 51-3.

[i] Ib. 56.

[k] Ib. 59-60.

intercourse, from notes which Tauler had made long before. Tauler died on the 16th of June, 1361, in a garden-house of the convent in which his sister was a nun; and he has been blamed by a severe mystic for the weakness of indulging his human affections by allowing himself her society.[m]

Tauler was styled by his admirers the Illuminated (or Enlightened) Doctor. His sermons, which are the most important part of his remaining works, are characterised by deep earnestness and by an evangelical tone which, as Luther mentions, was symbolised by his monument, on which he was represented as pointing to the Lamb of God.[n] He taught that outward austerities were to be regarded not for their own sake, but as a discipline for beginners, which would fall away of themselves from the more matured believer; that without a right heart, penance, confession, absolution, with all the intercessions of the Blessed Virgin and the saints, are of no avail. While he would have all the laws of the church observed, he attaches no importance to the outward works, and even says that the believer must sometimes appear to break them—a principle which was, of course, liable to be perverted, as it was by the sectaries of the Free Spirit. And, while he regards the holy Eucharist as the chief means of union between the believer and his Lord, he teaches that in this also the inward feeling must be regarded rather than the outward form.[o] Although fond of recondite meanings, he is free from all parade of learning; in one sermon, he announces his intention of giving up the practice of using Latin quotations except in discourses addressed to learned hearers.[p] The writings of Tauler had much influence on the mind of Luther, who warmly expressed his obligations to them.[q] It has been said by Herder, that to read two of Tauler's sermons is to read them all,[r] yet, as has been well observed, even the

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[m] See Schmidt, 62. In a fragment of a lost book by an unknown author, it is said that Tauler had to suffer in purgatory for six kinds of sins—among them, that he had "sought too much support for his nature from his sister." (Id. in Herz. xv. 487.) Dean Milman characterises him as social, not eremitical, vi. 378.

[n] See the Preface to the Sermons. The monument, originally erected in the church of his order, was removed to the protestant "Temple neuf," and has survived the destruction of that church in the siege of 1870. 'Times,' Oct. 8, 1870.

[o] Schmidt, 149-53.

[p] Predigten, i. 150.

[q] "Ich weiss zwar dass dieser Lehrer in denen Schulen derer *Theologorum* unbekandt, und deswegen vielleicht verächtlich ist, aber ich habe darinne [in seinen deutschen Reden] mehr von gründlicher und lauterer *Theologie* gefunden, als man in allen Schul-Lehrern zusammen, die auf allen *Universitäten* gelehret haben, gefunden hat, oder in ihren *Sententiis* finden kan." Bestreitung des päpstl. Ablasses, Werke, xvii. 52, ed. Leipz. 1732.

[r] Werke zur Relig. u. Theologie, xiv. 181, ed. Stuttg. 1827-30.

monotony which unquestionably runs throughout them may have tended in practice to deepen the impression of his teaching.[s]

Another famous mystic, Henry von Berg, who is more generally known by the name of Suso,[t] was a Dominican of Constance, and died in 1365, in his seventieth year.[u] In an autobiography, which is probably in part imaginary, he tells us that from the age of eighteen to that of forty he disciplined himself by strict observances of devotion, by severe ascetic exercises, and even by tortures, such as that of wearing under his dress a wooden cross studded with thirty nails, of which the points were turned towards his flesh.[v] At length, when he had reduced himself by this treatment to such a degree that a continuance of it must have been fatal, he was told by an angel that he had studied long enough in the lower school, and was to be transferred to the higher, in which his sufferings would not be of his own infliction, but would come on him plentifully from men and devils.[x] The object of all he represents as being an entire abandonment and resignation of self to the Divine will, in imitation of the Saviour's example.[y] On expressing a wish to set to work, he is told that the less one does, the more hath he really done—that men ought not to act for themselves, but to cast themselves wholly on God's promises. There are stories not only of visions, but of miracles.[z] The book was drawn up by Suso for the instruction of a "spiritual daughter," whom he warns that she is soon to die; and he relates that, after her death, he had a vision of her as "passing gloriously into the pure Divinity."[a] The principle of self-abandonment is again inculcated in Suso's book 'Of the Eternal Wisdom,' where the Saviour is introduced as conversing with His servant, and recounting the bodily and spiritual sufferings of His passion. Suso is without the manly strength of Tauler, and is distinguished chiefly by the poetical and figurative tone of his writings.[b]

The mystically speculative tendency of Eckart revived in the anonymous author of the 'German Theology,' which is supposed to be a work of this time,[c] and in John Ruysbroek, who

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[s] See Milm. vi. 378.

[t] This was formed from his mother's name, Seuss or Säuss, with an allusion to *süss* (sweet). It is said that the Blessed Virgin changed his name to Amandus, but that out of humility he declined the use of this. Suso's Werke, ed. Diepenbroeck, ed. 2, Ratisbon, 1837, pp. xvii.-xviii.; cf. Quetif and Echard, i. 653.

[u] Diepenbr. xix. Schmidt, in Herzog, art. *Suso*, makes him five years older.

[v] cc. 12-18.

[x] cc. 20-2.

[y] c. 21.

[z] cc. 44-8.

[a] "Wie adelig sie in die blosse Gottheit vergangen ware." p. 172.

[b] Giesel. II. iii. 255; Schmidt, in Herzog, art. *Suso*.

[c] Luther, who first edited it, and gave it the name by which it is known, ascribed it to "a German gentleman, a priest and warden in the house of the Teutonic order at Frankfort." Others call him Eblendus or Eblandus; and

was distinguished by the title of *Ecstatic Doctor*. Ruysbroek, who is characterised by John of Trittenheim[d] as "a man reputed to be devout, but of little learning," withdrew at the age of sixty to the monastery of Grontal, near Brussels, of which he became prior. He professed that he never wrote a word except by inspiration of the Holy Spirit and in the especial presence of the Divine Trinity;[e] and it is related that, when he found the influence of divine grace strong on him, he used to retire to write in the depths of a wood, where his canons, uneasy at his long absence, once found him surrounded by a supernatural light, imperfectly conscious, but "inebriated by the glow of the divine sweetness."[f] Ruysbroek died in 1381, at the age of eighty-eight. His works were written in Flemish, but were translated into Latin. Gerson, who as a Nominalist, was alarmed by their mystic Realism, denounced them as pantheistic,[g] and on this account became involved in a controversy with John of Schönhofen, a canon of Grontal, who, among other things, charged him with having too much relied on the Latin translation.[h]

Gerson himself endeavoured to unite mysticism with scholasticism, so as to exclude the dangers of unrestrained imagination and fanaticism;[i] and to him has been attributed by some writers the authorship of the most celebrated devotional book of the middle ages—the treatise "Of the Imitation of Christ. But this supposition appears rather to have been suggested by the patriotic desire of French writers to claim for one of their own countrymen a work so justly admired than to rest on any solid basis of facts. And the name of John Gersen, which has been put forward by other writers on the ground of inscriptions in some manuscript copies of the book, would seem to be really nothing more than a mistake for that of the famous chancellor of Paris. The popular opinion, which ascribes the 'Imitation' to

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some wrongly attribute the book to Tauler. But nothing is really known as to the writer. See Gieseler, II. iii. 256; Alzog, ii. 209-10. He belonged to the society of Friends of God. (Herzog, xv. 745.) Dean Milman observes that the book is remarkable not only for what it retains, but for what it omits, as being no real part of Christian faith. vi. 380.

[d] De Scriptoribus Eccl. p. 332.

[e] Giesel. II. iii. 257.

[f] Schröckh, xxxiv. 274-6.

[g] Opera, i. 59; Giesel. II. iii. 259; Schwab, 358. He styles Ruysbroek a Beghard, but incorrectly, according to Mosheim, De Begh. et Beguin. 309.

[h] The tract is in Gerson's works, i. 63-78, and is followed by Gerson's rejoinder. See D'Argentré, I. ii. 152; Mosh. de Begh. 311; Schwab, 359, seqq. Ruysbroek, although some of his language gave countenance to the idea of his being a pantheist, was really not such, and wished to see pantheists burnt. Schwab, 361.

[i] Schröckh, xxiv. 290; C. Schmidt, in Herzog, v. 91. Schwab fully discusses his mysticism, c. vii.

Thomas Hamerken of Kempten, a canon regular of Zwoll, who died in 1471, appears, therefore, to be the most probable.[k] The tone of the 'Imitation' is strongly mystical, yet no less practical —setting forth religious practice as the way to insight into divine things. Thoroughly monastic in spirit, it has the characteristic excellences and defects of monastic piety; while it is full of wise guidance for the soul in the ways of humility, purity, and self-renunciation, the religion which it inculcates is too exclusively directed towards the perfecting of the individual in himself, too little solicitous for his relations with the brotherhood of mankind. Its conception of the way of life is too limited, and does not enough regard the endless variety of circumstances in which men are placed, with the task before them of working out their salvation under the conditions assigned to them by the divine providence. Yet the vast and unequalled popularity of the book has not been confined to those who would sympathise with its monastic peculiarities, but has extended to multitudes of persons remote in feeling and in belief from all that is specially distinctive of medieval religion.

The teaching of the mystics, by leading men from a reliance on outward observances to an inward spiritual life, prepared the way for the Reformation, and Luther speaks with warm admiration of Tauler and of the German Theology. But between the two systems there was the important difference, that whereas the mystics sought after immediate union with the Saviour through conformity to Him in humility and spiritual poverty, the characteristic doctrine of Luther was that of free justification by faith, while his system insisted on the necessity of those sacramental means which the mystics regarded as comparatively unimportant.[m]

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[k] For a view of the controversy as to the authorship, see Schröckh, xxxiv. 312; Giesel. II. iv. 347; C. Schmidt, in Herzog, art. *Thomas a Kempis;* Schwab, 782. Some writers suppose the last book of the 'Imitation' to be by a different hand from the preceding three.

[m] Martensen, 113-5.

CHAPTER XI.

Supplementary.

I.—*The Hierarchy.*

(1). In the earlier part of the time which we are now surveying, the pretensions of the papacy, although they could not in substance be carried higher than before (inasmuch as they already included supremacy both in spiritual and in temporal things) were more extravagantly developed in detail. For this questionable service the popes were indebted to the flattery of curialist writers, and of friars specially devoted to their interest, such as Augustine Trionfi and Alvar Pelayo,[a] who maintained, for example, that the pope could not sin by corruption or simony in the bestowal of preferment, forasmuch as he is above law, so that actions which are sinful in others are not so in him.[b]

In their relations with secular powers the popes were often gainers. The claim advanced by John XXII. in the case of Louis of Bavaria—that an elected emperor should not have authority to govern until after having been examined and approved by the pope—was something even beyond the pretensions of Boniface VIII.;[c] but in the contest with Louis the popes had the advantage, and their candidate, Charles IV., succeeded peacefully on his rival's death. The right to bestow kingdoms had been already asserted as to Hungary on
the extinction of the Arpad dynasty, although the A.D. 1290.
Hungarians would not allow that the pope was entitled to do more than to confirm the national choice;[d] and in other cases, princes who were desirous to secure themselves in the possession

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[a] See p. 80. The charge which has sometimes been brought against the Roman church, of styling the pope "Dominus Deus noster," appears to have grown out of the fact that he is so styled in the early printed editions of a gloss on Extrav. Joh. XXII. tit. xiv. c. 4 (p. 153) by Zenzelinus, A.D. 1325. But it seems doubtful whether even in this single passage the word *Deum* was not inserted by a mistake of the early printers, and it has been left out in all editions since 1612, so that the Roman Church is nowise answerable for the phrase. See Gieseler, II. iii. 106; Letters by Dr. Maitland and others, in British Mag. xiii.-xiv.

[b] See extracts in Gieseler, II. iii. 101-5, 123-4.

[c] Schmidt, iii. 525.

[d] Mansi, xxv. 151, seqq.; Schröckh, xxxiii. 31-3.

of a doubtful crown requested the papal sanction, as was done by the great Robert of Scotland shortly before his death.[e]

But on the whole the popes lost more than they gained. Their claims to domination, after having been carried beyond endurance by Boniface VIII., began immediately afterwards to recede by the withdrawal of the bulls which had offended Philip the Fair;[f] and that line of investigation into the sources of the papal rights which was begun in the imperial interest by such writers as Marsilius of Padua and William of Ockham, was afterwards forced by the Great Schism on churchmen whose natural feeling would have been averse from it. Even such men were compelled, by the inextricable confusion which arose out of the pretensions of rival popes, to ask whether there might not be some means of arbitrating between them. In these circumstances the universities—especially that of Paris—gained an authority which was very dangerous to the papacy;[g] and in various quarters new and startling opinions were propounded. By some, it was maintained that the pope was not essentially necessary to the church;[h] others denied him the possession of the "two swords," referring to the benefits which the church had derived from the intervention of Theodoric the Goth and of Otho I., and tracing the schism, with all the other evils of the time, to the secularity of the popes.[i] And whereas the popes had endeavoured to absorb the rights of the whole episcopate, the episcopate was now set up as an aristocracy, in opposition to the monarchy of the pope.[k] There was a tendency to limit the papal power; and the circumstances of the time appeared to force on the other members of the church the task of judging those who claimed to be its head.[m] The notions that popes could not be deposed except for heresy—that the occupant of the chief see was exempt from earthly judgment—were denied and refuted.[n] If, argues the writer of a treatise which has been commonly ascribed to Gerson, a hereditary king may be deposed—(for this he assumes as a thing beyond question), much more may a pope, who is chosen by cardinals—one whose father and grandfather were perhaps unable to find beans to fill their

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[e] Theiner, Monum. 240, 244; Schröckh, xxxiii. 34.

[f] See Hallam, M. A. ii. 31.

[g] Giesel. II. iii. 160.

[h] Gerson (?), de modis uniendi et reform. Ecclesiam, Opp. t. ii. 163; de Auferib. Papæ; Theod. Vrie, in V. d. Hardt, i. 33. See Giesel. II. iii. 161; Schwab, c. xvii.

[i] Theod. Niem, iii. 7; Gerson de summa Rom. Imp. Auctoritate, Opera, ii. 178; Giesel. II. iii. 162-3.

[k] See Gerson, de Potest. Eccles., Opera, ii. 12; Henr. de Hassia, Consilium Pacis, in Append. to Gerson, vol. ii.; Hefele, vii. 316.

[m] Mosh. ii. 658.

[n] Theod. Niem, de Reform. Eccles. i. 23, in V. d. Hardt, i.; ib. 591-7.

bellies. When, he adds, the case of a pope is in question, it is not for him, but for cardinals, bishops, and secular princes to assemble a general council; and such a council is superior to the pope and may control him, while he has no power to dispense with its canons.[o] The church, according to Gerson and others of the same school, may compel a pope to resign.[p] These principles were, as we have seen, carried into effect at the council of Constance.

(2.) On the other hand, the power of the empire had never recovered itself since the time of Frederick II. Dante, at the beginning of the period, speaks of one of the two suns by which Rome had formerly been enlightened as having been extinguished by the other.[q] The endeavours of Henry VII. to restore the ancient rights of his crown were cut short by an untimely death; and all that he had achieved was forfeited by the faults or the misfortunes of his successors. The transfers of the empire from one family to another, while they added strength and importance to the electoral princes of Germany, weakened the imperial authority; the emperor, or king of the Romans, who had paid dearly for his office and had no assurance as to the succession, was under the strongest temptation to regard his own immediate interest alone, and to sacrifice the permanent interests of his crown.[r] At Constance, indeed, Sigismund was able to exercise influence as advocate of the church; but the decline of the imperial authority from its former greatness was shown by the fact that he found it necessary to call in the aid of John XXIII. for the assembling of the council, as the European kingdoms had ceased to acknowledge the supremacy of the empire.[s]

In France the opposition between the papacy and the crown was removed by the settlement of the popes at Avignon, which rendered them subservient tools of the sovereign. But this subserviency, in addition to the degradation of the papacy, had the effect of exciting the jealousy of the English, which was shown in many forms of resistance, while the popes found themselves obliged to meet it by compromise, lest the nation should be provoked to throw off their authority.[t]

(3.) To this time belongs the completion of the Canon Law.[u]

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[o] De Modis uniendi et reform. Eccles. in Gerson, Opp. ii. 166-7, 171, 182. Gerson always maintained that councils are the chief authority in the church, *e. g.* De Exam. Doctrinarum, l. 1, c. 8.

[p] See p. 257.

[q] Purgat. xvi. 106, seqq.

[r] Schmidt, iii. 506; Sism. vi. 7.

[s] Schröckh, xxxiii. 16-7.

[t] Giesel. II. iii. 106. 125.

[u] See Wasserschleben, in Herzog, artt. *Kanonensammlungen* and *Kanonisches Rechtsbuch*.

Clement V. ordered the determinations of the council of Vienne,[x] with other decrees which he had issued, to be collected into five books, which from him took the name of Clementines. Among these it is noted that under the head of Oaths he takes the opportunity of declaring the oath taken by Henry VII. to be a real oath of fealty;[y] and that under the head of the Liberty of the Church he withdraws the bull *Clericis Laicos.*[z] After having published these books in a consistory of cardinals, Clement sent them in 1313 to the university of Orleans, which he had founded;[a] but, although he lived a year and a half longer, he did not communicate them in the usual manner to the other universities, and it is said by a writer who lived two centuries later, that, from a feeling of their contrariety in many respects to Christian simplicity and to the freedom of religion, he gave orders on his deathbed that they should be abolished.[b] If it be true that Clement had such scruples, they were not shared by his successor, John XXII.; for this pope sent the Clementines to Paris and Bologna in 1317, that they might serve as a text for lectures.[c]

The Clementines were the last addition to the body of ecclesiastical law which was put forth with the fulness of papal sanction.[d] At an earlier time such decretals as did not appear in Gratian's compilation had been styled *Extravagants.* After the publication of Gregory IXth's Five Books, the same name was used to designate such more recent decretals as had not yet been included in any authorised collection;[e] and it has since become the general title of the decretals issued by John XXII. and his successors, as these were never collected or communicated to the universities by papal authority.[f] The selection of the documents which are classed under this head is attributed to Chapuis, who edited the Canon Law in 1500.[g]

The new legislation was in the same spirit with that which had gone before it. Although strong assaults were sometimes made on portions of the False Decretals, no one ventured to attack them as a whole; and so long as these retained their authority,

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[x] See Hefele, vi. 474.

[y] L. ii. tit. 17. See above, p. 55.

[z] L. v. tit. 17. See vol. iii. 515; and above, p. 9.

[a] Walter, 236; Giesel. II. iii. 99.

[b] Aventinus, 601. He says, "Hæc a Willelmo Oeconensi accepi."

[c] See John's letter, Corp. Juris Canon. III. ii. 1, ed. Taurin. 1620; Vita I. Joh. ap. Baluz. i. 120; ii. 137; W. Nang. contin. 73; Bern. Guid. 60; Mansi, xxv. 369.

[d] Hence the collection which ends with them has been called "Corpus Juris clausum." Wasserschl. in Herzog, vii. 329.

[e] Walter, 237.

[f] Ib.; Schröckh, xxviii. 10.

[g] Walter, 237; Giesel. II. iii. 101.

any attempts of councils to limit the power of the pope were likely to be nugatory.[h]

(4.) The popes of this time not only maintained their older claims as to money, patronage, and the like, but endeavoured to enlarge on them. Thus John XXII.[i] imposed the tax of annates or first-fruits—a payment for which there had been some shadow of precedent in the demands made by bishops (sometimes with papal sanction) from those who were presented to benefices by them; although in earlier times such exactions had been condemned by the church and its most eminent teachers, such as Chrysostom in the East and Gregory the Great in the West.[k] John in 1319 extended it to all benefices, both elective and non-elective, fixing the amount at half the income of the first year, and professing that the law was to be for three years only;[m] but it appears to have been renewed, and the exaction was yet further enforced by Boniface IX.[n] The popes also claimed the income of bishopricks, &c., during vacancy (*fructus medii temporis*); and, although Alexander V. and Martin V. professed to give up this claim, they still retained the first-fruits.[o] The "right of spoils,"[p] which had been denounced by popes when claimed by temporal sovereigns, was now asserted for the papacy, and with a view to this and other purposes their collectors and spies were sent into various countries.[q] Fees of all sorts were raised in amount, and new occasions for exacting them were invented.[r] A writer of the time speaks of the papal court as drawing gold even out of flint;[s] and an English chronicler describes the charges on appointments as so heavy that in many cases the payers never recovered from them.[t] The luxury of the court of Avignon required an increase of means, while the popes were unable to collect the

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[h] Schröckh, xxviii. 6.

[i] Thomassin, III. ii. 58. 1-3. See Lenfant, Conc. de Const. ii. 137-8; Herzog, art. *Annaten*; Döllinger, 'Materialien,' ii. Vorr. 6-7.

[k] Planck, v. 591-6; Giesel. II. iii. 118. See the tract De Ruina Eccl. c. 7, in N. de Clemangis.

[m] See Extrav. Commun. III. tit. ii. cc. 10-11. Thomassin supposes that the exaction fell only on the lesser dignities, bishopricks and abbacies being exempt. l. c. 5.

[n] Platina, 275 (who says that it was submitted to by all but the English, who refused to admit it except as to bishopricks). See Rayn. 1399. 12, with Mansi's note; Giesel. II. iii. 141-2; and for French declarations against the new exactions, Lib. de l'Egl. Gall. ii. 564, seqq.

[o] Thomassin, III. ii. 58.

[p] "*Jus exuviarum*, or *spoliorum*." See vol. iii. 228, &c.

[q] Thomassin, III. ii. 57. 5; Planck, v. 607, 611-3; Giesel. II. iii. 122. Thomassin traces this to the necessities of Clement VII.

[r] Planck, v. 590; Giesel. II. iii. 141.

[s] De Ruina Ecclesiæ, c. 9. An indication of the rapacity practised by officials of all kinds may be found in a letter of Benedict XII., announcing his election to Edward III. As the bearers of such letters were often found troublesome and greedy, the pope had made his messengers swear that they would be content with *his* pay, and would neither ask nor receive anything elsewhere. Rymer, ii. 900.

[t] Will. de Dene, Hist. Roffensis, in Wharton, Ang. Sac. i. 376. It appears from the Annals of St. Alban's that Abbot John de Maryns paid for his confirma-

revenues of their Italian states;[u] and when, in consequence of the schism, Western Christendom was burdened with the cost of two papal establishments, the exactions became more exorbitant than ever.[x] All the old means of raising money were strained to the uttermost; new devices were invented for the same purpose,[y] and each of the rival courts was glad to borrow the ideas of the other in this respect. Every pope at the beginning of his pontificate set forth a code of Chancery-rules, in which, adopting the devices of his predecessors for extracting money from the benefices of the church, he usually added such further orders of the same tendency as his own ingenuity or that of his advisers could suggest.[z] The censures of the church were prostituted as means to compel the payment of money. While there was an affectation of checking pluralities in general,[a] an exception was made in favour of the cardinals, so that a cardinal might enjoy the monstrous number of four or five hundred benefices.[b]

Such things were not allowed to pass without remonstrance.[c] In England, where the patience of the nation was most severely tried by them,[d] there were frequent and indignant manifestations of discontent, and statutes were enacted with a view of checking the practices of the papal court. The laity cried out loudly, in parliament and elsewhere, charging the depopulation and impoverishment of the country on the Roman exactions, and on the draining of the wealth of English benefices by foreigners.[e] It was complained that such persons were in many cases enemies of the English crown, and that they

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tion 1508*l*. 6s. 8*d*. (equal to 22,580*l*. in our day) to Boniface VIII. and his cardinals, besides large gifts to the officials. (Gesta Abbatum, ii. 56; Riley, Introduction, iii. 46.) See also for the difficulties into which Abp. Greenfield, of York (A.D. 1304) was brought by the expenses of his appointment, Raine, i. 364.

[u] Giesel. II. iii. 106.

[x] Gerson (?) De modis un. et reform. Eccl., Opp. ii. 184-5.

[y] See above, pp. 168-170. Crusades seem to have been sometimes proclaimed, with a license of commuting personal service for money, rather with a view of getting the money than the service. (See Cron. di Bologna, in Murat. xviii. 447.) Urban VI. in 1386, in order to help John of Gaunt's expedition "against the schismatics of Spain," authorised a Carmelite to make fifty honorary papal chaplains; and the appointment was eagerly sought and paid for by clergy, monks, and friars, as offering an exemption from duty to superiors. (Gesta Abbatum S. Albani, ii. 417.) Richard II and Henry IV. complain of the results of this. Rymer, vii. 810; viii. 113.

[z] Planck, v. 587-8. The writer of 'De Ruina Ecclesiæ' complains that the new rules were usually snares which gave occasion for litigation. c. 11.

[a] See below, p. 315.

[b] De Ruina Eccl. 14; Planck, v. 581. Giesel. II. iii. 144.

[c] See a letter of Charles VI. of France in Mart. Thes. i. 1614.

[d] Adam of Murimuth says that the new exactions of John XXII. were disregarded in Germany;—"Anglici vero sicut boni asini, quicquid eis imponitur tolerantes, in his et aliis, quantumcunque gravibus, paruerunt." 28.

[e] Hemingb. ii. 401, 403. &c. Another grievance was that the heads of religious orders, as Cluniacs, Premonstratensians, and Cistercians, levied money largely from the English houses of their orders. See Stat. of Carlisle, 35 Edw. I (A.D. 1307.)

betrayed the secrets of the realm; and on such grounds the foreign holders of English benefices were frequently deprived, and if they were found in the country (which they rarely honoured with their presence) were obliged to quit it.[f] Laws were passed to prevent the holding of English benefices by foreigners.[g] Complaints were made by parliament that the money drawn from England under the name of annates and other papal dues was employed in the interest of the national enemies; and in 1404 an act was passed by which bishops were forbidden to submit to the increased rate of payments which the Roman court had begun to exact.[h] Papal collectors were required, on landing in England, to swear that they would do nothing to the prejudice of the crown or of the kingdom;[i] and sometimes, when returning with the spoil of England, they were compelled to disgorge it before embarking.[k] There were frequent orders against the introduction of papal documents prejudicial to the dignity of the crown, especially of such as assumed the disposal of patronage;[m] and the statutes of provisors and præmunire were enacted in order to check the Roman aggressions in this kind.

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[f] Thus Edward II., in 1309, writes to a cardinal who was related to Clement V. and had been nominated by him to the deanery of St. Paul's. The letter sets forth the cardinal's inability to fulfil the statutable duties, and expresses a hope that he will withdraw his pretensions; but it is significantly added that, if property bestowed on the church be abused, contrary to the intention of the givers, it may be resumed by them or their heirs. (Rymer, ii. 72.) Edward III., in 1341, seized a prebend at Lincoln because the holder, Cardinal Talleyrand, adhered to Philip of Valois (ib. 1131). In 1379, when Aymer de la Roche, archdeacon of Canterbury, sided with the French, he was deprived for this and for non-residence, and Richard II. ordered that his revenues should be applied to the rebuilding of the cathedral. (Ib. vii. 217, 271, 302, 346, &c.). Urban VI. recommends John of Fordham as his successor, if the archbishop (Simon of Sudbury) should find him able "bene legere, bene construere, et bene cantare, ac congrue loqui Latinis verbis, et alias idoneum . . . vel etiam si bene non cantaret, dummodo in tuis manibus juret ad sancta Dei Evangelia, quod infra annum bene cantare addiscet." (Wilkins, iii. 148.) Cf. Wilkins, ii. 574; Baluz. Vitæ Pap. ii. 476, 708-9.

[g] *E.g.* 3 Ric. II. c. 3 (1379); 1 Hen. V. c. 7; Collier, iii. 147.

[h] 6 Hen. IV. c. 1.

[i] Rymer, vii. 603, &c.; Collier, iii. 202. Thus, in 1372, Arnold Garnier, a papal receiver, was made to swear fidelity to the king, and that he would not send money or precious things to the pope or others out of the realm without license, nor receive any papal letters without showing them to the king and his council. Rym. iii. 933.

[k] Ib., ii. 1236-7; Planck, v. 672; Giesel. II. iii. 126-8; Lingard, iii. 258-262.

[m] See many such of Edward III.'s reign in Rymer, *e. g.* ii. 726, 1236-7; iii. 380. See too Wilkins, iii. 107, &c. In 1380 it was enacted that any of the king's subjects who should become agents for foreigners, and so should send money out of the realm, should be liable to the same punishments as the foreigners themselves for a like offence. (Pauli, iv. 591.) Sometimes, however, kings made the false step of employing the pope's assumed powers of reservation and provision for their own purposes, although they thereby really aided the papal usurpation and weakened the crown. Thus it was when Edward II., after the death of Abp. Winchelsey, made use of the pope to exclude Thomas Cobham, who had been elected by the monks of Canterbury. See Wilkins, ii. 421, 427-8, 430-7.

The first act of provisors, passed in 1350-1, after setting forth the manner in which the popes had usurped patronage, and the ill results which had followed, decrees that elections to bishopricks and other elective dignities shall be free, agreeably to the grants of the founders; that no reservation, collation, or provision of the court of Rome to the contrary shall take effect, but that in such cases the king shall present, as his progenitors did before free election was granted; forasmuch as such election was granted on condition that it should be preceded by the royal licence and followed by the royal assent, and, if these conditions fail, the right of presentation reverts to the original state.[n] By the statute of præmunire, in 1353, it was enacted that any one who should carry to a foreign tribunal matter which was cognizable in the king's court, or who should try to impeach in any foreign court a judgment which had been pronounced by the king's court, should be cited to answer before the king or his representatives, and in case of nonappearance should be outlawed, should forfeit his property, and be committed to prison.[o] The provisions of these two acts were repeatedly enforced by later legislation; and the headship of religious houses was placed on the same footing as other dignities with regard to the king's right of presentation.[p] The popes affected to set these laws at nought, and to maintain their claims to patronage; Boniface IX. went so far as to order that the antipapal acts should be erased from the English statute book,[q] and there were continual attempts to evade the force of the prohibitions. But the parliament, the clergy, and the whole nation, stood firm in their union against the papal encroachments; and at last the utmost that the popes could do, by way of saving appearances, was to accept the English king's nomination of the persons in whose behalf the pretended rights of the papacy were to be exercised.[r] The resistance of the English

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[n] 25 Edw. III., Stat. of the Realm, i. 316. In the answer to the 'Articles of the Clergy,' 9 Edw. II. c. 14, it had been said "Fiant [electiones episcoporum] liberæ, juxta formam statutorum et ordinationum."

[o] 27 Edw. III. st. i. c. 1.

[p] 38 Edw. III. stat. 2; 3 Ric. II. c. 3; 12 Ric. II. c. 15; 13 Ric. II. c. 2; 16 Ric. II. c. 5; 4 Hen. V. c. 4. Edward de Bromfield, agent at Rome for the abbey of St. Edmund at Bury, got himself appointed by Urban VI. to the abbacy on its falling vacant, in 1379; but, on coming to England, he was imprisoned, by virtue of the statute of provisors, and the pope was unable to carry through his nomination, although he got a pension out of the abbey revenues for Bromfield, and eventually promoted him to the see of Landaff. Walsingh. i. 414-429; ii. 68, 180; Godwin, 608; Monast. Angl. iii. 110; Lingard, iii. 313; Pauli, iv. 591.

[q] Walsingh. ii. 200; Rayn. 1391. 15. The annalist traces Richard II.'s calamities to his having assented to th laws by which the papal assumptio were limited. Ib. 14.

[r] Rymer, vii. 664, 672, 698, 798-9, viii. 233, 241, &c.; Walsingh. ii. 228; C lier, iii. 203, 301; Lingard, iii. 315-

to the papal pretension to confer the temporalities of sees has already been mentioned.[s] But in the weaker kingdom of Scotland this pretension seems to have been unopposed. Thus John XXII. in 1323 presented John of Lindsay to the bishoprick of Glasgow, professing to give him the temporalities as well as the spiritual charge; and he nominated an Italian to a prebend which had been formerly held by the new bishop. Lindsay, on returning to Scotland, was required to admit a nominee of the king to this prebend; and he submitted, both he and the nominee protesting that the admission should not interfere with the papal rights. But while in this lesser matter the crown prevailed, it is remarkable that no objection was raised against the pope's claim to bestow the temporalities of the bishoprick.[t]

In other countries also sovereigns sometimes imitated the English example of resistance to the papacy. Thus Philip of Valois seized the revenues of ecclesiastical absentees, although at the entreaty of his queen he afterwards restored so much of them as belonged to cardinals.[u] Alfonso XI. of Castille endeavoured to withstand the papal claim of provisions;[x] and Sigismund (afterwards emperor), provoked by Boniface IX's acknowledgment of his rival, Ladislaus, as king of Hungary, forbade all exercise of patronage by the popes in that kingdom.[y]

A.D. 1347.

(5.) The exaggerated pretensions which the clergy had set up as to rights of jurisdiction, and of exemption from secular authority, tended to react to their own disadvantage. In Germany, where the ecclesiastical class feeling of the prelates was modified by their position as great secular lords, it was established that in temporal matters the appeal should be to the emperor alone; and this was declared, not only by Louis of Bavaria, but by Charles IV. in his Golden Bull.[z]

In France, where the liberties of the national church had been affirmed and secured by the Pragmatic Sanction and by the Establishments of St. Louis, and where the popes were

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Hallam, ii. 38; Pauli, iv. 592-3. John Galeazzo, of Milan, exercised ecclesiastical patronage freely, while Urban IV., in consideration of receiving the papal dues, confirmed his appointments; and it is said that this system worked better than the usual practice, by which the pope was guided in the disposal of patronage by the cardinals, who were corrupt. Chron. Placent. in Murat. xvi. 547; Annal. Mediol. ib. 802.

[s] Page 196.

[t] Jos. Robertson, Pref. to 'Concilia Scotiae,' 74-6.

[u] Baluz. Vitae Pap. Aven. ii. 710; Rayn. 1346. 39; 1347. 24; Dach. Spicil. iii. 723.

[x] Rayn. 1330. 44; 1344. 51; 1348. 14; Giesel. II. iii. 130.

[y] Ib. II. iii. 150.

[z] Ib. II. iii. 169.

controlled in some degree by the fact of their residence at Avignon, the crown was able to hold its ground against the ambition of the papacy.[a] The sovereigns were in general disposed to favour the hierarchy as far as possible, in order to secure the influence of the bishops; but the nobles were always at strife with the clergy, and on both sides there were continual complaints of aggression and encroachment.[b] Thus, at a session of the parliament of Paris, held under Philip of Valois in 1329, Peter of Cugnières, a knight and one of the king's counsellors, after discoursing on the text "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's," brought forward sixty-six articles as to which he asserted that the clergy had encroached on the rights of the laity.[c] These articles related to such things only as could show no warrant of law or privilege; for example, there was no complaint as to the exemption of the clergy from secular judgment, but it was complained that the tonsure was so bestowed as to confer this exemption on unfit persons—on boys and on married men, on some who were illiterate, and on others who were disqualified by character.[d] At a second session of the same body, Peter Roger, archbishop elect of Sens (afterwards Pope Clement VI.), stood forward as the champion of the clergy, and replied to the articles in order,[e] declaring that, although there are two swords—the spiritual and the temporal—both might be in the hands of one and the same person. Thus, he said, it was in ancient Israel; thus it was in the case of Melchizedek, and in Him who is a priest after the order of Melchizedek; and so too it was in St. Peter, as appeared from the punishment of Ananias. Our Lord would have both swords in the possession of the church; He did not charge the Apostle to cast away his sword, but to sheathe it; by which was meant that the church, although having all jurisdiction, should refrain from the exercise of it in cases of blood.[f] The king, hampered by his fear of the danger which threatened him from England, was unable to carry out with firmness the policy which his wishes suggested. At a later session, it was declared in his name, and by the mouth of Peter of Cugnières himself, that Philip was resolved to maintain the rights of the church unimpaired.[g] The king was

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[a] Schröckh, xxxiii. 50; See Libertés de l'Eglise Gall. ii. 147, seqq.

[b] Giesel. II. iii. 173,

[c] Goldast, ii. 1362-6; Bulæus, iv. 221, seqq.; Mansi, xxv. 884; Giesel. II. iii. 174.

[d] Art. 23; Planck, v. 557.

[e] Goldast, ii. 1365.

[f] Ib. ii. 1329-30, 1370.

[g] Ib. ii. 1382; Giesel. II. iii. 77.

content with the promise of the bishops that they would redress the grievances which were alleged; but when the bishop of Autun, Peter Bertrandi (who had answered Cugnières's articles at great length), insisted on the grievances of the clergy, and asked for a clearer declaration in their favour, he was told that the clergy had a certain time allowed them for reform, and that if they neglected this opportunity the king would apply such remedies as should please God and the people.[h]

The parliament of Paris strongly opposed the hierarchical claims, not only restraining the bounds of the ecclesiastical judgments, but asserting a sort of oversight of them, and assuming to itself the right of judging in some kinds of cases which had hitherto been regarded as belonging to ecclesiastical cognisance;[i] and the clergy continued to complain that laymen inflicted grievances on them, especially by interfering with their supposed rights of jurisdiction.[k]

In England there were frequent collisions as to the rival claims of the ecclesiastical and the secular courts. When the clergy complained to Edward II. in 1309, that clerks arrested on suspicion of crime were not immediately made over to their ordinaries, "as of right ought to be done," but were kept in the secular prison, the king replied that such clerks should be given up to their ecclesiastical superiors on demand, but with the condition that they should be brought before the king's judges for trial "as heretofore hath been customary."[m] So, in answering the petition known as "Articuli cleri," Edward says that, when a matter should come before both the spiritual and the temporal courts—as in the case of violently laying hands on a clerk—the king's court shall treat it "as to that court itself shall seem expedient, the ecclesiastical judgment notwithstanding."[n] Even that weak prince found it necessary to remonstrate again and again with the popes on account of encroachments in this and in other respects;[o] and, under his successors, such remonstrances were both frequent and forcible.

In 1344, Edward III., in consideration of a large subsidy from the clergy, granted that no archbishop or bishop should be im-

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[h] Goldast. ii. 1383. The addition (p. 1383) that the king, after having waited in vain, enacted a severe law, in restraint of the clergy, and in assertion of the national freedom, is untrue. Giesel. II. iii. 178.

[i] Ib. II. iii. 179-181.

[k] *E. g.* a council "apud S. Tiberium," in the diocese of Agde, A.D. 1389.

[m] Wilkins, ii. 318.

[n] 9 Edw. II. Stat. i. c. 6. See too the complaint as to the tendency of spiritual courts to draw to themselves business out of the civil courts. Stat. of the Realm, i. 209.

[o] Rymer, ii. 391, 393-4, 398, 401, 419, 460, 468-9, 493, 499, 526 &c.

peached before the king's justices for any crime, unless by special order from the crown[p]—a concession which, while relaxing the exercise of the royal authority for the time, implies an assertion of its right. In the end of the century, Richard II. condemned Archbishop Arundel to perpetual banishment and to forfeiture of his property,[q] and Henry IV., although desirous to keep well with the clergy on account of the defect in his title to the crown, proceeded without hesitation against such of the order as opposed him. He put to death, by secular judgment, some Franciscans and other priests who had plotted in behalf of a pretender to the name of the dethroned Richard.[r] Merks, bishop of Carlisle, was deprived of his see, and had difficulty in escaping with life.[s] The king brought Scrope, archbishop of York, to trial for high treason. The chief justice, Sir A.D. 1405. William Gascoigne, refused to act as judge, saying that the king himself had no right to condemn a bishop to death. But a less scrupulous person, Sir William Fulthorpe, was found for the work which Gascoigne had declined, and the archbishop, having been found guilty, was beheaded.[t] Archbishop Arundel, who had been restored to Canterbury on the change of dynasty, had contented himself with urging that his brother primate should be reserved for the pope's judgment;[u] and although Innocent VI. anathematised those who had been concerned in the archbishop's death, the sentence was ineffectual, so that Gregory XII. found it expedient to release them on condition of their expressing sorrow for their offence.[x]

In 1354, Archbishop Islip complained in parliament that the secular judges frequently exceeded their authority by trying and condemning to death "the Lord's anointed," clergymen and monks in holy orders. To this the king himself and others replied that the privileges claimed by the clergy were an encouragement to crime; that when criminal clerks were made over to their bishops, their prison life, instead of being a punish-

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[p] 18 Edw. III. Stat. iii. c. 1.

[q] Eulog. Hist. iii. 376.

[r] Walsingh. ii. 249-50; Capgrave, 279; Eulog. Histor. contin. iii. 389-91; Pauli, v. 50.

[s] Walsingh. ii. 245-7; Pauli, v. 50.

[t] Clem. Maydestane de Martyrio R. Scrope, in Wharton, Angl. Sac. ii. 370; Eulog. Hist. iii. 105, seqq.; Collier, iii. 273; Pauli, v. 38; Fulthorpe was probably son of a late judge, "but in no way himself connected with the law." Foss, iv. 165-6.

[u] Eulog. Hist. contin. 407; Milm. v. 521.

[x] Raynald. 1405. 21-2; Eulog. Hist. contin. 409; Walsingh. ii. 270, 273; Ling. iii. 441; Pauli, v. 51. It was believed that, from the hour of his judgment against Scrope, the king was struck with leprosy. Eulog. Hist. cont 407-8.

ment, became a time of relaxation and good living, with all the temptations which arise out of idleness; and that the sight of such things incited others to crime. The primate seems to have found these statements irresistible, and gives orders that the treatment of clerical delinquents in prison shall be more severe, especially as to diet, which, even on Sundays, is never to be more luxurious than bread, vegetables, and small beer.[y] But the clergy still found that their claims were not respected. The convocation of Canterbury, in 1399, while it admitted that the privilege of the clergy ought not to avail them in cases of treason, complained that for offences of other sorts they were sometimes hanged like laymen, and petitioned that the king would order them, if convicted in secular courts, to be made over to the custody of the bishops, according to their rights.[z]

In other countries, also, the assumed immunities of the clergy were controlled by the secular power. Thus, in France, when Guichard, bishop of Troyes, was charged with having poisoned or enchanted the king of Navarre's mother, A.D. 1308. he was long imprisoned in the Louvre, without any regard to the privileges of his order.[a] Even as to the monastic bodies, the French kings firmly asserted their rights of jurisdiction. Thus, in 1350, King John, having received complaints of cruelties exercised on delinquent monks by their superiors, ordered that redress should be made; and when the Dominicans and Franciscans objected to this, as an invasion of the pope's authority, they were told that they must either submit or leave the kingdom.[b] Again, in 1412, a royal commission was appointed to inquire into the affairs of the black monks of Languedoc; and when the archbishops of Narbonne and Toulouse, with a council, charged the commissioners to desist under pain of excommunication, the king's council refused to hear the representatives of the two archbishops, because they had assembled their council without the royal license.[c]

(6.) The papal judicature was so extended as in great measure

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[y] Wilk. iii. 13-1.

[z] Wilk. 14, 211. art. 55.

[a] "Nullius privilegii fictus vel fultus juvamine." Vita I. Clem. V. ap. Baluz. V. P. A. i. 14.

[b] Bardin, in Hist. de Langued. IV. Preuves, 29.

[c] Ib. 32. See as to the manner in which Lewis I. of Hungary settled the relations of church and state as to jurisdiction, Mailath. ii. 96-7. St. Antoninus complains that at Florence, in 1345, under the influence of the multitude, a law was made, "in clericos iniqua, per quam omnibus eorum privilegiis derogabatur." (p. 352.) In Switzerland all resort to foreign tribunals, whether secular or spiritual, was forbidden to the clergy, A.D. 1370; and in those parts of Italy which were under Ghibelline rulers the ecclesiastical courts were almost suppressed. Giesel. II. iii. 175.

to supersede all other tribunals of the church. The Roman curia now entertained all sorts of cases in the first instance, often where one party only wished to resort to it, and in disregard of the protests of the other party; and it frequently happened that cases, while pending, were transferred to the papal judgment from the episcopal courts in which they had been commenced.[d] By this the authority and estimation of the bishops was much diminished; and other things, such as the enormous extension of the system of dispensations and exemptions, tended to the same effect. By arrogating to themselves the functions of the bishops, the popes reduced these to what a writer of the time describes as the condition of mere painted images;[e] and many of them, finding themselves without the honour and the influence which had formerly belonged to their order, were tempted to neglect of duty and to selfish enjoyment, while they endeavoured to indemnify themselves for their degradation by behaving tyrannically to their clergy.[f]

In France the independence of the bishops appeared to have been secured by the Pragmatic Sanction of St. Louis; but it was again sacrificed by the Concordat of Constance, and the authority which they had seemed likely to acquire, by means of the councils in which they sat in judgment on popes, was frustrated by the policy of the popes, who contrived to entangle them in differences with their sovereigns.[g]

(7.) The popes, too, had in their hands the power of reconciling the bishops to much loss of dignity, by means of the system of commendams.[h] The practice of "commending" vacant preferments—such as the headship of a monastery—instead of filling them up with proper incumbents, was as old as the eighth or ninth century,[i] but had then been forcibly exercised by secular princes in favour of laymen or others, and had been reprobated by the ecclesiastical authorities.[k] At a later time, however, it came to be largely used by popes, who found in it a means of attaching to their interest persons who might otherwise have been inclined to insubordination. At first, vacant preferments, if there were some hindrance to filling them up immediately, were commended to the care of some competent person, and the

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[d] Planck, v. 651-2; Giesel. II. iii. 181. There were many remonstrances from England against such interference with the course of judgment. *E.g.* Rymer, ii. 968.

[e] De modis un. et ref. Eccl., in Gerson, ii. 174.

[f] Planck, v. 631-4; Giesel. II. iii. 182-3.

[g] Schröckh, xxxiii. 57-8.

[h] Planck, v. 629.

[i] See vol. ii. 218, 520; Quart. Rev. ex. 68.

[k] Planck, v. 617.

abuse of the system was guarded against by limitations of the time for which such commendations might be granted.[m] But afterwards such restrictions were set aside, so that the commendation might be for the whole lifetime of the receiver; nor were the popes bound by any limits as to the number of the preferments which might thus be accumulated on a single person. If an archbishop complained of the cost of his pall, or a bishop of the amount of his first-fruits, they might be indemnified at the expense of the church by receiving the commendation of wealthy sees or abbacies. In the case of some of the more important prelates, this system was carried to a great excess. Thus Baldwin of Trèves held at different times the sees of Spires and Worms *in commendam* with his archbishoprick, and for nine years (during a part of which he was also administrator of Worms) even the archbishoprick of Mentz, the seat of the German primacy, was commended to him.[n] The cardinals held much preferment in this way, and in some cases even women received the commendation of benefices.[o]

Clement V., who had used this system largely, was touched with compunction in a dangerous illness, and on his recovery put forth a bull revoking and annulling all A.D. 1307. such grants;[p] but it would seem, from the complaints of the younger Durandus[q] and of another bishop, at the time of the council of Vienne, that little practical amendment followed.[r] John XXII. endeavoured, by his bull *Execrabilis* (A.D. 1318), to check the practice of commendation and other abuses of pluralities;[s] but later popes again had recourse to it, and it furnished the means of evading various laws of the church. Thus a benefice with cure of souls might be bestowed in commendam on a

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[m] Planck, v. 618-9; Herzog, art. *Commende.* Thus Gregory X. in 1274, limited them to six months. VI. Decret. I. vi. 15.

[n] Gesta Bald. in Baluz. Miscell. i. 321-2; Potthast, ii. 428; Planck, v. 630.

[o] Giesel. II. iii. 118.

[p] Raynald. 1307. 28; Thomassin, vi. 107.

[q] See above, p. 46.

[r] Planck, v. 624; Giesel. II. iii. 106. See Thomassin, I. II. iii. 20.

[s] Extrav. tit. iii. No one, except cardinals and royal persons, was to have more than one benefice with cure of souls in addition to one without cure; "Cum," says the Lanercost chronicler, "ante illud tempus omnis rector seu persona ecclesiæ tot ecclesias posset admittere et retinere quot diversi patroni sibi vellent conferre." (235). The younger Durandus, some years before the date of this bull, tells a story of a chancellor of Paris who refused to give up any of his pluralities, although his bishop entreated him, when on his deathbed, to do so. But as the bishop was saying a *De Profundis* for him near his grave, the chancellor appeared, in miserable plight, and declared that he had been damned on account of his pluralities, so that prayer for him was unavailing. (De Modo celeb. Concil. Gen. p. ii. tit. 21, p. 109.) The reforms of John XXII. were not altogether disinterested; for the preferments which should become vacant by the operation of his bull were to be reserved to his own disposal; and against this Edward II. remonstrated. Rymer, ii. 351. See the bull of Urban V. against pluralities, A.D. 1365, in Wilk. iii. 62.

person who would have been incapable of holding it as incumbent—a boy, for example, or one who had not been ordained to the priesthood.[t] Or by the union of benefices the laws against pluralities might be defeated—the holder being presented to one as the "principal benefice," and the others being commended to him with it. Or a cure of souls was united with a sinecure, and, when the sinecure was bestowed on a person unqualified for a charge of souls, the cure followed it by virtue of the union.[u]

In consequence of such practices, chiefly, the inequality between different grades of the clergy now became especially glaring. Theodoric of Niem tells us that, while some of them were greater than secular princes, others were in a condition more abject than that of the common people.[x] And Nicolas of Clemanges renews the old complaint of Agobard[y] that members of the priesthood are employed in low offices under secular masters—as cooks, butlers, stewards, as waiters at table or as ladies' footmen, not to say worse.[z]

(8.) There was now a general disposition to put some restraint on the increase of ecclesiastical wealth. In England, the statutes of Mortmain were directed to this purpose, as we have seen in an earlier period.[a] In Germany, there were various local enactments—as that clergymen should not acquire real property, or should hold it only for a limited time; and that they should not be employed to draw up wills, as it was supposed that they might unduly influence the minds of the testators.[b] At Paderborn it was decreed, in 1379, that any citizen who at a funeral should offer more than the price of one mass should be fined—an order which seems to imply not only a wish to limit the receipts of the clergy, but a doubt of the efficacy of such services for the benefit of departed souls.[c]

But the attacks on the wealth of the clergy were not limited to such measures as these. Marsilius of Padua and William of Ockham, whose rigour of principle was exasperated by their feeling that, as imperialists, they had the great force of the clergy against them, proposed to take away all endowments; and the principle of such endowments was afterwards denounced by Wyclif and by Hus. The wealth of the English hierarchy contrasted strongly with Wyclif's ideal, and became a mark for

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[t] Planck, v. 620-2.

[u] Ib. 627.

[x] Nemus Unionis, l. iii. p. 223; Giesel. II. iii. 183.

[y] See vol. ii. p. 199.

[z] "Nolo turpiora dicere." De Præsulibus Simoniacis, p. 165.

[a] Vol. iii. p. 588; 15 Ric. II. c. 5, &c

[b] Giesel. II. iii. 170-2.

[c] Ib. 172

frequent attacks. When Henry IV., in 1404, was urgently in want of money, the House of Commons represented to him that the clergy held a third part of the English soil, and yet lived in idleness while the laity shed their blood for their country. On this, Archbishop Arundel threw himself at the king's feet, and reminded him that the clergy had contributed a tenth for the national service oftener than the laity had given a fifteenth; that they contributed the services of their retainers to the royal forces, and that, instead of being idle, they also contributed their prayers. By this speech the attack was defeated; and the king assured the clergy that he intended to leave the church in as good a condition as he had found it, or better.[d] Two years later, a scheme of church-reform was drawn up, setting forth on one hand the amount of land and revenues held by the clergy, and on the other hand the number of earls, knights, esquires, and hospitals that might be maintained out of these resources, with a proposal for reducing the clergy to such a number as might be necessary for the performance of their functions. But again the king took part with the clergy, and the attack was unsuccessful.[e]

(9.) The nobles had in earlier times endeavoured to get exclusive possession of the preferment in some chapters, and such attempts were continually carried further.[f] Thus, at Strasburg, no one was admissible to a canonry unless he could show sixteen quarterings of nobility; and, although Gregory IX. had reprobated this system,[g] other popes allowed it, and may have found their account in thus securing the support of the nobles who benefited by it.[h] The claim of high birth, indeed, was commonly admitted, even by reforming churchmen, as a ground for preferment;[i] and an English satirist, while complaining that persons of low origin are advanced to ecclesiastical dignities which lift them above the secular nobles, adds that these ought rather to secure such preferments for their own kindred or for gentlemen.[k] The canonries, being regarded

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[d] Walsingh. ii. 265-73.

[e] Ib. ii. 282-3; Lingard, iii. 473.

[f] Giesel. II. iii. 185. See vol. iii. 239.

[g] See vol. iii. 583.

[h] Schröckh, xxxiii. 184.

[i] Thus, Cardinal Zabarella proposes "ut nulli nisi graduati vel nobiles magna nobilitate ad ecclesias cathedrales admittantur." (V. d. Hardt, i. 524.) So another cardinal would have regard, "secundum quod videbitur expedire," to nobility in appointments to bishopricks and other dignities. (ib. 557.) And Martin V., in his plan of reform (see p. 297), while laying down that future cardinals shall in general be men of high personal qualifications, adds "Præter admodum paucos, qui de stirpe regia vel ducali vel magni principis oriundi existant, in quibus competens litteratura sufficiat." (Ib. 1021.)

[k] The Ploughman's Creed, vv. 1483, seqq.

merely as sources of income, were very commonly held by persons who declined to proceed beyond the minor orders of the ministry, and who were utterly unlearned.[m] In order to guard against such evils, Clement V. decreed that no one below the order of subdeacon should have a voice in a chapter, and that those who were promoted to canonries should enter into the "holy" orders within a year, under certain penalties.[n] And a council at Lucerne, in 1351, ordered that no one ignorant of grammar should be appointed to such preferments.[o] The reforming committee of the council of Constance described the canons who owed their position to their birth as being rather like soldiers than ecclesiastics, and ordered that academic doctors should be mixed with them in certain proportions;[p] and it did away with another abuse by ordering that no one under eighteen years of age should be capable of such preferment.[q]

(10.) Throughout this time there are continual outcries as to the faults of the clergy, partly continued from former ages, and partly provoked by the development of new evils. In all grades there are complaints of rapacity, luxury, and neglect of duty, while it is said that many of the clergy devote themselves to secular affairs, and become altogether laic in their habits.[r] The cardinals are taxed with extravagant pride, which regards not only bishops (whom they commonly styled *episcopelli*), but primates and patriarchs, with contempt; their life and that of their households is described as unedifying, and they are accused of utterly neglecting the monasteries and other preferments which they hold in plurality—sometimes even to the number of 400 or 500.[s] The bishops are charged with want of learning and of other qualifications for their office, with non-residence, secularity, simony; it is said that for the sake of money they bestow orders on a multitude of men who are utterly illiterate, lax in their habits, and unfit for the sacred ministry; and if the text "Freely ye have received, freely give," be quoted to

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[m] See Marsilius, Defensor Pacis, ii. 24.

[n] Clementin. I. tit. vi. c. 2. See too Conc. Panormit. A.D. 1388, in Mansi, xxvi. 751.

[o] Mansi, xxvi. 257.

[p] V. d. Hardt, i. 639, 695-8.

[q] Ib. 698.

[r] *E. g.* Theod. Vrie, ap. V. d. Hardt, i. 60, seqq.; Theobald., Publica Conquestio, ib. p. xix.; Pierce Ploughman's Vision, 165, seqq., 7131, seqq., 8037, seqq., 14360, seqq.; Nic. de Clemang. de Corrupto Eccl. Statu, 2-3; Henr. de Hassia, Consilium Pacis, c. 17, in Gerson, ii. 837-9. There is an amusing description of clerical dandyism in Abp. Stratford's Constitutions, A.D. 1342 (Wilkins, ii. 703); see too Thoresby, abp. of York, ib. iii. 71.

[s] De Ruina Eccl. 13-7 (V. d. Hardt, I. iii.). Henry of Hesse speaks of cases in which a single person held 200 or 300 benefices. Cons. Pacis, c. 17 (Gerson, t. ii.).

them, their reply is that they had not received freely.[t] It is said that those of Germany devolved their work on titular bishops, who paid for their appointments, and "gnawed" the clergy and people by their exactions.[u] Similar complaints are made of the archdeacons; and the canons are described as worthy of their bishops—as sunk in voluptuousness and vice.[x] There are, as before, decrees of councils against the fighting and hunting propensities of the clergy, against indecencies in the celebration of the Divine offices;[y] prohibitions of secular occupations[z] and diversions;[a] with unsavoury evidence as to the results of enforcing celibacy,[b] and continued re-enactments of the canons

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[t] De Ruina Eccl. 20-8; Nic. de Clemang. de Præsul. Simoniacis, p. 165.

[u] Th. Niem, de Necessitate Reform. in V. d. Hardt, i. 290.

[x] See p. 256. John Schadland, a Dominican, on being appointed by Gregory XI. to the see of Hildesheim, without consulting the chapter (A.D. 1362), asked where was the library which his predecessors had used. The officials took him into an armoury, where they showed him all sorts of arms, and told him that these were the books which had been used by former bishops, and which were still necessary for the defence of the church's property. After two years, the bishop was able to obtain a translation from this uncongenial sphere to Augsburg. (Chron. Hildesh. in Leibnitz, ii. 799; Quet and Echard, i. 672.) A later bishop of Hildesheim, Gerhard, in a battle against the dukes of Brunswick, who had for allies the archbishop of Magdeburg and the bishop of Halberstadt, got the victory over their superior force by vowing a gilt roof to St. Mary's church—"Eligeret ergo D. Virgo utro mallet, stramineone an aureo tecto ornari,"—and he applied the ransom of the dukes to the fulfilment of his vow. (Leibn. ii. 800.)

[y] *E. g.* Clementin. l. III. tit. iv. c. 1.

[z] Thus a council at Bologna, A.D. 1317, enacts that the clergy shall not sell wine or other illicit articles; that they shall not keep or haunt taverns; nor shall they be "bastaxii, mimi, histriones vel lenones, carbonerii seu fornerii, cursarii seu piratæ, nisi forsan contra infideles, vel sagiones curiæ sæcularis non existant, vel se guerris voluntarie immisceant, nisi pro defensione sua vel ecclesiæ." (cc. 4, 7). Cf. Clementin. III. tit. 1, c. 1; Conc. Avenion. A.D. 1337, c. 38.

[a] *E. g.* Conc. Tarracon. A.D. 1332, c. 8 (Mansi, XXV.).

[b] See Theiner, ii. 591, seqq.; Giesel. II. iii. 188-191. The bishops usually, for an annual payment, licensed the keeping of concubines "quæ vulgata jam appellatione *vaccæ annuales* dicuntur." (N. de Clemang. de Præsul. Simoniacis, 162; cf. De Ruina Eccl. c. 22). "Denique laici usque adeo persuasum habent nullos cœlibes esse, ut in plerisque parochiis non aliter velint presbyterum tolerare nisi concubinam habeat, quo vel sic suis sit consultum uxoribus, quæ ne sic quidem usquequaque sint extra periculum." (De Præsul. Sim. 165). A council at Padua, in 1339, decreed that no clerk should take his son about with him, nor employ him as an assistant in religious functions, "ne ipsius incontinentiæ vitium ipso filio attestante omnibus revelaret." (c. 4.) Theodoric of Niem says that in Ireland and Norway (two countries so remote from each other and so unlike that we can hardly suppose this connexion of them to be correct), the bishops were accustomed to take their concubines with them on their rounds of visitation, in order that these women might fare sumptuously at the cost of the clergy who were visited, might get gifts from them, see their *amasiæ*, and guard the bishop against the chance of being ensnared by the superior beauty of the ornaments of the parsonage. Theodoric adds that any priest who did not keep a *focaria* was bound to pay procurations to the bishop, as being a "prævaricator paternarum traditionum;" that the wives of priests took precedence of the wives of knights; and that the same sort of laxity was also common in Germany, Spain, and Portugal (De Schism. iv. 35). In Chaucer, the miller's wife of Trumpington is an important personage in her way, because she is a parson's daughter. (The Reve's Tale, 3940, seqq. See Lea on Sacerdotal Celibacy, 319, Philadelphia,

which had been found so ineffectual for good. Some of the more enlightened divines, such as Zabarella, began to suggest the expediency of removing the restrictions on marriage;[c] but even Gerson was strongly against this, and the old laws, with the evils which resulted from them, continued.[d]

Notwithstanding the impulse given to learning by the universities, the great mass of the clergy was still grossly ignorant,[e] and this is a frequent subject of complaint.[f] D'Ailly suggested at the council of Constance that, in order to remedy in some degree the ignorance which was common among the priesthood, some plain instructions as to faith and morals, the sacraments, and the mode of confession, should be drawn up both in Latin and in the vernacular languages.[g]

In all varieties of shapes a desire for reform was expressed—in the treatises of such theologians as Gerson, Cardinal d'Ailly, and Nicolas of Clemanges; in the writings of those Franciscans, such as William of Ockham, who were driven into the imperial interest by the contrast between their ideas of apostolical simplicity and the corruptions of the court of Avignon; in the solemn verse of Dante, and in the indignant letters of Petrarch;

1867.) At the council of Constance, Theobald, a doctor of divinity, says "Versum est in proverbium quod prælati tot nutriunt meretrices quot familiares." (V. d. Hardt, i. 909.) John of Varennes speaks of ecclesiastics "quorum vita non est hominum etiam laicorum, sed brutorum; quorum nonnulli in ecclesiis suis coram populo suo palam sæpius dixerunt, et alibi publice, et in taberna quoque, quod pro homine vivente concubinas suas non permitterent abire; sed si satis de una non haberent, duas aut tres reciperent, aut omnes parochianas suas, a prima usque ad ultimam, haberent." Ap. Gerson, i. 918.

[c] Schröckh, xxxiii. 85.

[d] Dialogus Sophiæ et Naturæ super cœlibatu sive castitate Ecclesiasticorum (A.D. 1413) Opp. ii. 617, seqq. At the council of Constance, it was proposed that, whereas some hold that the ministrations of notorious concubinaries may be attended, unless denounced by the bishop, and others considered notoriety to be a sufficient objection, the former opinion should be held as safer than the other, and that notice should be required in order to justify the withdrawal from the communion of such priests. V. d. Hardt, i. 636; Schwab, 957.

[e] "Non tantum a studiis aut schola, sed ab aratro etiam et servilibus artibus, ad parochias regendas, cæteraque beneficia, passim proficiscebantur. Qui haud plus Latinæ linguæ quam Arabicæ intelligerent, imo, qui et nihil legere, et, quod referre pudor, alpha vix nossent a betha discernere." De Corrupto Eccl. Statu, 7 (cf. 24) in V. d. Hardt, I. iii.; Giesel. II. iii. 186-7.

[f] Louis de Beaumont, a Frenchman, whose appointment to the see of Durham has been already mentioned (p. 196), was unable at his consecration, with all the aids of tutoring and prompting, to read or to pronounce the harder words of the Latin formulary. "Latinum non intelligens, sed cum difficultate pronuncians. Unde cum in consecratione sua profiteri debuit, quamvis per multos dies ante instructorem habuisset, legere nescivit; et cum auriculantibus aliis cum difficultate ad illud verbum *Metropolitice* pervenisset, et diu anhelans pronunciare non posset, dixit in Gallico *Seit par dite.* Stupebant omnes circumstantes, dolentes talem in episcopum consecrandum. Et cum similiter celebraret ordines, nec illud verbum *in ænigmate* proferre posset, dixit circumstantibus, *Par Seynt Lowys il ne fut pas curteis, qui ceste parole ici escrit.*" Rob. de Graystanes, in Angl. Sac. i. 761.

[g] De Reform. Eccles. ap Gerson. ii. 911.

in popular poems, stories, and satires, such as the 'Songe du Vergier,' in France, the free tales of Boccaccio,[h] the downright invectives of Pierce the Ploughman, and the living pictures of Chaucer; in the critical spirit which grew up within the universities; in the teaching of Wyclif, Hus, and their followers. The cry for a general council, which in former times had been raised only in the way of appeal from the papacy by its opponents, was now taken up by the truest members of the church, not only with a view to ending the schism which had long distracted Western Christendom, but in order to that reformation of which the necessity was felt by all but those whose interest was bound up with the corruptions of the existing system.[i] Yet even among the many who sincerely wished for reform, there were some who believed that it would come better from the pope than from a council; and the hopes which had been fixed on the council of Constance met with scanty fulfilment in its decrees, and with still less in the execution of them.[k]

II.—*Monasticism.*

(1.) Although during this time a feeling was often expressed that the number of persons professing the monastic life was already too great, and although restrictions had been placed on the indefinite multiplication of orders,[m] some new communities were now founded, such as the Jesuates,[n] the congregation of the Blessed Virgin of Mount Olivet,[o] the Alexians or Cellites,[p] the order of St. Bridget of Sweden,[q] the brotherhood of canons-regular of the Common Life (founded at Deventer by Gerard Groot, which was distinguished by the care which it bestowed on the education of students intended for the priesthood[r]), and no less than four orders which took their name from St. Jerome.[s] But no one of these societies was so remarkable either for its constitution or for the extent of its success as to require a more particular detail.

(2.) The older orders, which possessed endowments, and had already shown themselves affected by the temptations of wealth, continued to decline more and more from the rigour of their

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[h] *E.g.* the second novel of the first decade of the Decameron.

[i] See Giesel. II. iii. 165.

[k] Schröckh, xxxiii. 69.

[m] See vol. iii. 590.

[n] See the life of the founder, John Columbino, in Acta SS. Jul. 31.

[o] Schröckh, xxxiii. 158. The rule is in Holsten. v. 1, seqq.

[p] Mosh. ii. 680-9.

[q] See above, p. 143; Holsten. iii. 100.

[r] Rayn. 1384. 6; Schröckh, xxxiii. 169-75; Giesel. II. iii. 224, seqq. The founder, of whom there is a life by Thomas of Kempen, was born in 1310, and died in 1384.

[s] Schröckh, xxxiii. 163; Holsten. tt. iii., vi.

original profession. Thus the Benedictines gave themselves up to enjoyment—resting on their historical fame, and careless to add to the long list of popes and bishops and learned men who had already adorned their brotherhood.[t] They contributed nothing to the intellectual movements of the time; the few writers whom the society now produced, instead of attempting to distinguish themselves in scholastic philosophy, were content to employ their labour on subjects of morality or practical religion.[u] Even in the mother monastery of the order, the great and venerable abbey of Monte Cassino, Boccaccio is said to have found the library without a door, herbage growing through the windows, the books thickly covered with dust, and the volumes cruelly mutilated by the monks, who, for the sake of some trifling gain, erased the writing from the leaves, and turned them into little books of devotion,[x] or pared away the ample margins and made them into charms[y] for sale to women.[z] And when Urban V., on a vacancy in the headship, attempted to introduce a better system into the house, he found himself obliged to borrow a fit instrument either from the Camaldolites, or from the reformed brotherhood of Mount Olivet.[a] Attempts to revive the Benedictine rule were made by Clement V.,[b] and by Benedict XII., who had intended to carry his reforms into other monastic orders;[c] but Clement VI., in the first year of his pontificate, absolved them from the penalties which had been imposed by his predecessor.[d]

In other monastic societies a similar degeneracy was noted. Thus, at the council of Pisa, Bishop Hallam, of Salisbury, complained of the bad state of discipline into which the English Cistercians had fallen; and the abbot of Citeaux, unable to deny the fact, alleged the schism of the church as the cause of it.[e] At the same council, the prior of Canterbury, while speaking well of the Cluniacs of England, described those of some French monasteries which he had visited as ignorant, as neglectful of discipline and of the monastic habit, as having no proper vestments even for use in the services of the church, and as being altogether more like mere cultivators of the soil than monks,[f]

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[t] Schröckh, xxxiii. 90-1.

[u] Giesel. II. iii. 193.

[x] "Psalteriolos."

[y] "Brevia." See Ducange, i. 771, No. 11.

[z] Benven. Imol. (a pupil of Boccaccio) in Murat. Antiq. Ital. i. 1296. "Nunc ergo, O vir studiose, frange tibi caput pro faciendo libros."

[a] See Baluz. V. P. A. 1039.

[b] Clementin. III. x. 1.

[c] Mansi, xxv. 205; Baluz. Vita P Aven. i. 205-6, 218; Wilkins, ii. 525-[illegible], 626, 656.

[d] Mansi, xxv. 1155; Baluz. Mis iv. 27; Vitæ Pap. Aven. i. 285.

[e] Martene, Coll. Ampl. vii. 1117.

[f] Ib. 1118. This prior was Chillend

and from many quarters there is a concurrence of evidence as to a general decay of discipline and learning, with an increased love of selfish and sensual enjoyments.[g] In some cases the monastic rule which forbade individual property was openly violated;[h] the common life of the refectory and of the dormitory fell into disuse; the monks had their separate dwellings, and any abbot who attempted to bring them back to a better observance of their rule was met by violent opposition.[i] So generally did laxity of morals prevail among the monastic communities, that, according to the writer of the tract 'On the corrupt State of the Church,' any monk who led a correct life became the laughing-stock of the rest.[k] The same writer describes nunneries as abodes of the grossest profligacy;[m] he adds that, on account of the degeneracy of the monkish societies, the promise, "All these things shall be added unto you," is no longer fulfilled to them;[n] and we meet with strong dissuasives against that liberality in gifts and bequests on which the monks of earlier days securely relied.[o] In England, both William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester in the end of the fourteenth century, and William of Waynflete, who held the same see in the middle of the fifteenth, allege the prevailing degeneracy of the monks as their motive for bestowing their wealth on the foundation of colleges rather than of convents.[p]

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whose name is memorable in connexion with the fabric of his cathedral, "Et credatis," says the writer who reports him, "quod ipse est mirabilis persona in litteratura et moribus, et magnæ experientiæ vir, et multum zelat rempublicam, et est æque bene reddituatus sicut unus magnus episcopus."

[g] Thus John of Trittenheim says in his chronicle of Hirschau, A.D. 1354, "Erat enim tempus illud nebulosum et ignorantiæ tenebris plenum; quando periit non solum in hoc monasterio Hirsaugiensi, sed in omnibus quoque monasteriis nostri ordinis pæne in tota Germania, observantia regularis; et monachi, carnis voluptatibus dediti, studium litterarum, quod majores nostros quondam fecit gloriosos, penitus abjicientes, &c." (Opera, p. 227; cf. 230). At Spanheim, under an abbot elected in 1374, the monks began to sell the precious library, as well as relics, &c. (ib. 333). Cf. Conc. Provinc. Magdeb. A.D. 1370, &c.

[h] Trithem. 237; letter of John, abbot of St. Laurence, at Liége, in Martene, Coll. Ampl. i. 1556. There were discussions about property at the council of Constance. See V. d. Hardt, iii. 107, seqq.; Hefele, vii. 367.

[i] Trithem. p. 337.

[k] De Corrupto Eccl. Statu, c. 39; cf. 32.

[m] "Ut idem sit puellam velare quod et publice ad scortandum exponere" (c. 36). Theodoric Vrie says that nuns were sometimes driven by the tyranny of bishops to prostitute themselves for the means of living. (V. d. Hardt, i. 75.) As to the habits of nuns a century earlier, a decree of Clement V. at the council of Vienne may be quoted:—"Moniales ipsæ (quarum nonnullas dolentes audivimus in subscriptis excedere) pannis sericis, variorum fœderaturis, sandalitiis, comatis et cornutis crinibus, scaccatis et virgatis caputiolis non utantur; non choreas, non festa sæcularium prosequantur, non die noctuve per plateas incedant, aut voluptuosam alias vitam ducant," &c. Clementin. III. x. 2. See Rulman Merswin, 'Of the Nine Rocks,' p. 381.

[n] c. 32.

[o] *E. g.* Piers Ploughman's Vision, 10255, seqq.

[p] Lowth, Life of Wykeham 91; Chandler, Life of Waynflete, 182.

(3.) The system of commendation was very mischievous in its effects on monastic discipline. The popes, by assuming the power to bestow abbacies *in commendam* on their cardinals, deprived many monasteries of a resident head.[q] In such cases the revenues were diverted from their proper objects; the number of monks was reduced to a very few, who, instead of being bound to the observance of their rule, received a small stipend, and were allowed to spend it wherever they pleased; and the poor were deprived of their accustomed alms.[r] In some cases it is complained that a monastery was burdened with an abbot who was disqualified by his previous training—a secular priest, or a member of some other order;[s] and charges of simony are as rife with regard to monastic appointments as to the other promotions of the church.[t]

(4.) The exemption of monasteries from episcopal control was continually a matter of complaint, especially on the part of bishops, who represented it as destructive of ecclesiastical discipline.[u] The subject was discussed at the council of Vienne, where it was argued (somewhat unfairly as to the question of monasteries) that the crimes which were then imputed to the Templars had arisen out of their exemption from episcopal authority.[x] To this an abbot of the diocese of Senlis replied, that exemptions were necessary for the protection of monks against the tyranny of the bishops; and he commended his cause to the pope by dwelling on the closeness of the connexion between the exempt monasteries and the apostolic see. Clement was not disposed to embroil himself with the monastic orders; and the proposal for the abolition of exemptions, which had been made by Giles Colonna, archbishop of Bourges, was defeated.[y] At the council of Constance a very small measure of reform was conceded by Martin V., in abolishing such exemptions as had been granted since the beginning of the schism.[z]

(5.) The mendicant orders did not escape the accusations which were directed against the professors of the monastic life in general. We meet with invectives against them as luxurious and assuming, as indulging in a splendour of buildings inconsistent

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[q] Giesel. II. iii. 192.

[r] De modis uniendi &c. Eccl., Gerson, Opera, ii. 174; Gesta Abbat. S. Albani, 396.

[s] Ib. 397; Theod. Niem, De necessitate Reform. &c. in V. d. Hardt, i. 287.

[t] Ib.; Theod. Vrie, ib. 60.

[u] Giesel. II. iii. 202-3.

[x] Rayn. 1312. 24, quoting a memoir by a bishop. See above, p. 343. The annalist defends exemptions. vol. iv. 580.

[y] Rayn. t. iv. 567, seqq.; Hefele, vi. 463.

[z] V. d. Hardt, i. 1029. See Richard of Ulverstone against exemptions, Art. 6, in V. d. Hardt, i. xxvii

with the spirit of their rules;[a] and the collisions between their privileges and the rights of the parochial clergy were incessant. Council after council, and other authorities in various countries, endeavoured, but seemingly with very imperfect success, to limit the friars in their claims to act as preachers and confessors everywhere, and to bury the dead without restriction in their cemeteries, and thus to deprive the secular clergy of respect, authority and income.[b] Yet the mendicants continued throughout this time to enjoy more of influence and of reputation than any of the other orders. The great brotherhoods of St. Dominic and St. Francis were stimulated by their rivalry; but yet a division of objects and of labour was in a manner established between them. The Dominicans especially studied scientific theology; their Albert and their Thomas were regarded as next in authority to the ancient doctors of the church. They were preachers and controversialists, were much employed as confessors and confidants of princes, and had the inquisition almost entirely in their hands. The Franciscans, although they, too, had their theologians who were unsurpassed by any in subtlety, were on the whole more given to popular teaching and ministrations; and they sought by all means—even by unscrupulous impostures—to gain an influence over the great mass of the people.[c]

The universities of Paris and of Oxford were much disquieted by the mendicants. At Paris, in 1321, John of Poilly, a doctor of the Sorbonne, was required to retract certain opinions which he had uttered against the claim of the friars to act as confessors. He held that confession to a friar did not dispense with the necessity of again confessing the same sins to the parish priest; that so long as the canon of the fourth council of Lateran should be in force, the pope could not excuse from the duty of yearly confession to the parish priest; nay, that

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[a] See, *e.g.*, Clementin. V. ix. i., coll. 322-4; Wright, Political Songs, 255-6, 267, 304, seqq.; P. Ploughman's Vision, 84, 115, &c. The author of the tract 'De Ruina Ecclesiæ' calls them wolves in sheep's clothing, and is very severe on them. c. 22. St. Antoninus says that the relaxation in the discipline of the mendicants was commonly supposed to date from the Black Death, by which they lost many of their most exemplary members, and were thrown into disorder which the authorities were afterwards unable to remedy. iii. 357.

[b] Raynald. 1304. 21; 1381. 5; Clementin. III. vii. 2; Extrav. III. vi. 2; V. vii. 1; viii. 3; Conc. Prag. A.D. 1346, in Mansi, xxv. 87, 102; Conc. Prag. A.D. 1355, c. 36; Conc. Biterr. A.D. 1352, c. 6; Conc. Saltzburg. A.D. 1386. 8; Conc. Vaurense, A.D. 1368, cc. 63-5; Langham, A.D. 1368, in Wilkins, iii. 61; Rebdorf, in Freher, i. 418; P. Ploughman's Vision, 6678, seqq.; De modis uniendi Ecclesiam, &c. in Gerson. ii. 175.

[c] Schröckh, xxxiii. 94-6; Giesel. II. iii. 201-5. In the Ploughman's Creed, the four orders of friars are cleverly made to denounce each other's special faults. Wright, Pol. Songs, 309, seqq.

even God Himself could not do so, inasmuch as it would involve a contradiction. Against these opinions a treatise was written by Peter Paludanus, a Dominican, and John of Poilly, after Pope John himself had condescended to argue with him, submitted to retract in the presence of the cardinals.[d]

In 1409, John of Gorel, a Franciscan, had gone so far as to deny that curates had, by virtue of their office, authority to preach, confess, administer extreme unction, to bury, and to receive tithes—maintaining that the work of preaching and of hearing confession belonged more especially to the friars. He was compelled by the Sorbonne to subscribe certain propositions of a directly contrary tenor, and to acknowledge that the duties in question belonged essentially to curates, and to the friars only by accident.[e]

Attempts were repeatedly made to check the pretensions of the mendicants. Thus the continuator of William of Nangis relates that in the pontificate of Clement VI. the cardinals and other prelates urged that the mendicant orders should be abolished, or that, at least, the friars should be restrained from invading the rights of the parochial clergy; but that the pope defeated the attempt by asking them whether, if the labours of the mendicants should be withdrawn, they themselves would be able to make up for the loss of them.[f] The failure of Fitzralph, bishop of Armagh, in his suit against the mendicants, a few years later, has already been noticed.[g] The bull of the Franciscan pope, Alexander V., in 1409, which appears to have been solicited by his order in consequence of the condemnation of Gorel,[h] the opposition of the university of Paris, and the revocation of the bull by John XXIII.—have also come before us in the course of the history.[i]

A.D. 1351.

The divisions which arose among the Franciscans out of the extreme ideas of apostolical poverty maintained by those who arrogated to themselves the name of Spirituals have already fallen under our notice.[k] In consequence of the condemnation which John XXII. had passed on such ideas, the spirituals declared him to be the mystical antichrist, the forerunner of the greater antichrist; that all later popes, as they had not repudiated his opinions, were heretics, and that those who adhered to

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[d] Extrav. V. iii. 2; Mart. Thes. i. 1368; D'Argentré, i. 301; Eymeric, 126, 250; Chron. Anon. in Bouquet, xxi. 153; Monach. Sandionys. iv. 298; Raynald. 1321. 20, seqq.; Mansi, xxv. 576-7.

[e] D'Argentré, I. ii. 178. Cf. Gerson contra Bullam Mendicantium, Opp. 436.

[f] W. Nang. cont. 112. See above, p. 125.

[g] p. 197.

[h] Schwab, 459.

[i] p. 248.

[k] Vol. iii. 600-3; vol. iv.

them could not be saved.[m] On the other hand, Gerard, the master who was appointed on the deprivation of Michael of Cesena, attempted to procure an abrogation of the founder's precept that the Franciscans should not receive gifts of money; but to this John sternly refused to consent.[n] In consequence of these dissensions, many members forsook the order, and joined the parties which were known as Fraticelli, Beghards, and the like. Many of them ran into errors which were considered to be heretical, and suffered death at the stake.[o]

But besides these more violent differences, the order came to be divided into various classes—one of which was styled *Saccolanti*, from wearing wooden shoes like the peasantry.[p] At length was established the great division into Conventuals—those who lived together in their societies—and Observants, who professed especial regard for the integrity of the Franciscan rule.[q] This latter section, although it had undergone some persecution at an earlier time, was acknowledged by the council of Constance.[r]

The Franciscans, partly perhaps by way of compensation for their departure from the founder's rule, carried their reverence for him into greater and greater extravagances. Among other things, it was said that St. Francis once a year went down from heaven to purgatory, and released all who had died in the habit of his brotherhood.[s] And it was in this time that the notorious 'Book of Conformities' was produced, and was approved by the authorities of the order.[t]

The Dominicans, too, while they departed from the mendicant ideal so that some of their writers maintained their right to hold property,[u] were excited by the rivalry of the Franciscans to set up for their founder pretensions which are clearly blasphemous. Thus in the Life of St. Catharine of Siena, written by her confessor, Raymond of Capua, who was afterwards general of the order, the Almighty Father is represented as producing

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[m] Antonin. iii. 306. He says that the party was long numerous in the mark of Ancona and in the neighbouring regions, but were at length driven to Greece. (See Gieseler, II. iii. 208.) Some of them who went into Sicily turned Mussulmans. Wadd. 1318. 8; Hefele, vi. 509.

[n] A.D. 1331. Wadd. 1331. 10-1.

[o] *E. g.* Baluz. Vita I. Innoc. VI.; Vita I. Ben. XII. p. 205; Vita IV. Urb. V.; Rebdorf. in Freher, i. 441. See Gieseler, II. iii. 208; and p. 70, above.

[p] Schröckh, xxxiii. 128.

[q] See Wadding, 1368. 10; 1384. 1, seqq.; 1387. 1, seqq.; 1390. 1, seqq. &c.

[r] V. d. Hardt, iv. 515; Giesel. II. iii. 213-4.

[s] Herm. Corner, in Eccard, ii. 1101. Wadding says of this story "Neque illa adeo incredibilis aut nova debet reputari, ut hæretica aut erronea dicenda sit" (1378. 28); cf. Giesel. II. iii. 305.

[t] See vol. iii. 368.

[u] See Gieseler, II. iii. 204.

from his head the coëternal Son, and from his breast St. Dominic, declaring that His adopted son Dominic stood on an equality with His only-begotten Son, and carrying out a parallel between the Eternal Word and the founder of the order of Preaching Friars.[x]

III.—*Rites and Usages.*

(1.) In matters which concerned the worship of the church, the same tendencies which had appeared throughout many former ages were still continued, and it was in vain that the more enlightened teachers protested against the further developments of popular superstition and of exaggerated ceremonial.[y]

(2.) The festival of Corpus Christi was established by Clement V.,[z] and further privileges were connected with the celebration by Urban VI. and Boniface IX.[a] The doctrine embodied in this festival was supposed to be confirmed by fresh miracles, although some of these were not unquestioned, or were even admitted to be impostures.[b]

The number of masses was multiplied, partly as a means of securing fees for the clergy. Alvar Pelayo says that St. Francis had especially wished to preserve his order from this temptation, by prescribing that no one should celebrate more than one mass daily, forasmuch as a single mass "filled heaven and earth;"[c] but that the Minorites, in disregard of their founder's wishes, eagerly caught at the opportunity of gain.[d]

The withdrawal of the eucharistic cup from the laity had become general, although a special exception was sometimes made by popes in favour of royal personages; as was the case with the kings of France, who, however, availed themselves of this privilege only at their coronation and on their deathbed. In England both the king and the queen at their coronation received the sacrament in both kinds;[f] and the story of the

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[x] "Ego, dulcissima filia, istos duos filios genui, unum naturaliter generando, alterum amabiliter et dulciter adoptando:" and then follows the parallel. Acta SS. Apr. 30, p. 904.

[y] See, *e. g.* d'Ailly, De Reformatione, in Gerson, ii. 911.

[z] See vol. iii. p. 607.

[a] Rayn. 1389. 4.

[b] See as to the miracle of Wilsnack, above, p. 233. Duke Albert of Austria informed Benedict XII. that in the Austrian town of Neirmiburch (?) a wafer stained with blood was found, and that a priest confessed to having put the blood on it (the wafer being unconsecrated), in order to throw suspicion on the Jews of profaning the sacrament. Rayn. 1338. 19.

[c] De Pl. Eccl. ii. 52, in Gies. 279.

[d] See as to Paderborn, above, p. 346.

[e] Schröckh, xxxiii. 328.

[f] Palmer, Supplem. to Origines Liturgicæ, p. 83, from the Liber Regalis, which is of Richard II.'s time (ib. 56). Maskell, Monum. Ritual. Angl. iii. pp. liv., 45.

Emperor Henry VII.'s death, whether true or false as to the alleged poisoning, implies that the emperors were then accustomed to communicate in both.[g]

In Bohemia, the older practice remained to a late period. But the collisions between Bohemians and Germans in the university of Prague tended to discountenance it,[h] and when (as we have seen), the usage was revived by Jacobellus of Misa, the question was brought before the council of Constance by the bishop of Leitomysl. Gerson was strongly opposed to the administration of the chalice.[i] A committee drew up conclusions on the question, allowing that according to the Saviour's institution the chalice ought to be administered, but maintaining that the church had both authority and reason for departing from the original method; and in accordance with this report, the council condemned Jacobellus, and forbade the practice.[k]

(3.) The doctrine of indulgences, as it had been stated by Thomas of Aquino, was for the first time sanctioned by papal authority in the bull by which Clement VI. proclaimed the jubilee of 1350,[m] and from that time might be regarded as generally established in the church. The use of these privileges, which the popes dispensed at will, was rapidly developed. Small indulgences were to be gained every day, and by the performance of very trivial acts;[n] and the greater indulgences, which had originally been granted for the holy war against the Saracens, were now bestowed on more ordinary considerations. The institution of the jubilee had contributed greatly to advance the popularity of indulgences; and this effect became still greater when Boniface IX. professed to extend the benefits of the jubilee to those who, instead of going to Rome in person, should visit certain churches in their own neighbourhood, and should pay into the papal treasury the sum which a Roman pilgrimage would have cost them.[o] The abuse was carried yet

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[g] See p. 56.

[h] Schröckh, xxxiii. 324, seqq.

[i] Opera, i. 457, seqq. "Si ad proprietatem locutionis attendamus, non proprie sanguis in calice bibitur, sed sola vini species, cum sub specie vini eundem modum sanguis Christi habeat existendi quem habeat omnimode sub specie panis." col. 462.

[k] Sess. General. xiii. (June 15, 1415), V. d. Hardt, iii. 646; iv. 332-4; Hefele, vii. 173. Hus, who was then in prison, was greatly distressed by this, and wrote in favour of Jacobellus, ib. 336.

[m] Extrav. Comm. De Pœnit. et Remiss. c. 2; Giesel. II. iii. 282-3. See above, p. 128.

[n] Giesel. II. iii. 284. Gregory X. having ordered that the head should be bowed at the name of Jesus in the mass, some councils granted ten days' indulgence for so doing (Conc. Aven. A.D. 1326, c. 4; Conc. Biterr. A.D. 1352, c. 1). So the council of Apt, in 1365 (c. 2) gave an indulgence of twenty days for bending the knees at certain words in the mass.

[o] See pp. 171-2.

further by allowing the privileges of a jubilee-year at other times,[p] and by sending into all countries "stationers" or "quæstuaries" to offer the benefit of indulgences at every man's door; and from these practices a general corruption of ideas as to morality naturally resulted.[q] Gerson endeavoured to expose the mistakes of the system; he declared that the Saviour alone was entitled to grant some of the privileges which were usually proclaimed by His ministers on earth;[r] but the popular belief was commonly proof against enlightenment on a matter in which the papal doctrine was so well adapted to the desires of coarse and superstitious minds.[s]

(4.) While the church was lavish of its graces, it was no less prodigal of its censures; and from the excessive employment of these arose a general disregard of them.[t] Froissart mentions an incident which is evidence at once of the contempt into which such sentences had fallen through abuse, and of the independent spirit of the English—that when the Flemings had been laid under an interdict of the most terrible kind for siding with Edward III., in 1340, the English king told them that they need not be uneasy, "for as soon as he should again cross the sea, he would bring them priests of his own country, who would chant masses to them, whether the pope willed it or not; for he was well privileged to do so."[u] The monastic orders, although usually leagued with the papacy, did much to nullify the force of interdicts, by leaving doors or windows open while the services of the church were performed in their chapels, so that the people standing without might have the benefit of their privileged offices. Clement V., in order to prevent this evasion, charged

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[p] "Hoc anno (1392) per illustrissimum principem Steffanum ducem Bavariæ annus jubilæus a sede apostolica fuit impetratus et in civitate Monaco peractus." Chron. Elwacense in Pertz, xvi.

[q] Schröckh, xxxiii. 465-6; Giesel. II. iii. 284-6.

[r] Opera, ii. 514.

[s] It is said, however, that Boniface IX., by his promiscuous offers of indulgences, tempted many persons to suppose that gain was his only object, and to question his power by saying that God alone could do away with guilt, and that indulgences were only the remission of temporal punishment—"Dicere non timebant, 'Anima nostra nauseat super hoc cibo levissimo'" (Num. xxi. 5). Gobel. Pers. 320

[t] De Ruina Eccl. 8. See above, p. 53, note [s]. A council, in 1326, ordered "ut locus non interdicatur pro pecuniario debito sine sedis apostolicæ licentia" (Conc. Marciac. c. 54); but we are told that, in 1343, a Jew of Memmingen, being unable to get payment from his debtors, begged the bishop to interdict the place; and that the bishop, being deeply in his debt, consented to do so. Joh. Vitodur. in Eccard, i. 1899.

[u] c. 106, t. i. 290. Edward II. had promised the clergy that he would not issue letters interfering with their power of excommunication, "nisi in casu in quo possit inveniri lædi per excommunicationem regiam libertatem." 9 Edw. II. stat. i. c. 1.

the members of religious societies to conform to the practice of the principal church in every place.[x]

In former times, popes had sometimes chosen the Thursday before Easter as a day for pronouncing curses against persons who had specially opposed or offended them.[y] Towards the end of the thirteenth century it became usual to repeat on that day such sentences as had been uttered against particular offenders; and hence in the following century grew a custom of denouncing on Maundy Thursday a general anathema against all enemies of the church.[z]

(5.) The multiplication of saints and of festivals continued, although not without protests against the evil consequences of the excess to which it had been carried. Archbishop Islip of Canterbury, in 1362, complained of the bad effects which resulted from the observance of too many holydays, and put forth a list of festivals, which, although reduced from the number before observed, amount to about fifty in addition to the Sundays of the year.[a] And the archbishop describes the manner of keeping these days as marked by coarse debauchery and misrule. Cardinal d'Ailly, at a later time, complains that the festivals were turned into occasions of dissipation, whereas the working-days were not sufficient for a labouring man to earn his bread; and he suggests that, except on Sundays, it should be allowed to work after having attended the religious service of the day.[b] In like manner Nicolas of Clemanges speaks of the number of festivals as excessive, and denounces the idleness, drunkenness, and other vices to which they were commonly perverted.[c] He also criticises severely the services which had been drawn up for

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[x] Rayn. 1310. 45.

[y] As in the case of Paschal II. and the Emperor Henry V., A.D. 1102, and of Gregory IX. and Frederick II., A.D. 1227. So the envoys of Henry II. of England, in 1171, feared that Alexander III. would excommunicate their master on Maundy Thursday, on account of the murder of Becket. S. Thom. Cant. ed. Giles, vi. 200.

[z] Schröckh, xxxi. 528; Giesel. II. iii. 297-8.

[a] Spelman, Concilia, ii. 600. He had before given the document at p. 500, as issued by Abp. Mepham, in 1332; and so it appears in Wilkins, ii. 560. The name of Simon is common to the two archbishops; but the mention of another Simon (Sudbury) as bishop of London, and the date "nostræ consecrationis anno XIII." (which Wilkins would amend by reading "quinto") show that Islip was the author. In 1346, a council at Prague prescribed about the same number of holydays (Mansi, xxvi. 91), but whereas the only saint unknown to Scripture in the English list is Thomas of Canterbury (whose translation is commemorated as well as his martyrdom), the Bohemian list has many such. The Conception of the B. V. is in the English list, but not in the other. The Prague canon allows work to be done after mass on some days. For other lists of festivals, see Conc. Tarracon. A.D. 1329, c. 12; Conc. Benev. A.D. 1378, c. 63; Abp. Arundel, A.D. 1400, in Wilkins, iii. 52.

[b] De Reform. in Conc. Const., ap. Gerson, ii. 911.

[c] 'De novis celebritatibus non instituendis.' Opp. i. 143-7.

some of the newer festivals, and complains that the worship of God was neglected for that of the saints—that the reading of legends had superseded that of Scripture in the offices of the church.[d] Cardinal Zabarella, Henry of Hesse, and other divines of the age, bear evidence to the manner in which festivals were abused, and urge that the number of them should be reduced.[e] On the other hand, however, Gerson proposed that a festival should be instituted in honour of St. Joseph, the husband of the Saviour's mother; and thus to him is due the origin of a celebration which has in later times been raised into greater importance by the overflow of the reverence directed to the Blessed Virgin.[f]

To the festivals in honour of St. Mary were added those of the Visitation and the Presentation—the former commemorating her visit to her cousin Elizabeth;[g] the latter, a supposed presentation or dedication by her parents at the age of three months; from which time it was imagined that she was brought up in the Temple until her espousal to Joseph at the age of eleven.[h] Thus the number of festivals consecrated to the Blessed Virgin was extended to seven.

The festival of her Conception made way continually. In England, it was established in 1328 by Archbishop Mepham, who referred the origin of it to his predecessor St. Anselm;[i] in France, the observance of it was decreed by the French "nation" in the university of Paris in 1380.[k] The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception became almost universal, except in the Dominican order. The Franciscans had at first been divided as to this doctrine, some of them (as Alvar Pelayo) denying it;[m]

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[d] Ib. 156-9.

[e] Zabar. in V. d. Hardt, i. 514; Henr. de Hassia, quoted by Gerson, Opp. i. 40. See the proposals for reform at Constance, V. d. Hardt, i. 733.

[f] See Gerson, iii. 842, seqq.; iv. 729, 731, seqq., and his 'Josephina,' (a poem of about 3000 hexameters) iv. 743; Lenfant, Conc. de Pise, II. ii. 31. St. Joseph's day (March 19) was made a festival of obligation by Gregory XV. in 1621, and was confirmed by Urban VIII. in 1642. (Alban Butler, March 19.) It was made a festival of nine lessons by the general chapter of the Franciscans in 1399 (Wadd. 1399. 7), and a cardinal legate, in 1414, sanctioned the keeping of it in the provinces of Reims, Sens, and Rouen, on the ground that it had been introduced elsewhere. Baluz. Miscell. iii. 111. See C. Schmidt, in Herzog, v. 97.

[g] Walsingh. ii. 207; Bonifac. IX. (referring to Urban VI. as having intended the like), in Rayn. 1389. 3; Andr. Ratisbon. in Pez, IV. iii. 595.

[h] Niceph. Callisti, ii. 3, p. 134, ed. Paris, 1630. The Presentation was introduced by Greg. XI. in 1372. Schröckh, xxxiii. 396.

[i] Wilkins, ii. 552; Giesel. II. iii. 273. For the groundlessness of this, see vol. iii. 264.

[k] Giesel. II. iii. 273. Thierry, abbot of New Corbey, enjoined the observance of the festival on all who were subject to him, A.D. 1357, alleging as a special reason that miracles had lately shed lustre on it. Martene, Coll. Ampl. i. 1471.

[m] De Planctu Eccl. ii. 52, ap. Giesel. II. iii. 274.

but the opposition of the Dominicans decided the course of the rival order, who became enthusiastic advocates of the Immaculate Conception.[n] At Paris, the university was swayed in behalf of this doctrine by the authority of the great Franciscan, Duns Scotus;[o] and when John of Monçon (or de Montesono), a Spanish Dominican, disputed against it at Paris, in 1387, he was condemned as heretical by the university, as well as by the bishop of Paris.[p] On appealing to Clement VII., he found himself opposed at Avignon by a deputation from the university, headed by Peter d'Ailly;[q] and, finding that his cause was going against him, he pretended to submit, but secretly withdrew to his native kingdom of Aragon, where he joined the obedience of the rival pope, and wrote in support of his claims.[r] His excommunication by Clement followed;[s] but while the Franciscans maintain that this was on account of his doctrine, the Dominicans contend that it was wholly caused by his defection from the party of Clement.[t] The university took up the matter strongly; it was decreed that no one should be admitted to a degree except on condition of swearing to the decision of the university, which, although directed only against the absolute denial of the doctrine, was soon interpreted as positively favourable to it.[u] The academics compelled William of Valence, a Dominican, who was bishop of Evreux and confessor to the king, to give up the defence of John of Monçon, and to subscribe their formula; and the king resolved to have no more Dominican confessors.[x] The Dominicans were shut out of the university for fourteen A.D. 1387–1401. years;[y] they were persecuted by the bishops and by the secular authorities;[z] and, in consequence of having taken the unpopular side, they were unable even to walk the streets without being molested, while verses in ridicule of them were

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[n] It is told of the Franciscan St. Bernardine of Siena; "Testatur B. Joannes Capistranus, quoties de B. Virgine prædicabat, faciem ejus tanquam Seraphin solari fulgore irradiari et igniri solitam." Wadd. 1380. 8.

[o] Schröckh, xxxiii. 362.

[p] Gerson, i. 644; Juv. des Urs. 62; Mansi, in Raynald. t. vii. 501; Monach. Sandionys. l. viii. c. 8; Bul. iv. 618; D'Argentré, I. ii. 61, seqq.; Nat. Alex. xv. 234, seqq.; Giesel. II. iii. 274-5.

[q] Mon. Sandionys. l. ix. c. 2. D'Ailly's speeches and tract against John of Monçon are in Gerson, i. 698, seqq. and in D'Argentré, I. ii. 66, seqq. The deputies were sworn to confine themselves to their proper business, and not to look after benefices. Mon. Sandion. t. i. 514.

[r] Mon. Sandion. t. i. 516; Raynald. 1389. 15, 17; 1391. 24-6.

[s] D'Argentré, I. ii. 131, 147.

[t] Quet. and Echard, i. 693. Juvenal des Ursins says that he was sentenced to return to Paris and to retract publicly, and that he promised to do so, but absconded by night. 66. See Baluz. VV. Pap. Aven. i. 1375, 521-2.

[u] See Giesel. II. iii. 276.

[x] D'Argentré, I. ii. 132; Mon. Sandion. t. i. 582; Bul. iv. 633.

[y] D'Argentré, I. ii. 147-8; Mon. Sandion. t. i. 578; Bul. v. 82.

[z] Walsingh. ii. 187.

publicly placarded.[a] Miracles were alleged in behalf of the Immaculate Conception: as that a Dominican of Cracow was struck dead while preaching against it;[b] and that as Scotus was on his way to maintain the honour of the Blessed Virgin in the schools, an image of her, which he passed, was accustomed every day to bend its head in token of favour.[c] St. Bridget brought to the same cause the support of her revelations; but on this point her authority was confronted by that of the other great prophetess of the age, St. Catharine of Siena, who held that the cleansing of the Blessed Virgin's nature did not take place until the soul was infused into the body.[d]

(6.) The fourteenth century saw the perfection of Gothic architecture and the beginning of its decline, although as yet this decline had not advanced far. But in the mean time the other arts were springing into a new life. Italian painting advanced at one step from the elementary rudeness of Cimabue to the schools of Giotto, Orcagna, and the other masters whose combined labours embellished the Campo Santo of Pisa;[e] and while the productions of Italy were carried into other lands, to excite the devotion of believers, and to serve as examples for imitation,[f] a native style of art, admirable for religious feeling and for sober richness of colour, began to appear in the Netherlands, under the leadership of the brothers Van Eyck. In sculpture, too, attempts were now successfully made to shake off the stiffness of Gothic art; perhaps the best known example of the newer style is to be found in the bronze gates of the Baptistery at Florence, which were begun by Andrew of Pisa in 1330.[g]

IV.—*State of Learning.*

The number of universities was greatly increased during the fourteenth century. Among those then founded were Orleans,[h]

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[a] Mon. Sandion. t. i. 74, 490; Juv. des Urs. 63.

[b] Ptol. de Lignamine, in Eccard, i. 1301.

[c] Vita Joh. Duns Scoti, Opp. i. 11, ed. Lugd. 1639.

[d] See extracts from both in Giesel. II. iii. 272-3. Catharine's view agrees with that of the Dominican St. Vincent Ferrer, Serm. de Sanctis, pp. 20-1. Gerson was strongly in favour of the Immaculate Conception. *E. g.* Opera, ii. 35; iii. 1317, seqq. He considers the doctrine to be one which had been revealed to the church in later days. iii. 1330.

[e] Cimabue was born in 1210, and died in 1302; Giotto was born in 1276.

[f] The Gesta Abbatum S. Albani record that Abbot Thomas (1319) "dedit tabulam in Lombardia pictoratam, super majus altare situatam, 45*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.* pro eadem et ejus cariagio a Londoniis et aliis ejus pertinentibus primitus persolutis." (iii. 381). The portrait of Richard II. in the Jerusalem chamber, Westminster, is supposed to be by an Italian who visited England.

[g] G. Villani, x. 176; Tiraboschi, v. 570-1.

[h] Bul. iv. 101.

Erfurt, Prague, Vienna, Heidelberg,[i] Cracow, Pisa,[k] Perugia,[m] Florence,[n] Pavia,[o] and Ferrara.[p] In some of these there were at first the faculties of arts, medicine, and law, to which theology was afterwards added;[q] and in some of the older universities, as at Bologna,[r] a like addition was now made to the original foundation. The university of Rome was dormant throughout the time of the Avignon papacy; and, although revived for a time by Innocent VII., it again fell into decay, until Eugenius IV. restored it in 1431.[s]

In consequence of the erection of universities in Germany and other northern countries, the resort of students to Paris was much diminished, so that few foreigners were now to be found among them. But the great French university continued to maintain its reputation as a school,[t] and was led by the circumstances of the schism to exercise such an influence in the affairs of the church as was altogether without example. Oxford had greatly advanced in importance, and there William of Wykeham introduced a new architectural character into collegiate buildings, and furnished an example of a society more clerical and monastic than the colleges which had before existed.[u]

(2.) The decree by which Clement V., at the instance of Raymund Lully, prescribed the teaching of Oriental languages in certain places, has already been mentioned.[x] But in whatever degree it may have been carried out,[y] the schools which it contemplated, as they were intended only for missionary purposes, did not promote the interpretation of Scripture. The fourteenth century, however, could boast Nicolas de Lyra, the first man who for many hundreds of years had endeavoured to bring Hebrew learning to bear on this. It has been supposed that Nicolas (whose surname was drawn from his native place, a village in Normandy) was a Jew by descent; but for this there seems to be no foundation except the fact of his acquaintance

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[i] Andr. Ratisb. in Pez, IV. iii. 576.

[k] Tirab. v. 62.

[m] Ib. 76.

[n] M. Villani, i. 8; vii. 90; ix. 58, &c.

[o] Pet. Azorius, in Murat. xvi. 406.

[p] Chron. Est. A.D. 1391, ib. xv. 521.

[q] Andr. Ratisb. l. c.

[r] A.D. 1362. Tirab. v. 50.

[s] Th. Niem, ii. 39; Gregorov. vi. 665-7.

[t] Gerson mentions a saying of John of Gaunt:—"Dux de Lancastre dicebat antiquo domino Burgundiæ, 'Habemus in Anglia viros subtiliores in imaginationibus, sed Parisienses veram habent solidam et securam theologiam.' Nota," adds Gerson, "quod cavendum est ne mala theologia et curiosa hanc universitatem invadat, sicut in Anglia et in Praga." Sermo coram Rege, Opera, ii. 119.

[u] Pauli, iv. 687.

[x] Vol. iii. 559.

[y] At Oxford it took effect for a short time (Ant. Wood, ed. Gutch, i. 391, 401). But altogether it seems to have fallen into disuse, and a reforming committee at the council of Constance proposed that it should be observed as to the institution of an Oriental school in the place of the pope's residence. V. d. Hardt, I. x. 603.

with Hebrew. He became a Franciscan in 1291, taught theology during many years at Paris, became provincial of his order in Burgundy, and died in 1340.[z] His Postills extend over the whole Bible, and were greatly prized. He held that in Holy Scripture there are four senses—the literal, the allegorical, the moral, and the anagogical;[a] that the literal sense is presupposed in the others, and must be the foundation of them; that from it alone proofs should be drawn, and that any mystical interpretation which is inconsistent with the letter is unbecoming and worthless; and he strongly blames those expositors who had smothered the literal sense under their figurative interpretations.[b] These principles were called in question, about a century later, by Paul, bishop of Burgos, a convert from Judaism and a member of the Dominican order, who blamed Nicolas for preferring his own interpretations and those of the Jewish writers to the authority of the fathers and of the great Dominican St. Thomas;[c] but Nicolas did not lack defenders, and his commentaries continued to be highly esteemed.

(3.) The study of Greek was now revived, and became common in the west, where it was promoted by learned Greeks, such as Barlaam, Leontius Pilatus (who taught both Petrarch and Boccaccio at Florence),[d] and at a later time Manuel Chrysoloras, the master of Leonard of Arezzo.[e] The first professorship of Greek in the west was established at Florence about 1360, through the influence of Boccaccio, and Pilatus was appointed to the chair, which in 1396 was held by Chrysoloras.[f] The study of the classical Latin authors was also pursued with a new spirit, and great exertions were made for the recovery of writings which had long been unheeded. In the writing of Latin, attempts were made by Petrarch and others, instead of following the traditional style of the middle ages, to imitate the refinement of the classical authors; and this study was afterwards carried further by Poggio Bracciolini.[g] Albertin Mussato wrote Latin

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[z] Schröckh, xxxiv. 125. Trithemius supposes him an Englishman (De Script. Eccl. p. 309). John of Winterthur styles him "solemnis doctor, plenus dierum." Eccard, i. 1920.

[a] *Littera* gesta docet; quid credas, *allegoria*; *Moralis*, quid agas; quo tendas, *anagogia*."

[b] See extracts from his Prologue in Giesel. II. iii. 270-1.

[c] Schröckh, xxxiv. 132-5.

[d] Tirab. v. 92-3, 394, seqq.; 401-5; De Sade, i. 406. Hallam, Hist. Litt. i. 13; Petrarch mentions both Barlaam (under whom he studied at Avignon) and L. Pilatus as his teachers. Senil. xi. p. 981; Variar. 21. See Tirab. v. 398-9.

[e] Leon. Aretin. in Murat. xix. 919; Sozom. Pistoriens. ib. xvi. 1168; Hallam, Midd. Ages, ii. 323. Chrysoloras died at Constance during the sittings of the council, April 15, 1415, and is buried in the Dominican church. Lenf. i. 176.

[f] Tirab. v. 402, 405.

[g] Hallam, Hist. Litt. i. 110, 115; Gregorov. vi. 659-61.

tragedies on the ancient model—one of them having Eccelino da Romano for its principal character.[h]

(4.) The scholastic philosophy is considered to have entered on a new stage with Durandus of St. Pourçain, bishop of Mende, and William of Ockham, the famous English Franciscan, whose political treatises have been already mentioned.[i] Durandus (who, from his readiness in solving all questions, was styled the Most Resolute Doctor,[k]) was a Dominican, and as such was originally a zealous adherent of Thomas Aquinas, but afterwards strongly opposed his authority, especially with regard to the manner in which Divine grace operates; for while Aquinas holds that this is through the sacraments, Durandus maintains that it is by the immediate action of God.[m]

These teachers were noted for their want of reverence for authority;[n] and they revived the philosophical opinion of Nominalism, which had been dormant from the time of its unsuccessful originator, Roscellin.[o] Ockham rejected the idea which St. Anselm and others had cherished, of finding a philosophical basis for the doctrines of the church, which he regarded as matters of pure revelation; and this revelation he supposed to be still exerted in behalf of doctrines which had not been known to the primitive church.[p] Thus, in discussing the question of the Eucharist, he states three opinions, of which one is "that the substance of bread and wine remains, and that in the same place, under the same appearance, is the body of Christ;"[q] and he says that this theory "would be very reasonable, unless there were a determination of the church to the contrary, because it salves and escapes all the difficulties which follow from the separation of the accidents from the subject." Yet he prefers the current opinion, that "the substance of bread and wine ceases to be, while the accidents only remain, and under them the body of Christ beginneth to be;" and he adds, "this is made certain to the church by some revelation, as I suppose, and therefore it hath so determined."[r] The philosophy of Ockham was condemned and prohibited at Paris in 1339; but this sentence increased its fame, and before the end of the

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[h] This is in Muratori, t. x.

[i] pp. 77-8. See Hauréau, c. xxviii.

[k] Schröckh, xxxiv. 190.

[m] Giesel. II. iii. 232-3.

[n] Ib. 232.

[o] Ib. 235. For Roscellin, see vol. iii. 26.

[p] Giesel. II. iii. 236.

[q] So John of Paris taught. See vol. iii. p. 603.

[r] See the extracts in Gieseler, II. iii. 236. In like manner Card. d'Ailly says "multo probabilius esse, et minus superfluorum miraculorum poni, si in altari verus panis verumque vinum, non autem sola accidentia esse adstruerentur, nisi Ecclesia determinasset contrarium." Ib.

century, the Nominalism which had at first been so strongly denounced had come to be generally accepted.[s]

(5.) The unbelieving philosophy which from the beginning of the thirteenth century had existed in secret, now began to appear more openly. Petrarch mentions some votaries of this kind of philosophy whom he had met with at Venice, and describes them as regarding all learning except their own, whether sacred or profane, with contempt.[t]

(6.) The science of casuistry now came into favour as a branch of theological study. The cases of John Petit and of John of Falkenberg, which involved the defence of tyrannicide,[u] afforded much exercise for the subtleties of the casuists; and in the case of Petit it is said that the doctrine of Probability occurs for the first time—a doctrine which, as it was afterwards developed by the Jesuits, supplied Pascal with matter for some of his most effective assaults on that order.[x] The complaints which had been made in former times as to the unprofitable nature of the studies which were most popular, and of the pursuit of learning for low and unworthy ends, are renewed by Gerson and others in this age.[y] The great work of rendering the Holy Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, with which Wyclif's name is associated, engaged the labours of many others in the different western countries; so that there were translations, more or less complete, into French, Italian, German, and Flemish.[z] These translations were, indeed, all in so far defective that they were made from the Latin Vulgate; but they tended to prepare for the more satisfactory works which were to result from that revived study of the original languages which had already begun. It is remarkable that Gerson, in censuring "vain curiosity," recommends that vernacular translations of the Bible should be forbidden, at least with the exception of the moral and historical portions.[a]

(7.) The same age which produced these attempts to bring the meaning of the sacred writings within the reach of the less educated classes, was also distinguished by the rise of a brilliant vernacular literature in various countries, especially in Italy and

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[s] Mosh. ii. 643; Giesel. II. iii. 238. Wyclif always speaks respectfully of William of Ockham. Shirley, Introd. to Fascic. Zizan. 53.

[t] Senil. v. 3, p. 877; Giesel. II. iii 241.

[u] See pp. 298-300.

[x] Schröckh, xxxiv. 31; Giesel. II. iii. 263.

[y] Gerson 'Contra vanam Curiositatem;' 'Contra Curiositatem Studentium.' (t. 1). Against astrology, ib. 189, seqq.: Nic. Clemang. de Studio Theologiæ, in D'Achery, i. 473, seqq.; Giesel. II. iii 241.

[z] Schröckh, xxxiii. 311-2.

[a] Opp. i. 105; cf. 159; Schwab, 317-8.

in England. To this day, Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Chaucer hold their place among those great authors whose writings need no antiquarian considerations to recommend them to our study, but live by their own enduring vigour and interest. In the fourteenth century, also, John Villani produced the first important historical work which was composed in the modern language of Italy; and Wyclif, by his vernacular treatises, earned a title to be regarded as the earliest master of English prose.

BOOK VIII.

FROM THE END OF THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE TO THE END OF THE FIFTH COUNCIL OF THE LATERAN, A.D. 1418–1517.

CHAPTER I.

MARTIN V.—BOHEMIAN WAR.

A.D. 1418–1431.

The hopes with which those who desired a reform in the church had looked to the council of Constance were to be disappointed. The measures which the council took with a view to reform were scanty, and were too likely to prove illusory in practice; nor, although it professed to limit the power of the papacy, was there anything to prevent the popes, if so disposed, from continuing to maintain their old assumptions, and to act on their own authority, as if the decrees of the council had no existence.[a]

May 16, 1418. Martin V. after his triumphant departure from Constance,[b] proceeded slowly towards the south, remaining for a considerable time in some of the principal cities. At Milan he was received with great magnificence by the duke, Philip Mary Visconti. Avoiding Bologna, which, on the deposition of John XXIII., had declared itself independent,[c] he arrived on the 26th of February, 1419, at Florence, where he was lodged in the Dominican Convent of Santa Maria Novella.[d] The state of Rome was not yet such as to invite the pope's return. Braccio of Montone, a condottiere who had been in the service of John XXIII.,

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[a] Milman, vi. 70.

[b] See p. 301.

[c] Vita Mart. in Murat. III. ii. 863; Cron. di Bologna, ib. xviii. 609.

[d] Ist. di Firenze, ib. xix. 956. For the consecration of the monastic church by Cardinal Orsini, as the pope's deputy, Sept. 1, 1420, see ib. 966. At Florence, in May, 1419, Martin received the submission of the ex-pope, Balthazar Cossa. See above, p. 275.

had made himself master of the city after John's deposition, professing an intention of holding it for the future pope.[e] June 16, 1417.
A sickness which broke out among his troops, and the approach of a stronger Neapolitan force, commanded by Sforza Attendolo, had soon afterwards compelled him to withdraw; but he had become lord of his native city, Perugia, and had extended his sway over a large portion of the papal states.[f]

Through the intervention of the Florentine magistrates Braccio was persuaded to meet the pope at Florence, Feb. 1420.
where he was received with extraordinary honours.[g] He was reconciled to the church, and undertook to reduce the turbulent Bolognese to obedience—a task which, with the countenance of Cardinal Condolmieri as legate, he was able to accomplish.[h] But at Florence the splendour and the profuse expenditure which the condottiere displayed, were unfavourably contrasted in the popular estimation with the close economy and the ungenial manners of the pope; and the boys of the streets sang under Martin's own windows a jingle in which he was said to be not worth a farthing.[i]

By these indications of unpopularity it would seem that the pope was urged to leave Florence, after having taken leave of the magistrates in a complimentary speech, and having rewarded the hospitality of the citizens by erecting the see into an archbishoprick.[k] He arrived at Rome on the 28th of September, 1420, and two days later went in solemn procession from the Flaminian gate to the Vatican. Although an attempt had been made to put on a festive appearance by means of hangings and other decorations,[l] the eye was everywhere met by evidence of the misery to which the city had been reduced by the long absence of the popes at Avignon, and by the calamities of later

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[e] Vita Brachii, in Murat. xix. 515; Leon. Aret. 932; Antonin. 486-7; Reumont, ii. 1164.

[f] Vita, 547; Cron. di Bologna, in Murat. xviii. 607.

[g] Vita Brach. 562-4; Sismondi, vi. 196.

[h] Vita Brach. 566, 571; Annal. Bonon. in Murat. xxiii. 868; Vita Mart. ib. III. ii. 863; Cron. di Bologna, ib. xviii. 611; Platina, 291.

[i] "Papa Martino
Non vale un quattrino."

Leonard of Arezzo says that Martin spoke to him with annoyance of this rhyme; that he replied by mentioning the benefits which the pope had received from his residence at Florence; and that Martin, in taking leave of the magistrates, recurred to these same topics (Murat. xix. 931-2). Cf. Hist. Senens. ib. xx. 20; Bonincontr. ib. xxi. 121. "Nec credendum est," says St. Antoninus, "cantilenam illam pueros edidisse, nisi quidam filii Belial eos docuissent" (487). Muratori blames the pope for noticing such "lanati plebei." (Annal. IX. i. 15.)

[k] Leon. Aret. l. c.; Istor. di Firenze, in Murat. xix. 967; Vita Mart. ib. III. ii. 864; Antonin. 487.

[l] F. Contelorius, in Rayn. 1420. 11.

years[m]—decaying houses, streets choked by rubbish and filth, the monuments of antiquity barbarously mutilated, dismantled and desolate churches; and beyond the Tiber, the ancient Burg of the English appeared in ruins, having been laid waste by the artillery of the Castle of St. Angelo.[n]

Among the citizens themselves the unquiet years of the schism had greatly increased that rudeness of manners which had been already remarkable when Gregory XI. returned from Avignon.[o] It seemed, says Platina, as if all the citizens were either sojourners, or the confluence of the lowest dregs of mankind;[p] and soon after the pope's arrival, the sufferings of the people were brought to a height by a violent flood, which caused much damage and produced a scarcity of food.[q] Beyond the walls of the city, all was disorder throughout the papal territory. The Campagna was distracted by the feuds of town against town, of one baron or family against another. Robbers, assassins, and soldiers of predatory habits, committed violence without any check, so that it was unsafe for pilgrims to approach the capital of Christendom.[r]

Nov. 1420.

From this depth of anarchy and wretchedness it was Martin's work to deliver Rome. Churches were restored, and in this the pope's example was followed by the cardinals, who repaired the churches of their respective titles.[s] The erection of public and private buildings marked the beginning of a new era in the varied and eventful history of the city.[t] The vigour and the justice of Martin's administration restored order and security, such as had been long unknown, in the surrounding territory;[u] and his subjects in general, feeling the benefits which they owed to him, regarded him with reverence and affection, which expressed themselves in styling him the third founder of the city—the "happiness of his times."[x] But his cardinals, whom he reduced to a degree of subjection before unknown,[y] were on uneasy terms with him, and, while the old corruptions of the

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[m] Infessura, in Murat. III. ii. 1122; Reumont, ii. 1168-9.

[n] Reum. ii. 1169; iii. 10, 17. Poggio's description of Rome, as seen about this time from the Capitol, is quoted by Gibbon, vi. 411, and more fully by Reumont, iii. 3–8, who adds further details. Much destruction had been committed within Poggio's own memory.

[o] See p. 148.

[p] Plat. 292.

[q] Ibid.

[r] Infessura, in Murat. III. ii. 1122; Gregorov. vii. 10, 25.

[s] Vita Mart. in Murat. III. ii. 867; cf. Gregorov. vii. 624-5.

[t] Gregorov. vii. 25, 624.

[u] Infess. in Eccard, ii. 1874.

[y] Plat. 287, 292; Gregorov. vii. 25; Vita, in Murat. III. ii. 866.

[x] Gregorov. vii. 22. Voigt quotes a letter of 1429, in which it is said that Martin had subjected the cardinals to such a degree, that they did not venture

curia were unabated,[y] the pope himself was charged with excessive love of money, with a sordid parsimony, and with an undue care for the interests of his relations, whom he endowed with castles and lands at the expense of the church.[z]

While Martin was labouring to restore the material fabric of his city, two popular saints—one of either sex—were zealously labouring there for religious and moral reformation.

Frances of Rome, born in 1384, shewed in early years a wish to devote herself to virginity, but was constrained to marry a noble Roman, Lorenzo de' Ponziani, with whom she lived more than twenty-eight years.[a] But even while in the married state her life was very strict, and she founded the order of Oblates of the Blessed Virgin, which had its headquarters in the Tor de' Specchi at Rome.[b] These Oblates were not bound by vow of celibacy, but were at liberty to leave the order for marriage;[c] and they were under the superintendence of the monks of Mount Olivet, whose order (as we have already seen)[d] had been founded about a century earlier. Frances, after her husband's death, became the head of the Oblate sisterhood, and gave herself wholly up to mortification, devotion, and charity.[e] The biographies of this saint are full of miracles, prophecies and visions. Among other things we are told that an archangel was specially assigned to attend on her in the form of a boy nine years old; that to this guardian another angel of a lower order was afterwards added; and that she saw the Saviour place a crown on the head of her archangel, as a reward for having well kept her soul.[f]

A.D. 1425.

The death of Frances took place in 1440;[g] she was canonised by Paul V. in 1608;[h] and the church founded on the site of the temple of Venus at Rome, which was formerly known as Santa

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to say anything to him but what he liked, and that in his presence they became red and pale by turns. 'Stimmen aus Rom' (from documents relating to the Teutonic order), in Raumer's Histor. Taschenbuch for 1833, p. 74.

[y] See Voigt, pp. 93 seqq.

[z] "Avarissimus fuit, miserabiliter in palatio apud SS. Apostolos vixit. Nulla religio, nulla cæremonia servabatur; magnum thesaurum nepotibus cumulavit, et castra multa ecclesiæ circa Romam eis dedit." (Vita, in Murat. III. ii. 859. Cf. Sism. Rép. Ital. vi. 262; Giesel. II. iv. 49; Voigt, 170; Gregorov. vii. 11 2, 24; Reumont, III. i. 65, 70.)

[a] Acta SS. Mart. 9 (where there are two Lives of her), 92-4, 176. There is a Life in English by Lady G. Fullarton.

[b] Acta SS. 94.

[c] Ib. 189; Migne, Dict. des Ordres Relig. iii. 1.

[d] P. 351; Acta SS. 188-9.

[e] Ib. 95, 181.

[f] "Hanc victoriæ coronam impono, quia bene custodisti meæ famulæ animam" (Acta SS. 131).

[g] Acta SS. 98.

[h] Ib. 88.

Maria Nuova, and in which she is buried, is now dedicated to her honour.[i]

The other great saint of the time, Bernardine of Siena, was born in 1380, and entered the Franciscan order.[k] Desiring a greater rigour than that which he found around him, he may have been tempted to run, like many of his brotherhood, into the extravagances of the Fraticelli; but instead of this he undertook a reform which was styled "of the strict observance," and the number of convents founded by him in Italy is said to have exceeded 500.[m] As a preacher he attained great eminence, which is said to have been foretold by the most famous preacher of the preceding generation, St. Vincent Ferrer;[n] and it is added that, from the time when he entered on his work, he was freed from a hoarseness of voice with which he had been before afflicted.[o] His eloquence was effectually exerted against the prevailing evils—a disregard of the outward duties of religion, a neglect of the holy communion, a fondness for gaming and other idle amusements, a reliance on arts of divination and magic.[p] He reconciled enemies, composed the feuds by which the Italians had been distracted for generations,[q] and expressed
June 21, his abhorrence of worldly vanities, in a way at once
1424. symbolical and practical, by committing to a great bonfire on the Capitoline hill, pictures, instruments of music, the implements of gaming, false hair, and the extravagances of female attire in general.[r]

Many miracles are ascribed to Bernardine, and he refused

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[i] Aringhi, Roma Subterr. ii. 8–13, Rom. 1651.

[k] Acta SS. Mart. 20, 269.

[m] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frid., in Kollar, Monum. ii. 173.

[n] Acta SS. 307. Trithemius calls him "declamatorum sui temporis celeberrimus" (De Scriptoribus Eccles. p 37). Maffeo Vegio describes his preaching from personal knowledge (Acta SS. 292, 297. Cf. Antonin. iii. 490). Such was the force of Bernardine's eloquence, that Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini (of whom hereafter) was almost persuaded to enter his order! (Acta SS. 300). Æneas Sylvius had heard him preaching for sixty days at Siena, and was present when (by miracle, as was supposed) he kept off a threatening storm of rain. (Hist. Frider. 174. Cf. De Europa, 465-6.)

[o] Acta SS. 266

[p] Acta SS p. 266

[q] Acta SS. 291, 307; Infessura in Eccard, ii. 1875.

[r] Infess. in Eccard, ii. 1874; Acta SS. 267; Gregorov. vii. 10. Similar acts are recorded (as we shall see hereafter) of John of Capistrano, and of Savonarola; also of a Franciscan named Richard, whose preaching made a great sensation at Paris in 1429. This man extolled Bernardine as "ung des bons prescheurs du monde;" but, as he had taken a course which the Parisians disapproved in politics, they revenged themselves after his departure by cursing him "de Dieu et de ses saints," by resuming all the games which they had been persuaded by him to give up, and by throwing away plates which he had distributed with the Saviour's name engraved on them, and taking instead the Burgundian cross of St. Andrew. Bourgeois de Paris (in Monstrelet, ed. Buchon, xv. 383-7, 393).

several bishopricks.[s] But his career excited much envy, and he was assailed by charges of heresy and idolatry, on account of an ornament which he invented as a help to devotion. The question was discussed before the pope, who, although in general he heartily supported Bernardine, pronounced against the use of the symbol; and Bernardine dutifully obeyed.[t] His death took place at Aquila in 1444; and at the jubilee of 1450 he received the honour of canonisation, for which he had been especially recommended to Nicolas V. by the influence of Alfonso of Naples.[u]

A.D. 1415.

The state of the Neapolitan kingdom contributed to the difficulties of Martin's position. Joanna II., who succeeded her brother Ladislaus in 1414, had been the wife of an Austrian prince, after whose death she gave herself up to the unrestrained indulgence of her passions, while the government was made over to the rivalries of courtiers and favourites.[x] From among the princes who sued for her hand, Joanna, who had reached the age of forty-six, chose James, count of La Marche, a member of the royal family of France, and after some delay she bestowed on him the title of king.[y] But the new husband, wishing to guard himself against a repetition of her former irregularities, placed her in a state of seclusion, from which she was delivered by a popular insurrection. The king in his turn was imprisoned; but after a time he obtained his release, and withdrew from Naples to become a Franciscan in his native country, while Joanna relapsed into her old course of life.[z] Having resolved to adopt an heir, she at first chose Louis III. of Anjou, then discarded him in favour of Alfonso V. of Aragon, and again set aside Alfonso for Louis,[a] whose death soon after gave occasion for further difficulties. The pope was suspected of an intention to set one of his own nephews, whom he had created prince of Salerno, on the throne at the queen's death.[b]

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[s] Acta SS. 267 seqq.; 300–311.

[t] Acta SS. 265, 281, 298; Antonin. 490-1; Reumont, iii. 69. At the council of Basel, there was discussion "de cultu tabellæ nominis Jesu," which Bernardine had introduced (Hard. ix. 1118). Eugenius IV. also befriended him when assailed. (Rayn. 1432. 24.)

[u] Rayn. 1450. 2; Antonin. 554; Acta SS. 257, 272, 278. Bernardine's works have been edited by De la Haye, in five volumes folio.

[x] Guicciardini, i. 16; Giannone, iv. 184; Sism. vi. 172.

[y] Bonincontr. in Murat. xxi. 101; Giorn. Napol. ib. 1080; Giannone, iv. 186.

[z] Bonincontr. 112, 118–9; Rayn. 1420. 7; Bayle, art. *Naples, Jeanne II, Alfonse*; Giann. iv. 190, 194, 199; Sism. Rep. Ital. vi. 177, 194; Mur. Ann. IX. i. 123.

[a] Flav. Blondus, 411; Antonin. iii. 491–2; Giann. iv. 202-213; Sism. vi. 198 seqq., 227.

[b] Mur. Ann. IX i 122.

Braccio of Montone had again broken with the pope, and had threatened to reduce him to such straits that he would be glad to say masses at a halfpenny each.[c]

The south of Italy was continually distracted by contests which arose out of these affairs, and was a battle-ground for the mercenary forces of Braccio and Sforza Attendolo, until in 1424 Sforza was drowned in the Pescara, and Braccio died of wounds received in action.[d] In consequence of the difficulties as to Naples, it seemed at one time likely that the king of Aragon might return to the obedience of Benedict XIII.,[e] who, although deserted by almost all his scanty college of cardinals,[f] continued to maintain his claims to the papacy on the rock of Peñiscola.[g] But Martin was able to avert this danger, and to draw off from Benedict Scotland and such other powers as had hitherto adhered to him.[h] On the death of Benediet, in 1424,[i] attempts were made to set up successors of his line; but by the aid of Alfonso, with whom Martin was at length fully reconciled, these attempts were easily frustrated, and the phantom anti-popes were glad to secure the reality of less exalted dignities which Martin bestowed on them.[k] Two cardinals, who obstinately held out, were seized and imprisoned by the count of Foix; and their further history is unknown.[l]

In his dealings with the kingdoms of Latin Christendom, Martin was careful to maintain the highest views of the papal prerogatives. The concordat of Constance was ill received in France, where the parliament of Paris rejected it; and, although an attempt had been made to conciliate the French

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[c] Antonin. 489.

[d] There are Lives of both these condottieri in Muratori, xix.; cf. Leon. Aret. 932; Infessura in Eccard, ii. 1874; Bonincontr. 131, 133; Antonin. 490; Rayn. 1424. 15–6; Sism. vi. 194, 196, 221, 229, 235

[e] Rayn. 1421. 3.

[f] Ciacon. ii. 810. See Mansi in Rayn. t. viii. p. 491; Mur. Ann. IX. i. 141, 145.

[g] Benedict is said to have told the emperor that he gave him leave to make another pope, and was willing to release his cardinals from obedience; but that he would die pope. (Cron. di Bologna, in Murat. xviii. 605.)

[h] Plat. 287; Rayn. 1418. 12; 1419. 6; 1420. 1–2.

[i] "Benedictus . . . manens in sua pertinacia transivit annos Petri ad cumulum suæ damnationis. Nec mirum, quia non in sede Petri." (Antonin. iii. 486.) Benedict had been elected in 1394, and is supposed to have been ninety years old at his death (Murat. Ann. IX. i. 153). It is said, but does not seem to be certain, that on his deathbed he made four cardinals (Mansi in Rayn. viii. 564). Mariana reports a story that he was poisoned (ii. 291). It was afterwards said that a sweet odour proceeded from his remains, but this the historian supposes to be asserted "mas por aficion que con verdad" (ib. 313)

[k] Rayn. 1423. 8–9; 1424. 2; 1425. 4; 1426. 1–8; 1427. 22; 1428. 1–2, with Mansi's note; Vita Mart. 860–1; Plat. 291; Schröckh, xxxi. 544; Gregorov. vii. 21-2.

[l] Vita Mart. 867.

by remitting half of the annates, in consideration of the English war, a royal ordinance was issued in 1418, and again in 1422, renewing the former prohibitions of sending money to the Roman court.[m] On the death of Charles VI., which took place in 1422, Martin attempted to entice his young successor, Charles VII., into a surrender of the liberties which had been asserted for the national church; it was said that the pastor's judgments must be reverenced, even although they may be unjust. Against this Gerson wrote a treatise, in which, among other things, he referred to the oath by which the French kings at their coronation bound themselves to defend the liberties of the church.[n] Martin, however, succeeded in gaining the king's mother and brother; and through their influence Charles was persuaded to order, in 1425, that the papal authority should be obeyed as it had been in the times of Clement VII. and Benedict XIII., notwithstanding any ordinances of the crown, decrees of the parliament, or other orders or usages to the contrary.[o] And, as Charles himself, when dauphin, had sworn to observe the national laws, the pope absolved him from his oath.[p]

With regard to England, Martin outdid his predecessors in maintaining the abuses of which the nation had long and justly complained.[q] He appointed bishops by provision, in contempt of the electoral rights of chapters; and of this encroachment it is said that thirteen instances occurred in the province of Canterbury within two years.[r] He usurped patronage, and abused it, as in the case of his nephew Prosper Colonna, whom he made archdeacon of Canterbury at the age of fourteen;[s] and in this and other instances he continued to sanction the crying evil of non-residence.[t] But these practices were not always allowed to pass without resistance. Thus the Church of York refused to accept the nomination of Robert Fleming to the archbishoprick; and Fleming was glad to fall back on the see of Lincoln, which he had previously held.[u] When the English representatives at Constance found the pope hesitating and unsatisfactory in his reply to their statement of grievances which needed

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[m] Bulæus, v. 328, 330; Preuves des Libertez de l'Egl. Gall. 602-5; Schröckh, xxxi. 521, 539; Giesel. II. iv. 46.

[n] Opera, ii. 424.

[o] Preuves des Libertez de l'Egl. Gall. 606-7.

[p] Rayn. 1425. 8.

[q] Collier, iii. 327.

[r] Duck, Vita H. Chichele, 55; Collier, l. c. But I cannot find that there were so many appointments of bishops in any *four* successive years.

[s] Duck, 55. See Bekynton's Correspondence (Chron. and Mem.), 289.

[t] Duck, 56.

[u] Collier, iii. 329.

redress, they told him that their mission was merely a matter of courtesy, and that the king would take the matter into his own hands, according to his right.[x]

The death of Henry V., whose strength of character and warlike successes had made him formidable, the infancy of his successor, and the discords between the young king's ambitious kinsmen, Henry Beaufort bishop of Winchester, and Humphrey duke of Gloucester,[y] encouraged the pope to aggression. He designed to supersede the ordinary jurisdiction of the English metropolitans by establishing a resident legate *a latere;* and for this purpose the services which Beaufort had rendered at the council of Constance were to be rewarded with the dignity of cardinal, and with a legatine authority over England and Ireland.[z] Against this legation archbishop Chichele had protested in a letter to Henry V., on the ground that no legate *a latere* had ever been sent into England except on special business; that such legates had not been admitted without the sovereign's licence; and that their stay had been only for a short time.[a] In consequence of the primate's letter, the king forbade the bishop to accept the intended appointments.[b]

A.D. 1419.

In 1426, Beaufort was declared cardinal of St. Eusebius; and in September 1428 he ventured to appear in England as legate. But he was compelled to promise, before the king's council, that he would refrain from all acts which might be against the rights of the crown or of the people. Attempts were made to deprive him of Winchester, on the ground that it could not be held with his new dignity; and although, after a struggle of four years, he was allowed to retain his see, and to resume his place in the council, it was under conditions which restrained him from acting as an instrument of the papacy in opposition to the national interests.[c]

To such a pope as Martin the statutes of Provisors and Præmunire were not likely to be acceptable. In 1426 he wrote to the king, to the parliament, and to the archbishops,[d] urging a repeal of these statutes, which he characterised as execrable,

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[x] Duck, 57; Collier, iii. 328.

[y] Collier, iii. 339. Dr. Pauli (v. 195), Mr. Foss (iv. 295), and Dean Hook (v. 141, 211), are favourable to Beaufort. The stories of his dying miserably, to which Shakespeare has given lasting currency, originated in the following century. (Pauli, v. 285-6.)

[z] Hook, v. 88-9. See above, p. 293.

[a] The letter is in Duck, 77.

[b] Duck, 80.

[c] Collier, iii. 348; Lingard, iv. 61; Hook, v. 105.

[d] He named York before Canterbury (Wilk. iii. 471). See Hook, v. 94. The letters are in Wilkins, iii. 479 seqq.; Burnet, Hist. Ref. ed. Pocock, iv. 118 seqq. A letter from Chichele in vindication of himself, in Bekynton, 255.

pernicious to souls, worse than the laws by opposing which St. Thomas of Canterbury had become a martyr and a saint; worse than anything enacted against Jews or Saracens. He speaks of the king of England as arrogating to himself the office of Christ's vicar. To Chichele (who had offended him by opposition to papal exemptions) he writes with extraordinary violence; throwing out against him groundless charges of indifference to his pastoral duty, and of caring only for money; and urging him to oppose the obnoxious laws in parliament, to threaten their supporters with the censures of the church, and in the mean time to treat them as a nullity.[e] He even went so far as to suspend the archbishop, who replied by appealing to a general council.[f]

Yet this attempt failed of the expected success. Chichele contented himself with recommending the matter to the serious consideration of parliament, and representing the Jan. 30, 1429. dangers of the pope's anger and of the interdict which he was likely to issue; and the parliament did nothing beyond petitioning the king that he would obtain, through his ambassador, a cessation of the proceedings against the primate, and his restoration to the pope's favour.[g]

As the time which had been appointed at Constance for the meeting of the next general council approached, the A.D. 1423. pope was urged by the University of Paris and from other quarters to take the necessary steps for assembling it;[h] but although he affected, in his answer to the Parisians, to clear himself from suspicions of wishing to elude the decree of Constance,[i] he shewed no eagerness in the matter, and it became evident that, instead of allowing the council liberty, he intended to keep the control of it in his own hands.[j] Only a few bishops and others had assembled at Pavia, the April 23, 1423. appointed place, when, in consequence of a pestilence which was raging, the pope transferred the sessions to Siena.[k]

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[e] Rinaldi (1426. 19), Chacon (ii. 815-6), and other foreign writers sometimes confound Henry Chichele with Henry Beaufort.

[f] Wilk. iii. 484-6.

[g] Collier, iii. 345; Milman, vi. 75-7; Hook, v. 99-102. Martin also complained of the interference of the secular power with ecclesiastical affairs in Poland (Rayn. 1427. 17; Gies. II. iv. 48) and in Scotland (Jos. Robertson, Pref. to Statuta Eccl. Scot. 72-6).

[h] Rayn. 1423. 2.

[i] Ibid.

[j] Joh. de Ragusio, in Monum. Conciliorum XVti Sæculi, i. 3-8, 20.

[k] Vita Mart. in Murat. III. ii. 861, 865; Joh. Ragus. 11; Hard. viii. 1014; Joh. Amundesham, i. 130 (Chron. and Mem.); Rayn. 1423. 3-4. It seems that there had been two sessions at Pavia. Mansi, note; Rayn. t. viii. 561.

On the 21st of July the council opened, under the presidency of papal commissioners, with a sermon by Fleming, bishop of Lincoln;[l] but, although it continued until the spring of the following year, hardly anything was done beyond renewing the condemnations of Wyclif, Hus, and Peter de Luna, and granting an indulgence to those who should serve against the heretics.[m] Something was also said as to a reunion with the Greeks, with a view to which communications had lately taken place;[n] and some proposals for ecclesiastical reform were made by the French.[o] But it was evident that nothing was to be expected from the assembly, which dwindled from its originally small numbers, and was distracted by differences among its members.[p] On the 8th of March, 1424, the council of Siena broke up,[q] and the hopes of Christendom were turned to the next general council, which was to meet at Basel seven years later—an interval which the reforming party, on finding themselves disappointed at Siena, had vainly attempted to shorten.[r]

In the mean time Bohemia had been a scene of frightful confusion. The tidings of Hus's death were received there with unbounded indignation. He and Jerome were celebrated as martyrs with a yearly festival.[s] Medals were struck in honour of Hus;[t] his image or picture was placed over the high altar in churches,[u] and the zeal of some of his partisans went so far as to declare that of all the martyrs no one had approached so near to the Saviour's example.[x]

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[l] Joh. Ragus. 12. Rinaldi gives Aug. 22 as the date, 1423. 10.

[m] Joh. Ragus. 22 seqq.; Hard. viii. 1015–7; Mariana, l. xx. c. 14. It was in consequence of this renewed sentence that Bishop Fleming carried out the order for burning Wyclif's body. (Godwin, 297; see p. 277.)

[n] Joh. Ragus. 24; Hard. viii. 1017.

[o] Joh. Ragus. 27 seqq.

[p] Ib. 41. Rayn. 1424. 3 seqq. The representatives of Alfonso of Aragon gave much trouble on account of the Neapolitan question. (Ib. 12.)

[q] The bull of dissolution is in Rayn. 1424. 5. Martin, after the council, appointed a commission for reform, and himself laid down rules for the cardinals, which probably tended to make them dislike him. But nothing came of the commission. (Ib. 3–5.)

[r] Joh. Ragus. 53; Hard. viii. 1107 seqq.

[s] Martin in Rayn. 1418. 6; Th. Vrie in V. d. Hardt, iv. 391; Æn. Sylv. Hist. Boh. 36. See Cochl. 98; Theobald. 66-7. A sermon "a quodam pio," in Hus, Opera, ii. 360 seqq.

[t] Lenfant, i. 74.

[u] Theobaldus describes Bethlehem chapel as adorned with memorials of Hus and Jerome as martyrs. It was usual to cut off chips of Hus's pulpit as relics (14-5). It was believed in other countries (probably with reference to the meaning of Hus's name) that instead of the images of saints, the party set up a white goose for worship. (J. Fistenport in Hahn, Monum. i. 403.)

[x] Steph. Dolan. in Pez. IV. ii. 521; Cochl. 154. See Stephen's account of a book by a female Hussite, l. c. 520; Cochlæus, 154. Cochlæus frequently and strongly expresses a very opposite opinion. Thus, of Hus's alleged wish that his soul might be with that of

At the council of Constance (as we have seen)[y] some articles on the question of administering the eucharist in one or in two kinds were drawn up by a committee, who argued that, as the church had without question changed the hour of celebration, so it had authority to deviate from the original institution of the sacrament by withholding the cup from the laity;[z] and on this the council, about three weeks before Hus's death, June 15, 1415. passed a decree in condemnation of the opposite practice.[a] In answer to the arguments and to the decree of Constance, Jacobellus of Misa, the author of the movement for administration in both kinds, put forth a vehement defence of his opinion;[b] and to this, by desire of the council, replies were written by Gerson and by Maurice, a doctor of Prague.[c] King Wenceslaus and the archbishop of Prague united in ordering that the administration in both kinds should be relinquished; but throughout Bohemia and Moravia the order was generally disregarded.[d] There were daily and nightly conflicts between the opposite parties in the Bohemian capital.[e] There were continual disputations, in which Hussite laymen of mean occupations—tanners, shoemakers, tailors, and the like—were forward to engage against the clergy.[f]

In September, 1415, a letter, to which four hundred and fifty-two nobles and knights of Bohemia and Moravia attached their seals, was addressed to the council, protesting vehemently

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Wyclif (see p. 278) he says:—"Multo graviora esse crediderim Wiclephi tormenta, quam sint apud inferos sceleratissimorum hominum, Judæ proditoris Christi, et Neronis Christianorum persequutoris" (p. 92). And as to Hus himself: "Dico igitur Joannem Hus neque sanctum neque beatum habendum esse, sed impium potius ac æternaliter miserum, adeo ut in die judicii remissius habeant judicari non solum infideles Pagani, Turcæ, Tartari et Judæi, verum etiam flagitiosissimi Sodomitæ, ac impurissimi filiarum aut sororum, immo et matrum, compressores Persæ, atque etiam immanissimi parricidæ Cain, Thyestes, Lestrygones aliique anthropophagi, et famosi infanticidæ Pharao et Herodes, &c." (p. 98). Jerome is declared to be yet worse than Hus; p. 141.

[y] P. 359.

[z] V. d. Hardt, iii. 586 seqq.

[a] See p. 359. As to questions of meaning, see Schröckh, xxxiii. 358.

[b] V. d. Hardt, III. p. xviii. coll. 591 seqq. See also his treatise against Broda in Pt. xvii., and an anonymous tract against him, in Pt. xix.

[c] Gerson. I. iii. 757; V. d. Hardt, iii. 779 seqq., 826 seqq. Jacobellus also wrote, "De vera existentia corporis et sanguinis Christi in sacra Cœna" (V. d. Hardt, iii. 884 seqq.). He is for adoration of the sacrament (c. 6) and for transubstantiation, and tries (c. 10) to make it appear that Wyclif (whom he styles "Doctor Evangelicus") agrees with him. The Hussites, resting on the text of St. John vi. 53, "Except ye eat, &c." insisted on Infant communion. Anon. adv. Jacobell. 117; Byzyn. 131-2.

[d] L. Byzynius, in Ludewig, Reliquiæ MSCtorum Monumentorum, vi. 139 (Francof. 1724). Palacky, Doc. 87; Giesel. II. iv. 422; Hefele, vii. 175. Wenceslaus had been represented at Constance as favourable to the Hussites, and the council wrote to Sigismund, complaining of his brother's "socordia." (Docum. p. 565, and Nos. 105, 108, 109.)

[e] Theobald. 53.

[f] Cochl. 153.

against the iniquity of its proceedings against Hus, against its treatment of Jerome (who was still in prison), and against the imputations which had been cast on the orthodoxy of Bohemia.[g] And, three days later, the Hussite leaders bound themselves by an engagement for six years to maintain the doctrine which they regarded as true and scriptural.[h] Some churches had already been given up for the administration of the eucharist in both kinds; but Nicolas of Hussinecz, the patron of Hus, appeared before the fortress of the Wysehrad, close to Prague, at the head of an armed multitude, demanding of the king that a greater number of churches should be made over to the party.[i] The council, which had already announced the punishment of Hus to the Bohemians,[k] and had sent the Bishop of Leitomysl into Bohemia with a commission for the suppression of heresy,[l] replied severely to the Hussite manifesto;[m] while Sigismund wrote from Paris in a conciliatory tone, assuring the Bohemians that he had wished to protect Hus, but had found it impossible, and earnestly exhorting them to avoid the danger of a religious war.[n]

In March, 1417, the University of Prague, of which Hus's friend John Cardinal had been elected rector, published a resolution in favour of administering the chalice to the laity;[o] but the council was still resolved to make no concession, and drew up twenty-four articles, with a view to the suppression of the Hussite doctrines.[p] In accordance with this course of policy, pope Martin, on the 22nd of February, 1418, sent forth a bull requiring all authorities, ecclesiastical and civil, to labour for the suppression of the heresies of Wyclif, Hus, and Jerome.[q]

Immediately after the end of the council, Cardinal John of Ragusa (formerly a partisan of Gregory XII.) was sent into

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[g] Doc. 85. [h] Ib. 86.

[i] Theobald. 66-7. [k] Doc. 81.

[l] Doc. 83-4, Aug. 31, 1415.

[m] Doc. 97.

[n] Doc. 95, 98 (March 1416).

[o] Hus, &c., Opera, ii. 364; Theob. 65; Lenf. Conc. de Basle, i. 73.

[p] V. d. Hardt. iv. 1514; Cochl. 165; Hefele, vii. 344.

[q] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1518 seqq. Among the tests by which suspected persons were to be examined, are these:—"Utrum credat, teneat, et asserat, quod quodlibet concilium generale, et etiam Constantiense, universalem ecclesiam repræsentet;" "Utrum credat quod illud quod sacrum concilium Constantiense, universam ecclesiam repræsentans, approbavit et approbat, in favorem fidei . . . quod hoc est ab universis Christi fidelibus approbandum et tenendum," &c. Hence it was argued at the council of Basel, and afterwards by the Gallican party, that Martin approved the whole proceedings of the council of Constance, including its assumption of superiority over the papacy. On the other side, it is maintained that his words are intended to apply only to the council's decrees in matters of faith and salvation, and that the point in question is not of this sort. See Hefele, vii. 347-8.

Bohemia as legate.[r] The choice was unfortunate. John had before talked of reducing the country by fire and sword, and, in his character of legate, he committed acts of great violence; in one place burning a priest and a layman who opposed him.[s] By such means the Bohemians were roused to fury, while the cardinal wholly failed to accomplish the object of his mission. He went into Hungary, to report his ill-success to Sigismund; and there he died.[t]

With Nicolas of Hussinecz, the political chief of the Hussites, who is described as a man of deep counsel and somewhat unscrupulous policy,[u] was associated a leader of a different stamp — John of Trocznow, known by the name of Ziska.[v] Ziska had in boyhood been a page in the household of Wenceslaus, and had since distinguished himself in the Polish wars, to which his loss of an eye has been commonly referred.[x] Ziska had sworn to avenge the death of Hus,[y] and it is said that he obtained a patent from the king, under which he raised a number of soldiers.[z] At the head of a powerful force he moved about the country, everywhere enforcing the administration of the sacrament in both kinds; and, in token of his devotion to the cause, he displayed the eucharistic cup on his banners, and added the words "of the chalice" to the signature of his name.[a]

July 22.

On St. Mary Magdalene's Day, 1419, a great meeting of Hussites was assembled on a hill near Aust, in the circle of Bechin, where the holy communion was celebrated in the open air. There was no previous confession; the clergy (among whom were John Cardinal and Jacobellus of Misa) wore no distinctive vestures; the chalices were of wood, and the three hundred altars were without any covering.[b] Forty-two thousand persons—men, women, and children—communicated; and the celebration was followed by a love-feast, at which the rich shared with their poorer brethren; but no drinking or dancing, no gaming or music, was allowed.[c] The

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[r] Rayn. 1418. 8.

[s] Lenf. Conc. de Basle, i. 74, 97; Schröckh, xxxiv. 674.

[t] Antonin. iii. 486; Lenf. i. 98.

[u] See Palacky, III. i. 65.

[v] It is commonly said that Ziska means *one-eyed;* but Aschbach quotes Pelzel as saying that the word has no such meaning, and is a family name, of which the sense is unknown (iii. 5).

[x] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Boh. i. 38; Theob. 68; Palacky, III. ii. 359. Some say that he lost his eye in playing while a boy.

[y] Aschbach, iii. 12.

[z] Lenf. i. 100.

[a] Lenf. i. 163.

[b] Byzyn. 143; Lenf. i. 101; Giesel. II. iv. 429.

[c] Byzyn. 187-8; Giesel. II. iv. 429.

people encamped in tents, which, in the Bohemian language, were called *Tabor;* and out of this celebration grew a town which received that name, with reference at once to the circumstances of the meeting, and to the mount of the Saviour's transfiguration.[d]

From this great assembly Ziska and his followers proceeded to Prague, where they arrived by night. On the following day they attacked and plundered some convents. The magistrates of the city, who had met in the town-hall, were butchered or driven to flight; some of them were thrown from the windows, July 30. and were caught by the Hussites on pikes and pitchforks. A fierce struggle took place between the insurgents and the people of the Old Town, who were in favour of the church.[e] Wenceslaus, whose deposition had been threatened, was agitated by these scenes to such a degree that he was seized Aug. 16. with apoplexy, which, in a few days, put an end to his life.[f] Such was the fear of the popular excitement, that his body was hastily thrust into the tomb, without the usual ceremonies of royal interment.[g]

As the late king had left no children, Bohemia fell by inheritance to his brother Sigismund; and the change was the signal for increased exasperation on the part of the reformers. Wenceslaus, although personally vicious and despicable, had, in some measure, directly favoured Hus and his followers, while they had benefited in a much greater degree by his indolence and apathy; Sigismund was execrated by them, as the traitor by whose safe-conduct Hus had been lured to Constance, and by whom he had there been abandoned to the enemies of the true faith. At once the reformers broke out without restraint. On the very next day after the death of Wenceslaus, some convents at Prague were attacked, and many of the monks were slaughtered; and the movement soon spread to other places. Churches and monasteries were plundered and reduced to ruin, images were mutilated and broken to pieces, organs were demolished, pictures and other ornaments were defaced and

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[d] "Tanquam cum tribus apostolis salvatoris Christi transfigurationem in monte vidissent, indeque suas opiniones mutuati essent, quas fidei veritates appellant" (Æn. Sylv. i. 40). The present town of Tabor, according to Palacky, does not stand (as has been commonly supposed) on the site where the meeting took place, but was founded among the remains of an old fortress (III. ii. 87) It was fortified by Ziska (Lenf. i. 101

[e] Byzyn. 143; Rayn. 1419. 10 Schröckh, xxxiv. 676.

[f] Æn. Sylv. cc. 36-7; Theob. 72.

[g] Æn. Sylv. 37; Byzyn. 141-5.

destroyed; and in these outrages the lust of spoil mingled with the fury of religious fanaticism.[h]

Sigismund, being fully occupied by war with the Turks on the east of his dominions, was unable to take such measures with regard to Bohemia as might have checked the reforming movement at an early stage; and when at length he turned his especial attention to the state of his newly-inherited kingdom, he found that the Hussites had developed fresh extravagances of opinion, and that they were no longer to be appeased by concessions which, at an earlier time, they would have gladly accepted.[i]

The popular assemblies, of which the example had been given on the hill of Tabor, became a part of the Hussite system. Men, women, and children flocked to them by tens of thousands, in defiance of the will of their landlords. The spirit of the party was strengthened on such occasions by the joint reception of the eucharist in both kinds, and by exciting denunciations of the simony, the greed, the luxury, and other vices, which were freely imputed to the clergy of the church; and at every meeting of this kind the place and time of the next meeting were fixed.[k]

The Bohemians were much divided among themselves. A small proportion—more considerable among the nobles than in any other class[l]—adhered to the Roman church, as did also the German inhabitants of the kingdom, with the exception of some in the capital.[m] Among those who were in favour of reformation, the name of Utraquists or Calixtines[n] was given to the more moderate section, who would have been content with the liberty of communicating in both kinds, and other such concessions, and desired to remain, if possible, in the unity of the Roman church.[o] The Utraquists were supported by the authority of the university of Prague; and among them were included the people of the capital in general, with the reforming nobles. The fiercer zealots, who were known by the name of Taborites, professed to rest on Scripture only, rejecting everything of a traditional kind, and many of the externals of religion. They condemned all occupations for which no scrip-

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[h] Byzyn. 145-8; Cochl. 181; Theob. 70-2; H. Corner, 1218; Palacky, III. ii. 48-50.

[i] Schmidt, iv. 143; Palacky, III. ii. 50-1, 241-2, 324-5, 352.

[k] Byzyn. 150, 189; Schmidt, iv. 143; Giesel. II. iv. 430; Palacky, III. ii. 60-1.

[l] Palacky, III. ii. 55.

[m] Ib. 56.

[n] From insisting on the administration of the cup (*calix*), or on communion "sub *utraque* specie."

[o] Palacky, III. ii. 53, 57.

tural authority could be shown; they denounced all worldly amusements, and even all human learning.[p] Their political opinions tended to republicanism, and, while they were strong among the population of towns, and yet more among the peasantry, the party had few adherents among the nobility. Its chiefs belonged to the class of knights or gentry—such as the politician Nicolas of Hussinecz and the warrior John Ziska, who, on the death of Nicolas, became the acknowledged head of the Taborites.[q] Christmas, 1420.

Ziska fixed his head-quarters, and established a government, at Tabor; and to him it is probably to be attributed that Hussitism was able to surmount the dangers which threatened it at the outset.[r] His genius for war is described as marvellous. The tactics which he had learned in the Polish campaigns were varied by his original invention, and adapted to the special circumstances of his followers. The peasantry whom he led had at first no other offensive weapons than clubs and flails; but Ziska taught them to arm these with iron, and to make them instruments of terrible power. He taught them to range their rough carts together in the battle-field, and to connect them in such a manner as to present to the assailants an impregnable fortress; and the novelty of these contrivances increased the terror with which they were regarded by the enemy, who sometimes fled in panic alarm at the very sight of the Hussites with their strange equipments.[s]

The eucharistic chalice was not only represented on the banners of the party, but was carried by priests at the head of their forces; and on reaching a town, the priests, in their ordinary dress, worn and stained by travel, hurried to the altar of some church, said a short form of consecration, and administered the sacrament in both kinds to all who would receive it.[t]

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[p] Byzyn. 190, seqq.; Giesel. II. iv. 433; Palacky, III. ii. 58, 190. The opinions of this section were set forth in fourteen articles, A.D. 1420. See Giesel. II. iv. 434-5. They are said to have looked up to a tavern-keeper in the new town of Prague as having an unequalled knowledge of the Scriptures (Byzyn. 203). See as to the irreverences of the Taborites in connection with the eucharist, Rokyezana de Sacramentis, 175 (at the end of Cochlæus). A set of articles against them, drawn up at Prague by the more moderate party, Sept. 1418, is in Doc. 118.

[q] Lenf. i. 234, seqq.; Palacky, III. ii 57, 197. There were some who held with one section in religion and with the other in politics. (Ib. 293.)

[r] Ib. III. ii. 82, 88, 359; Hallam, M. A i. 463.

[s] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Bohem. c. 47, Herm. Corner, 1269; Byzyn 172; Lenf. 1236; Palacky, III. ii. 67, 368-9.

[t] Schmidt, iv. 153.

Fierce and pitiless, Ziska carried fire and sword in all directions—massacring clergy and monks, burning and demolishing churches and convents.[u] However overmatched in numbers by his enemies, and although obliged to form his armies out of unpromising materials, he was never defeated in battle;[x] and after he had been reduced to utter blindness, in March, 1421, he still continued to direct the operations of war with the same skill and success as before.[y] Yet, although Ziska was animated by a fury which may remind us of the early warriors of Islam, and which might seem possible only for the most exalted fanaticism, it is said that in opinions he rather agreed with the Prague party than with the more extravagant sectaries; that he may be regarded as faithfully representing the principles of Hus himself, apart from the developments which these had undergone among the martyr's followers.[z]

Among the more advanced Hussites, apocalyptic ideas were zealously spread. It was said that the persecution of the faithful showed the nearness of the second advent; that the ungodly were to be consumed by the seven last plagues; that safety was to be attained only by "fleeing to the mountains;" that with the exception of five towns which were pointed out as places of refuge, all cities—including Prague itself—were to be destroyed, like Sodom and Gomorrah, by fire from heaven: and, in consequence of such teaching, multitudes flocked from all parts of Bohemia and Moravia to the cities of refuge, selling their all for such prices as could be got, and laying the money at the feet of the clergy. A community of goods was established, and it was taught that the Saviour would speedily come to set up His kingdom on earth—a new state of paradise, in which His subjects would be free from pain and from all bodily necessities, and would need no sacraments for their sanctification.[a]

The reforming movement of Bohemia had drawn thither persons from other countries whose opinions were obnoxious to the authorities of the Church.[b] Among these, the most remark-

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[u] Theob. 96; Palacky, III. ii. 361.

[x] Ib. 364-5.

[y] A splinter which had been knocked off a tree by a cannon-ball destroyed the sight of his second eye. (Theob. 92; cf. Palacky, III. ii. 249, 273.)

[z] Lenf. i. 238-9; Palacky, III. ii. 230, 293-6.

[a] Byzyn. 155-6, 203, seqq.; Schmidt, iv. 152; Giesel. II. iv. 436–8; Palacky, II. ii. 80-1, 92.

[b] Giesel. II. iv. 432. One Bremer, a master of arts of Prague, was burnt in 1420 by Gunther, archbishop of Magdeburg, for very strange opinions, which seem to have grown out of Hussitism. The last article is, "Totus mundus errat, demto Jacobo Bremer." (Herm. Corner, 1238-40.)

able were known by the name of *Picards*,—apparently a form of the word *Beghards*, which, as we have seen, was then widely applied to sectaries. These Picards appear to have come from the Low Countries,[c] and to have been akin in opinions to the sect of the "Free Spirit."[d] They declared the eucharistic elements to be mere bread and wine, and on this account were expelled from the Bohemian capital.[e] Some of them, through fasting immoderately in the hope of seeing visions, went mad.[f] Those who carried their extravagances furthest were styled Adamites, from maintaining that the use of clothes was a slavery.[g] They are said to have affirmed that everything is holy so long as it is held in common, and to have extended this principle to women;[h] to have asserted the lawfulness of incest; to have renounced all books and all law; and to have believed that the Spirit within them would preserve them from dying. These fanatics got possession of an island in a river, and spread terror far around by their ravages and bloodshed, until Ziska attacked them, overcame them after a furious defence, and burnt all whom he was able to seize, with the exception of one, who was reserved that he might give information as to the sect.[i] Oct. 21, 1421.

Greatly as the Bohemians differed among themselves, and bloodily as they carried out their quarrels, the various sections were all united for common defence. In the same spirit which led them to give to their parties the names of Taborites and Horebites,[k] they spoke of Bohemia as the Promised Land, of the Germans and other enemies as Philistines, Moabites, Ammonites, and the like;[l] and all rose together in resistance to those who had included them all in the common reproach of heresy.[m]

The university of Prague had been consulted by Nicolas of

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[c] Palacky, III. ii. 228. Some connect the name with Picardy, or speak of an imaginary Picardus as a leader. See, *e. g.*, Theobald. 93.

[d] Mosh. iii. 71; Schröckh, xxxiv. 691. There has been much difference of opinion about them. See Lenfant and Beausobre in Lenfant's 'Hist. du Conc. de Basle;' Bayle, art. *Picards*, &c.

[e] Giesel. II. iv. 437-8; Palacky, III. ii. 228.

[f] Palacky, ib. 229.

[g] Æn. Sylv. c. 41.

[h] Theob. 93; Schröckh, xxxiv. 691; Palacky, III. ii. 238-9; Giesel. II. iv. 438.

[i] Æn. Sylv. c. 41; Theobald. 93-5, 102, 105; Palacky, III. ii. 236, 240. Ziska burnt at once fifty Picards, who leaped laughing into the flames, saying that they were going to sup with Christ. (Ib. 230.)

[k] See Æn. Sylv. c. 43. After a time the Horebites broke up, the nobles joining the Prague party, while the poorer people attached themselves to the Taborites. (Palacky, III. ii. 383.)

[l] Æn. Sylv. c. 47; Theobald. 117.

[m] Lenf. i. 210; Giesel. II. iv. 439; Palacky, III. ii. 57.

Hussinecz as to the lawfulness of a resort to arms—not from any scruples of his own, but for the satisfaction of his followers, who professed a rigid adherence to Scripture; and the answer was, that, although it would be wrong to enforce the truth by the sword, yet, in case of extremity, the sword might lawfully be employed for the defence of the true religion.[n]

The war of Bohemia was carried on with an atrocity which has probably never been equalled. On the taking of a town all the inhabitants were slain, with perhaps the exception of a few women and children. Churches were burnt, with those who had taken refuge in them.[o] The churches and convents, which Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini describes as more numerous, more magnificent, and more highly adorned than those of any other European country,[p] were demolished, so that, with the exception of the incomplete cathedral in the Hradschin at Prague, no specimen of the ancient splendour now remains. Ziska professed to destroy all churches which bore the names of saints, on the ground that they ought to be dedicated to God alone.[q] He is said to have reduced to ruin more than 500 churches and monasteries;[r] and with the buildings perished their precious ornaments, which were regarded as instruments of idolatry.[s] By these acts of fanatical barbarism the Taborites not only vexed their enemies, but they declared their own principle that for true believers no material buildings for worship were necessary; that the use of such buildings was superstitious, inasmuch as every believer ought to carry God's living law in his own breast. Nor was the destroying fury of the Hussites confined to things which might be regarded as superstitious: thus, we are told that, on the taking of Rabic by Ziska, treasures which had been placed there with a view to safety were burnt, with the captive monks and clergy, while nothing but arms, horses,

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[n] Palacky, III. ii. 64-5.

[o] Palacky, III. ii. 205, 208.

[p] "Nullum ergo regnum ætate nostra in tota Europa tam frequentibus, tam augustis, tam ornatis templis ditatum fuisse quàm Bohemicum reor. Templa in cœlum erecta, longitudine atque amplitudine mirabili, fornicibus tegebantur lapideis; altaria in sublimi posita, auro et argento, quo sanctorum reliquiæ tegebantur, onusta; sacerdotum vestes margaritis tectæ, ornatus omnis dives, pretiosissima supellex, fenestræ altæ atque amplissimæ, conspicuo vitro et admirabili opere, ut lucem præbeant. Neque hoc tantum in oppidis atque urbibus, sed in villis quoque admirari licebat." (Hist. Boh. c. 36.)

[q] Æn. Sylv. c. 42.

[r] Theobald. 71; Lenf. 1. 31.

[s] Palacky, III. ii. 47. See Steph. Dolan. in Pez, IV. ii. 517. For the outrages done to images, see Joh. de Ragusio, 82: — "Viderunt siquidem alibi caput imaginis Domini nostri J. C. crucifixi amputatum, alibi gloriosæ Matris oculos erutos, alibi nasum truncatum, alibi manus abscissas," &c. (Cf. Byzyn. 200; Andr. Ratisb. in Eccard, i. 2155.)

and money was exempted from the flames.[t] On both sides excessive cruelty was practised, not only towards prisoners taken in war, but towards others. Ziska was in the habit of burning priests and monks in pitch,[u] and after his death this and other barbarities continued to be practised by his partisans.[x] Nor were the Catholics slow to emulate the ferocity of their opponents; and to this they sometimes—on the principle that no faith was due to heretics—added a treachery from which the Hussites were free. Thus, when some Taborites surrendered at Chatebor, on the assurance that their lives should be spared, the promise was shamelessly set aside.[y] Sigismund caused a merchant of Prague to be dragged at the heels of horses, and afterwards burnt, for speaking disrespectfully of the council of Constance and maintaining the necessity of communion in both kinds;[z] and many other cruelties are recorded against him.[a] The men of Kuttenberg, then the second city of the kingdom, who were mostly Germans, employed in mining, and violent in their zeal for the church, offered a premium for all Hussites who should be put into their hands—one florin for a layman and five for a priest. In consequence of this, the Hussites were hunted and entrapped like beasts; and it is said that 1600 of them were put to death at Kuttenberg, either by burning, beheading, or being cast into the depths of mines.[b]

In addition to the ecclesiastical buildings, castles, palaces, even whole towns, were destroyed. By the ravages of contending hosts, and by the neglect of tillage, the country was reduced to a desert.[c] Manufactures and foreign commerce were annihilated. The manners and habits of the people became ruder and less civilised than before.[d] On both sides the lust of spoil gradually mixed with the religious purposes with which the war had been undertaken;[e] and by the enlistment of foreigners—Poles, Prussians, and others, including even Germans—in the Taborite forces, the character of "God's warriors," on which Ziska had insisted, became lost.[f]

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[t] Palacky, III ii. 100.

[u] *E.g.* J. Nider, quoted by Rayn. 1423, 20; Theobald. 85; Palacky, III. ii. 170.

[x] Ib. 385–7.

[y] Ib. 199.

[z] Ib. 91; Byzyn. 158.

[a] Ulric of Rosenberg, in defending himself against a charge of lack of zeal, tells Sigismund, in 1426, that he cannot hang Hussites publicly, as in former times, but that he puts to death by drowning, or by torture, such as can be privately caught. (Ib. 405.)

[b] Docum. no. 102; Theobald. 75 Palacky, III. ii. 74-5, 198.

[c] Herm. Corner in Eccard, ii. 1267; Joh. de Ragus. 82.

[d] Joh. de Ragus. 82; Palacky, III ii. 500.

[e] See as to the Catholics, Trithem Chron. Sponh. A.D. 1422.

[f] Palacky, III. ii. 500.

On the 1st of March, 1420, Pope Martin, at the emperor's request, issued a bull *Omnium plasmatoris Domini*, summoning the faithful to rise for the extirpation of Wyclifism, Hussitism, and other heresies, and promising full indulgences to those who should take part in the enterprise either personally or by substitute.[g] Sigismund, after a great diet at Breslau, collected an army, which is estimated at from 100,000 to 150,000 men,[h] not only from every part of Germany, but from all other European countries except Italy and Scandinavia.[i] The Bohemians flew together for mutual defence; oaths were taken that they would spend their property and their blood to the utmost for the principle of utraquism, and fierce language was uttered against the Roman church.[k] At Midsummer, the crusading host invaded the land, but proved unequal to cope with the exasperated zeal of the people in behalf of their country and their religion, and with the genius of Ziska, who on the 14th of July defeated the invaders with great slaughter on a hill near Prague, which still bears his name.[l] Sigismund, although he was crowned by archbishop Conrad as king of Bohemia in the Hradschin, found himself unable to gain possession of that part of his capital which lies on the other side of the Moldau,[m] and withdrew from the country, leaving behind him a strong feeling of hatred in the hearts of the Bohemians, while his German allies regarded him as a favourer of heresy for having entered into negotiations with the Bohemian nobles. On the 31st of October, the great fortress of the Wissehrad, which included within its walls a palace and a monastery, was surrendered to the Hussites; and its splendid buildings, with the precious contents, accumulated during several centuries, were ruthlessly destroyed.[n]

July 28.

The moderate party among the Hussites, which was represented by the magistrates and the great mass of the citizens of the capital, drew up in July 1420 a document, which was the result of many conferences, and is known as the Four Articles of Prague. The substance of these articles was: (1) that the word of God should be freely preached; (2) that the holy eucharist should be administered in both kinds to all faithful Christians; (3) that the clergy should be deprived of their

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[g] Eberh. Windeck, in Mencken, i. 1135; Palacky, III. ii. 90.

[h] Ib. 123; Lenf. i. 154.

[i] Byzyn. 166-8; Palacky, III. ii. 109, 123. There were, however, two famous Italians in it—B. della Scala and George Valperga.

[k] Ib. 93-4.

[l] Ib. 122, 125, 131-3; Byzyn. 171-4.

[m] Rayn. t. viii. 520.

[n] Palacky, III. ii. 145, 147-8, 157-167; E. Windeck, in Mencken, i. 1138; Byzyn. 182; Schmidt, iv. 156

secular lordship and temporalities, as being contrary to Christ's law, hurtful to them in their duty, and detrimental to the secular power; (4) that all deadly sins, especially those of a public kind, and other disorders—including not only the recognized breaches of morality, but the exaction of fees by the clergy—should be forbidden and extirpated by those to whom it belongs.[o]

But, wide as was the difference between these articles and the system of the Roman church, they were far from satisfying Aug. 1424. the Taborites, who proposed twelve additional articles as terms of union, requiring among other things, a more rigorous moral discipline, the confiscation of church-property for the common benefit, the establishment of the divine law as the only rule of government and justice, the destruction of "heretical" monasteries and superfluous churches, with altars, images, rich vestments, church-plate, "and the whole idolatrous plantation of Antichrist."[p]

After a time, a compromise between the parties was effected by the English preacher Peter Payne, who had been received among the masters of the university, and had acquired much influence in Bohemia.[q] Sigismund was brought to tolerate the articles of Prague until the matter should be more formally determined.[r] Conrad, archbishop of Prague, accepted the articles,[s] and while for this he was anathematized by the pope, and the canons of his cathedral renounced obedience to him, the revenues of the see were secularised, agreeably to the third article, and utraquists were put into all ecclesiastical dignities.[t]

For a time Prague was under a theocratic republican government, in which the greatest authority was wielded by a priest named John of Selau, who had formerly been a Premonstra-

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[o] Byzyn. 175–181; Cochl. 199; Giesel. II. iv. 431; Palacky, III. ii. 135, seqq.

[p] Byzyn. 182–4; Giesel. II. iv. 436.

[q] Palacky, III. ii. 217.

[r] Palacky, III. ii. 181-5. As to Payne, see p. 220; Wood, Hist. Oxf. I, 585. In Bp. Bekynton's Correspondence (Chron. and Mem.) are two letters from Henry VI. about Payne. In the first (137) the king thanks the lord of Rabenstein for keeping him a prisoner, and for offering to send him to England. In the second (138) he suggests to Pope Eugenius that, as this "haeresiarcha improbissimus et damnatissimus . . . qui inter viventes omnes et fidei et ecclesiae orthodoxae fuit et est bestia crudelior et capitalior inimicus," &c., cannot well be conveyed to England on account of dangers on the way, and especially of the "idol of Basel," the pope should cause him to be brought before the council of Florence. Dr. Pauli (v. 210) quotes from the 'Chronicle of London' (ed. Nicolas, 1827), A.D. 1434: "The Lollards of Prage were distroyed . . . and there was taken onlyve Maister Piers clerke of Engeland, and an Englyssh heretyk, and enemy to all holy chirche."

[s] Rayn. 1426. 11, seqq.; Palacky, III. ii. 218.

[t] Ib. 218-9, 400. Conrad died in 1426. Schröckh, xxxiv. 396.

tensian.[u] This John, in sermons which were eagerly heard by excited multitudes, declared Sigismund to be the great red dragon of the Apocalypse;[v] and all the emperor's attempts to conciliate his Bohemian subjects—his apologies and explanations as to the past, his offers of concession—were received with scorn and derision.[x] A second and a third time Sigismund invaded the country at the head of vast forces—in one case, it is said, 200,000 men; but each time the invaders recoiled in confusion and disgrace before the invincible Ziska.[y]

A.D. 1421.

In the meantime many of the nobles, disgusted by the democratic and fanatical excesses of the Hussite parties, returned to the obedience of the emperor and of the pope;[z] and there were negotiations with Poland and with Lithuania, which led to an attempt by a Lithuanian prince, Sigismund Corybut, to establish himself as king of Bohemia.[a] John of Selau was beheaded in consequence of a change of the popular feeling, in March, 1422,[b] and on this removal of the link by which the party of Prague had been connected with the Taborites, the old hostilities of these parties broke out with a violence which was the greater because for the time no foreign enemy was to be feared.[c] The quarrel of aristocracy and democracy was now mixed up with the old religious enmities. On the 8th of August, 1423, Ziska inflicted a crushing defeat on the men of Prague;[d] and he would probably have punished their opposition by the destruction of their city, but for the remonstrances of some of his chief associates, and the entreaties of a deputation headed by John Rokyczana, an ecclesiastic of great eloquence and ability, who played an important part in the later history.[e] Within a month after this, on the 11th of October, 1424, Ziska died of a pestilence which was raging in Bohemia. The last year of his life had also been the fullest of violence and bloodshed,[f] but immediately before

A.D. 1422.

Sept. 14, 1424.

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[u] Lenf. i. 174; Palacky, III. ii. 180, 183, 255, 262. Æneas Sylvius styles him "impius et ad omne scelus audax." (Hist. Bohem. c. 36.)

[v] Byzyn. 160; Theob 76.

[x] Theob. c. 48; Lenf. i. 185; Palacky, III. ii. 224.

[y] Palacky, III. iii. 24, 3-41, 250-4, 316.

[z] Cochl. 269; Palacky, III. iii. 262, 298.

[a] Palacky, III. ii. 153, 255-630, 3-327; Lenf. i. 180-1, 212. Corybut, who was excommunicated by the pope (Rayn. 1424. 9, 1425. 13) again appeared in Bohemia in 1426-7. (Lenf. i. 261; Palacky, III. iii. 426, 452-3.)

[b] Æn. Sylv. c. 44; Theob. 107. There is a curious narrative by one of his friends, quoted by Palacky, III. ii. 279, seqq.

[c] Lenf. i. 223; Palacky, III. ii. 290-3, 317, 331-2.

[d] Ib. 337.

[e] Lenf. i. 227; Palacky, III. iii. 356.

[f] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Boh. c. 44, p. 113; Palacky, III. ii. 357-8. Æneas Sylvius tells (although only as a report) that

his death he had been engaged in negotiations with the emperor.[g]

The loss of the great commander who had taught his countrymen to war, and had always led them to victory, was deeply felt. A large portion of his followers (towards whom his behaviour had always been marked by a kindly familiarity, which strongly contrasted with his ruthless ferocity towards his enemies) took the name of Orphans, as if in Ziska they had lost a father who could never be replaced.[h] As to principles this section took up a middle position between the extreme parties, adhering to the doctrine of transubstantiation and the use of vestments and ceremonies, while they rejected the Roman church and hierarchy.[i]

A.D. 1426.

But within no long time two other leaders became conspicuous among the Hussites—the great and the little Procopius.[k] It is said that the former of these had been recommended by Ziska as his successor; and he was accepted by the Taborites, while the lesser Procopius was at the head of the Orphans.[l] The great Procopius was also designated as the Shaven, from the circumstance that he had unwillingly entered the priesthood at the instance of an uncle, to whom he had been indebted for education and for the means of travelling widely.[m] Although he had married, he still continued to perform priestly ministrations; and, while zealously discharging the functions of a general, he did not himself engage in fight, or carry offensive weapons.[n] Procopius was distinguished from the other Taborite leaders by mental culture and a love of learning. He had at one time been suspected of an inclination to the extravagances of the Picards; and, although his opinions had more lately been in some degree mitigated, they were even now more remote from the Roman system than those of Ziska, while Procopius was less fanatical and intolerant, and was guided in a greater degree by political prudence, than the earlier leader.[o]

Ziska, when dying, desired that his skin might be used to cover a drum, assuring his followers that the sound of it would give them victory (Hist. Boh. c. 46; Ep. i. 130, p. 661; Comment. l. iii. p. 467). Krantz adds that the promise was fulfilled: "Ita permittente Deo regnat diabolus in membris suis" (Wandalia, 253). But the story is generally supposed to be fabulous. (Theobald. 118; Lenf. i. 231.)

[g] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Boh. c. 46.

[h] Albert Krantz however gives another interpretation: "Sic enim gaudebant vocari, quod sine patre essent principe, sine matre ecclesia, quam illi contempsere." (Wandalia, 259. Rinaldi borrows this, 1429. 16.)

[i] Palacky, IV. i. 152.

[k] See Palacky, III. ii. 382.

[l] Theob. 117.

[m] Æn. Sylv. c. 44, p. 113; Theob. 110; Palacky, III. iii. 407.

[n] See his protestation at Basel. (Palacky, III. ii. 409.)

[o] Palacky, III. ii. 407; iii. 11

By the death of Ziska, the Prague party gained strength. Some of the older excesses, such as the destruction of churches, were blamed; the more extravagant opinions were discountenanced; and it even seemed as if a reconciliation with the Roman church might be effected. But the more advanced Hussites refused to consent to articles which favoured transubstantiation, prayers for the dead, purgatory, and the ecclesiastical ceremonies, with other such points of doctrine and practice;[p] and the conferences which had been opened with a view to union, ended in divisions wider than before.[q] On this occasion Peter Payne, taking offence at some Calixtine articles which asserted the presence of the Lord's body in the eucharist, joined the Orphans, from whom he afterwards passed to the Taborites.[r]

Notwithstanding their violent differences among themselves, the Bohemians continued to be successful against external enemies. After having defeated a German force at Aussig in 1426, with a slaughter which is estimated at from 9000 to 15,000 men, while the Bohemians lost only fifty, they advanced as far as Magdeburg, and, following the example which had been given by Ziska, they often invaded the neighbouring countries on all sides.[s] In these outbreaks, to which they were partly urged by the necessities which arose out of the desolation of their own land, they everywhere committed extraordinary acts of cruelty and wanton devastation.[t]

June 16, 1426.

In February, 1427, Martin gave the commission of legate for Bohemia, Germany, and Hungary, to Cardinal Beaufort,[u] who at that time was not unwilling to withdraw for a season from the political contests of England.[x] Preparations were made for a crusade on a very great scale. Throughout the empire a tax was raised for the suppression of Hussitism.[y] Four large armies, amounting (it is said) to 200,000 in all,[z] were to enter

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[p] Ib. 373, 377, 422-3.

[q] Ib. 377; Lenf. i. 259.

[r] Palacky, III. ii. 428. Cochlaeus thus compares Wyclif and Payne: "Lacum quem ille fodit, iste patenter aperuit; et ea quae Wicleph obscure posuit, iste explanavit; et quae ille refusis verborum sententiis protulit, iste breviatis propositionum compendiis summavit" (231).

[s] See Æn. Sylv. p. 113; Schmidt, iv. 157; Palacky, III. ii. 415-6.

[t] Herm. Corner, 1275, 1295-6, 1317; Andr. Ratisb. in Eccard, i. 2158; Krantz, Wandalia, 259, 261; Lenf. i. 306-8, 310, 312-3, &c.; Palacky, III. ii. 410, 417, 431-4, 460, 489, 505, &c.

[u] Æn. Sylv. c. 48; Lenf. i. 283. Palacky, III. ii. 438; Rayn. 1426. 26; 1427. 1-2; Lingard, iv. 61.

[x] Pauli, v. 218.

[y] Palacky, III. ii. 441.

[z] Theob. 125; Palacky, III. ii. 440-2. The crusade was talked of in the convocation of 1428 (Wilk. iii. 493 seqq.); but the pope's demand of a tenth for the purpose was ignored, and all that he got was the publication of a bull for voluntary

Bohemia from different quarters at Midsummer. Strict rules of discipline, befitting the religious nature of the enterprise, were laid down; all gaming and other such irregularities were forbidden; every soldier was bound to frequent confession and communion;[a] and in their manner of warfare the crusaders were to adopt something of the system which the genius of Ziska had taught his countrymen. Although the various parties of Bohemians united for the common cause, it is said that the force which they were able to oppose to this vast host amounted only to 15,000 horse, and 16,000 foot;[b] but the great enterprise speedily ended in disgraceful failure. At Mies, the Germans, on coming in sight of the enemy, were seized with a panic; and the cardinal, as he was advancing, met his troops fleeing in abject terror. It was in vain that, with the crucifix in his hand, he entreated them, by the most solemn considerations of religion, to rally.[c] He himself was reluctantly carried away with the multitude, and in this scandalous flight the Germans lost 10,000 men, besides many more, who, in their retreat, were pursued and slain by the peasantry.[d]

In 1428 and the following year, fresh expeditions were projected and heavy taxation was imposed, which, in some parts of Germany, excited discontent and open resistance.[e] Attempts were also made to come to an agreement by means of conferences;[f] but, although Sigismund professed to be tired of the weight of empire, and willing to content himself with his original kingdom of Hungary,[g] the Bohemians had acquired such confidence from their successes, that they insisted on terms which he was unable to yield.[h] And the internal divisions of the Hussites continued. A divine named John of Przibram violently

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service or contributions (Williams, Introd. to Bekynton, xciv. seqq.). Chichele defends himself in a letter to the pope against a charge of opposing the proposed subsidy (Bekynton, 255). For documents, see Wilk. iii. 491; Harzheim, v. 229, seqq.; Fascic. Rer. Expet. et Fug. ii. 620. Among the charges brought against a chaplain named Ralph Mungyn before the Canterbury Convocation of 1428, one was that he had denied the lawfulness of taking arms against the Bohemians. (Wilk. ii. 501-2.)

[a] Eb. Windeck, in Mencken, i. 1192, seqq.

[b] Palacky, III. ii. 445 (who, however, thinks that these numbers are probably too low).

[c] As he had been partly educated at Aix-la-Chapelle (Foss, iv. 286), it may be presumed that he was able to address the Germans in their own language.

[d] Æn. Sylv. c. 48; Andr. Ratisb. in Eccard, i. 2154; Lenf. i. 285; Theob. 126; Palacky, III. ii. 445–7.

[e] Annal. Novesienses, in Martene, Coll. Ampl. iv. 600; Palacky, III. ii. 455-6, 466. See Rayn. 1427. 9, 1428. 5; Wilkins, iii. 511.

[f] Palacky, III. ii. 459-460, &c.

[g] Palacky, III. ii. 470–4, 477-8, 501.

[h] Ib. 479.

assailed the doctrines of Wyclif,[j] and did not spare even Hus;[k] while Payne strongly opposed him,[l] and Rokyczana took a middle part, adhering to the doctrine of transubstantiation, but in other things generally agreeing with Payne.[m]

The cardinal of Winchester was withdrawn from Bohemian affairs in consequence of the change produced in the relations of France and England by the appearance of the Maid of Orleans; and the force which he had raised for the Hussite war was employed against the French.[n] But the pope was still bent on the suppression of Hussitism, and in January, 1431, despatched as his legate Julian Cesarini, who had lately been created cardinal of St. Angelo.[o] Julian was a Roman, of a family whose

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[j] He usually styles Wyclif "master of heretics." See his tract, "De Professione Fidei Catholicæ," at the end of Cochlæus, pp. 512-3, 539 543, &c. As to his party, see Palacky, IV. i. 438 seqq.

[k] "Prætensum evangelistam eorum" (519). He professes to approve the opinions of Hus and Mathias, "de tanto, et non plus de quanto ipsa probantur a Deo et ecclesia Catholica, et de quanto ipsa a veritate Catholica, et a sanctis ecclesiæ doctoribus, et ab ecclesia Catholica prorsus non dissonant nec discordant" (540). He is for the administration of the eucharist in two kinds, "Salva semper subjectione, reverentia, et obedientia sanctæ ecclesiæ Catholicæ et Romanæ, in omnibus licitis et honestis" (510); but he will not condemn those who are for one kind only (511, 525). The description of a Taborite priest (which seems to be given as a quotation) is curious:—"Sacerdos Thaborensis est, qui in facie quidem pius et mansuetus, sed interius impius et tyrannus; exterius innocens et purus, sed interius a cruore fœtidus et squalidus; exterius submissus, sed interius super omnes erectus, qui nemini subesse patitur, præesse cunctis molitur; præsumit se meliorem, quod non credit se superbiorem; de omnibus se intromittit, a sapientioribus vultum avertit; reordinat ordinata, reficit facta; quicquid ipse non fecit aut non ordinavit, nec recte factum nec pulchre æstimat ordinatum; judicat judicantes, præjudicat judicatis, infrenis, inflexibilis, præceps et audax, in omnia divina temerarius, et in sancta singula impius et prophanus" (pp. 516-7). On the other hand, Przibram strongly declares the necessity of reform. He complains of simony as everywhere prevailing; of trafficking in the sacraments, &c.:—"Fornicationes impudentissimæ et immundiciæ ubique putridissimæ, et putrefactiones abominabilissimæ; concubinatus pollutissimi, mores dissolutissimi, gestus et habitus actus corruptissimi, supermultiplicata ubique in clero meretricia, quibus heu corrupta squalet universa terra, et insanit in omni immundicia, tanquam a muliere illa Babylonica omni abominatione prophanissima. Et similia facit mala Luciferina cleri superbia, quæ effertur super Deum . . . . Similiter abundans opulentia et opulenta abundantia . . . . Simile faciunt lauta ejus et assidua convivia . . . . litigiositas malignissima . . . . curiositas vanissima, vestimentorum pompa indecentissima, conversatio sæcularissima, et admixtio sæcularitatis confusissima," &c. (P. 545.)

[l] Przibram reprobates Payne, 543.

[m] Cochl. 224; Lenf. i. 297; Palacky, III. ii. 485-6; Oswald, de Joh. Rokyczana, Altdorf. Noric. 1718, p. 8. Rokyczana, who was son of a blacksmith, and in early life had been so poor that he is said to have begged (Æn. Sylv. c. 45), is first mentioned in 1421 (Ib. 7; see above, p. 393). Palacky says that he did not originate any opinions, but took up those of Jacobellus, and advocated them with ability (IV. i. 444-5). Jacobellus died Aug. 9, 1429. (Lenf. i. 309.)

[n] Lingard, iv. 67; Pauli, v. 232; Palacky, III. ii. 480-1; Milman, vi. 77. Martin's letters remonstrating against this, and clearing himself to the French king, are in Rayn. 1429. 16-7. There is a letter in the name of Joan Dare, denouncing God's vengeance on the Bohemians if they do not speedily return to the church. See Martin, vi. 190.

[o] Herm. Corner, 1297; Life of Julian, in Ughelli, iii. 671 seqq.; Theob. 138.

poverty is more certain than its nobility.[p] He had risen to eminence by his merits, was esteemed for ability, morals, and learning, and, from having been in Bohemia, in attendance on a former legate, Branda of Castiglione, was supposed to have special qualifications for the office.[q] A bull was drawn up, authorizing a new crusade, and bestowing extraordinary powers on him;[r] but before the bearer, Cardinal John of Olmütz (formerly bishop of Leitomysl[s]) arrived at Nuremberg, tidings were received there that Martin had died on the 20th of February.[t]

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[p] Chacon speaks of him as "familiæ splendore illustris" (ii. 861), and Mr. Jenkins, in his Life of him, takes the same view. But Vespasian of Florence, who was well acquainted with him, says only "Fu figliuolo d' un povero uomo," and speaks of the struggles which he had to make for the means of education (Mai, Spicil. i. 166). Litta says "Nato da genitori *forse* distinti, ma poveri." 'Famiglie Illustri,' art. *Cesarini*.

[q] A.D. 1421. See Rayn. 1421. 6 seqq. Æn. Sylv. c. 48; Jenkins, Life of Cardinal Julian, 63. He had also been employed in England in order to obtain the abolition of the *præmunire* statutes. (Wilk. iii. 479 seqq.)

[r] Cochl. 236.

[s] See Rayn. 1426, 26; Ciacon. ii. 846.

[t] Palacky, III. ii. 519.

CHAPTER II.

EUGENIUS IV.—THE COUNCILS OF BASEL AND FLORENCE.

A.D. 1431–1447.

Immediately after the death of Martin, the feeling of the cardinals towards him, which had been suppressed during his lifetime, began to show itself in a significant form. The first day of the conclave, which met in the church of St. Mary *sopra Minerva*, was spent in drawing up certain terms to March 2. which the future pope was to bind himself by oath, and which he was to confirm by a special bull after his election. By this compact every cardinal promised, in case of his being chosen pope, to reform the *curia* in head and members, and to undertake such reformation whenever he should be required by the cardinals; not to remove the seat of the papacy from Rome, except with the consent of the cardinals; to celebrate a general council at the place and time which the cardinals should recommend, and in it to reform the whole church, including the monastic and military orders, in faith, life, and morals; to make no cardinals except according to the rules of the council of Constance, unless a majority of the college should judge otherwise; to admit freely the advice of the cardinals, to respect their privileges, to preserve the rights of the Roman church, and in his letters to name those cardinals who had counselled him, as had been the practice until the time of Boniface VIII.[a]

Although under the late pope the Italians had regained their old predominance in the college—which now, in defiance of the reforms of Constance,[b] consisted of eleven or twelve Italian cardinals, and only eight of all other nations[c]—a French and a Spanish bishop were put forward as the most likely to be chosen; but, by one of those unexpected turns which have often decided the result of elections to the papacy, the choice fell on March 3. Gabriel Condolmieri, cardinal of St. Clement, who took

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[a] This capitulation is embodied in the bull of Eugenius, March 12, Rayn. 1431. 3 seqq.

[b] See p. 297.

[c] Reumont, iii. 75.

the name of Eugenius IV.[d] The new pope was a Venetian, a nephew of Gregory XII., and had attained the age of forty-eight.[e] He had distinguished himself in early life by giving at once twenty thousand ducats to the poor, and by entering, with his cousin Antony Corario, a society of canons which they founded under the title of St. George *in alga*, on one of the islands of Venice.[f] He had been advanced to the dignity of cardinal by his uncle, and under the late pope had been employed as legate for the reduction of Bologna.[g] Both his virtues and his faults were chiefly those of a monk. In his own person he was abstinent and severe, although his household expenses were equal to the dignity of his station; he loved and encouraged men of letters, although his own learning was but moderate; he was obstinate, narrow-minded, possessed by an ambition which refused to consider the limits of his power,[h] little scrupulous in the pursuit of his objects, open to flattery, filled with a high idea of the papal greatness, and implacably hostile to all deviation from the established doctrines of the church.[i] Under him the Romans found reason to look back with regret on the prosperous government of Martin;[k] and to his mistaken policy are chiefly to be ascribed the troubles by which the church was agitated throughout his pontificate.

Eugenius had been assisted by the influence of the Orsini, and showed himself hostile to the great rival family of which his predecessor had been a member. He demanded from Martin's nephews, Cardinal Prosper Colonna, the prince of Salerno, and the count of Celano, the treasures which the pope had collected for a religious war against the Turks, and he refused to be content when they gave up a part as if it had been the whole. The prince of Salerno surrendered the castle of St. Angelo; but Martin was still unsatisfied, and, in alliance with the Orsini, took from the Colonnas all the strong places which they held in Umbria and the ecclesiastical states.[l] Martin's

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[d] Andr. Billius, in Murat. xix. 143; Reumont, III. i. 71-2.

[e] Bayle thinks that the idea of his having been nephew to Gregory has arisen from a confusion with his friend Ant. Corario. (Art. *Eugène IV.* note B.)

[f] Vespasiano, in Murat. xxv. 255, 259; Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frider. in Kollar, ii. 133.

[g] See p. 371; Platina, 295.

[h] "Nullum in eo magis vitium fuit, nisi quia sine mensura erat, et non quod potuit, sed quod voluit, aggressus est." (Æn. Sylv. in Baluz. Miscell. i. 339.)

[i] See Platina, 307; Sism. vi. 396-8; Ffoulkes, ii. 370.

[k] Poggio, quoted by Reumont, III. i. 76.

[l] Vita Eug. in Murat. III. ii. 869; Infessura in Eccard, ii. 1875; Andr. Billius in Murat. xix. 144; Gregorov. vii. 28; Platina, 295-6; Æn. Sylv. 168, 768; Flav. Blondus, 458; Rayn. 1431, 10 seqq.

Dec. 1431.

treasurer was tortured, in the hope of drawing from him information as to concealed wealth. A bull was issued, setting forth the offences of the Colonnas, and ordering that all their possessions should be confiscated, that their houses should be pulled down, and should never be rebuilt; that their arms should be erased from buildings, and that they should for ever be incapable of ecclesiastical or secular office;[m] and this was carried into effect by the destruction of the late pope's palace, and of all monuments of his pontificate.[n] Two hundred Romans of the Colonna party, who had been employed in office under Martin, were put to death on various charges.[o] Joanna of Naples deprived the prince of Salerno of his principality, which was held under the Neapolitan crown; and at length, with aid from Naples, Florence, and Venice, Eugenius reduced the Colonnas to an unreserved submission, and to a surrender of all their fortresses, with all that they had retained of Pope Martin's wealth.[p]

The time had now arrived for the meeting of the general council at Basel;[q] but, although men looked anxiously to an assembly which was expected to determine whether the papal authority should continue in the fullness which it had attained, or should be reduced within more reasonable bounds, the gathering of the members was slow and gradual. The opening had been announced for the month of March, but the abbot of Vezelay was the only one who had then appeared, and two months later he had been joined by hardly any others, except some representatives of the university of Paris.[r] It seemed as if the council of Basel might have no greater result than that of Siena.[s] The late pope, who disliked and dreaded such meetings, had shown no alacrity to forward it;[t] but he had authorised Cardinal Julian Cesarini to preside, and the commission was renewed by Eugenius,[u] who at the same time charged the cardinal to attend to the affairs of Bohemia if he did not find the fathers assembled at Basel.[x] But Julian was more deeply interested in Bohemia than in the council. He begged that he

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[m] Baluz. Miscell. i. 331-3; cf. Murat. III. ii. 872.

[n] Andr. Billius, 145; Sism. vi. 299; Reumont, III. i. 78.

[o] Murat. Ann. IX. i. 186.

[p] Murat. Ann. IX i. 187; Sism. vi. 299; Fl. Blondus, 159 seqq. It is said that the Colonnas instigated one of the pope's officials to poison him, and that in consequence he was crippled on one side. (Infessura, in Eccard, ii. 1876.)

[q] See p. 380.

[r] Aug. Patric. in Hard. ix. 10, 83; Joh. Ragus. in Monum. Conc. Basil. 68-71; Herm. Corner, 1306.

[s] Giesel. II. iv. 55.

[t] Joh. Ragus. 65-6.

[u] Hard. viii. 1112.

[x] Eug. in Rayn. 1431. 17; Aug. Patric. in Hard. ix. 1083.

might be excused from presiding at Basel; he wrote to stir up princes, prelates, and others to the holy war;[y] and, while the members of the council were slowly gathering, he zealously preached the Bohemian crusade along the course of the Rhine, and even as far as Liége and Flanders.[z] In the meantime he sent two Dominicans—John of Palomar, auditor of the Sacred Palace, and John of Ragusa,[a] procurator-general of the order, to act as his deputies at Basel, and to entreat that the assembled fathers would await the issue of affairs in Bohemia; and by these commissioners the council was opened on the 23rd of July.[b] At the same time Julian and others were active in endeavouring by urgent letters to procure a fuller attendance at Basel.

The danger with which the Bohemians were again threatened became, as in former instances, the means of uniting their factions. All were animated by a common zeal to withstand the invaders of their native land. Those who were engaged in expeditions into the neighbouring countries were recalled, and Procopius the Great was for a time invested with an almost absolute authority.[c]

A diet was held at Eger in May, under the presidency of Sigismund. Some representatives of the Bohemians appeared, and endeavoured by negotiation to avert the threatened crusade; but the emperor was persuaded by John of Ragusa and others, who had been sent to him by Cardinal Julian, to refuse all further treaty with them, unless on condition that they should submit in all their opinions to the determination of the church and the general council.[d] To their request that they might be heard at Basel, Sigismund replied that this would interfere with the council's freedom; whereupon the Bohemians put forth an indignant letter, addressed to kings, princes, and Christians of all classes, stating the four articles of Prague as the points on which they insisted, protesting against the

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[y] See Lenf. i. 337, and Julian's manifesto from Nuremberg, March 21, 1431, in Cochl. 240.

[z] Joh. Ragus. 73; C. Zantfl. in Mart. Coll. Ampl. v. 424; Palacky, III. iii. 531-2.

[a] John Stojkovic, of Ragusa, had formerly been attached to cardinal John of Ragusa, who has been already mentioned (p. 382). His book on the council of Basel is published in the Vienna 'Monumenta.' He held to the council of Basel throughout, and was made cardinal of St. Sixtus (the same title which the elder John had held, by the antipope, Felix V. See Palacky's Introduction to the 'Monumenta,' pp. xiii-xiv.

[b] Hard. viii. 1103; Julian, ap. Æn. Sylv. Hist. Boh. c. 65; Joh. Ragus. 67, 72, 91; Palacky, III. ii. 521-2.

[c] Palacky, III. ii. 538.

[d] Joh. Ragus. 80.

emperor's behaviour to them, denouncing the clergy severely, and declaring themselves determined, with the help of the Lord of Hosts, to repel any invasion of their country.[e]

July 3.

Before resorting to arms Cardinal Julian addressed to the Bohemians a letter, in which he declared himself earnestly desirous of their good, and even ready to give his life for them. He denies that the crusading force is intended for the destruction of their country; he sets forth the outrages and excesses which the Bohemians had committed in their own land and in those around it, and tells them that the crusaders are not to be regarded as aggressors, but as having taken arms for the deliverance of the pious, for their defence against the lovers of confusion and anarchy. They offer peace, and if war should follow, the guilt of it will lie on the other party. As to the great mass of the Bohemians, he expresses confidence that they are not in favour of disorder. He ridicules the notion that a few uneducated men—soldiers, artisans, peasants, and the like—could be wiser than the church, or than her multitude of trained teachers, both in past generations and now. The church has received from Christ the promise of the Holy Spirit to lead her into all truth, to protect her and to abide with her for ever; she is ready to receive the Bohemians, like the repentant prodigal; to bring forth the new robe, to kill the fatted calf, to call together the friends and neighbours that they may rejoice over the recovery of the lost.[f]

The Bohemians rejoined in a letter which was mostly, if not wholly, the work of "the great" Procopius.[g] In this letter the articles of Prague are set forth as principles founded on Scripture and held by the ancient church. To the restoration of these, which had in later ages been suppressed by a corrupt clergy, the Bohemians had devoted themselves for years, and for this cause they had borne labours, insults, expenses, and even the danger of their lives. They profess to refer all questions to Scripture, and to the ancient doctors who are agreeable to Scripture; they protest against force as a means of conversion, and tell the cardinal that St. Peter's manner of visiting Cornelius might have supplied him with an example of a better method.[h]

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[e] Theob. 141 (the date there given, 1443, is of course a mistake). Another version (seemingly) of the same, dated on the eve of St. Mary Magdalene (July 21), 1431, is in Hard. viii. 1646.

[f] Theob. 141 (really 143); Palacky, III. ii. 533.

[g] Schröckh, xxxiv. 618; Palacky. III. iii. 11.

[h] Theobald. 145-6. Cf. another Bo-

The crusading force, which ought to have been ready at Midsummer, was, as in former expeditions, behind its time. The enterprise was inaugurated with great solemnity in the church of St. Sebald, at Nuremberg; where the emperor, kneeling before the altar, presented his sword to the legate, by whom it was delivered, together with the consecrated banner of the empire, to Frederick, elector of Brandenburg, who had been appointed to the chief command. The whole force is estimated at from 90,000 to 130,000 men, and on the 1st of August it entered Bohemia.[i] But the same ignominious fate which had attended the earlier expeditions of the same kind was now more signally repeated. Many of the invaders, scared by the mere sight of the Hussite manner of fighting, were seized with panic and fled at the approach of the Bohemians; and in an engagement near Tauss, the legate, who had ascended a hill in order to see the combat, was compelled to witness the utter rout of his army. By extraordinary efforts he succeeded in rallying a few of them as they were about to plunge into a forest; but it was only that they might be cut to pieces or driven back by the advancing enemy. The troops fled in utter confusion, hurrying the cardinal along with them, while the Hussites pressed on them, and slew great numbers without resistance. The spoil taken was very great; and the Hussites were especially elated by the capture of the legate's silver crucifix, of his bell, the ensigns of his dignity as cardinal, and the papal bull which had given authority for the crusade.[k] Julian himself was in danger from the fury of some of the crusaders, who threw on him the blame of the disaster; and he was obliged for safety to disguise himself as a common soldier in the train of the bishop of Würzburg.[l] The other divisions of the great crusading host fell utterly to pieces.[m]

The Hussites had now attained their greatest height of success and reputation. For twelve years they had not only held their ground against the united efforts of Latin Christendom, but had carried the terror of their arms far into the countries which bordered on Bohemia. Their enthusiastic courage, directed by the genius of Ziska and Procopius, had defeated the most

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hemian manifesto in Mart. Coll. Ampl. v. 425; Fascic. Rer. Exp. &c., ii. 632.

[i] Æn. Sylv. c. 48; Schmidt, iv. 161; Palacky, III. ii. 548.

[k] These spoils were long preserved at Tauss as memorials of the great victory. (Theob. 147.)

[l] Æn. Sylv. c. 48; Theob. 117; Andr. Ratisb. 2161; Schmidt, iv. 162; Jenkins, 122; Palacky, III. ii. 544-7.

[m] Palacky, III. ii. 548.

famous generals of the age, and great armies, collected under the highest religious sanction from almost every nation which acknowledged the spiritual authority of Rome, had fled before them without awaiting their onset.[n] And among the multitudes who openly or secretly rejected that authority, sympathy was widely felt with them. Thus we meet with casual mention of a community (probably Waldensian) among the mountains of Dauphiny which is said to have shared their opinions, and to have raised a tribute for their aid.[o] But from the time of their greatest triumph disunion began to work its mischiefs. The several parties, being no longer banded together against a common enemy, fell asunder, and sought for foreign alliances in order to subdue each other. And this was the effect rather of political than of religious differences. The democratic spirit, which had been strongly developed in connexion with the reforming doctrines—a spirit which had been fostered by John of Selau and by Ziska, and had displayed itself in the disregard of family influence, and of everything but personal merit, in the choice of generals and officers—alienated the higher nobility, and tended to throw them back into the arms of the Roman church.[p]

Cardinal Cesarini, on making his escape from the country which he had so confidently entered, repaired to the emperor at Nuremberg, and complained to him loudly of the German princes as wanting in spirit and enterprise.[q] The legate had been now convinced by experience that negotiation was more hopeful than force as a means of reducing the Hussites; and his observations in Germany had taught him that the cause of the church was lost in that country unless a reform were carried out. He looked to the general council as the instrument of such a reform, and as the best remaining hope of a solution of the Bohemian difficulties; and to it he referred the emperor and the German nobles, who, in indignation at the late behaviour

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[n] Palacky, III. iii. 1–3.

[o] This was mentioned at the French national assembly of Bourges in 1434, where there was also mention of an antihierarchical and democratic movement, which had been suppressed in the region of Mâcon (Hard. viii. 1459). The same community is probably meant in a letter of Paul II. to the archbishop of Lyons, on occasion of G. Podiebrad's excommunication in 1469 (Hard. ix. 1488), and by Sixtus IV. in Mart. Coll. Ampl. ii. 1506-7; cf. Ullmann, Reformers before the Reformation, i. 335. An attempt to introduce Hussitism into Scotland was made by one Paul Crauer, a German, who professed physic in order to disguise his real object. He was convicted before the same inquisitor who had tried Resby (see p. 225), many years earlier, and was burnt at St. Andrews, July 23, 1433. (D'Argentré, i. 370; Grub, i. 336.)

[p] Palacky, III. iii. 8–10.

[q] Lenf. i. 362.

of their princes, urged the undertaking of a new crusade, in which the princes should not be admitted to share, and the leader should be one chosen by themselves for his capacity and experience.[r]

On the 9th of September the legate arrived at Basel, where he was received with great solemnity, but found that only three bishops and seven abbots were as yet assembled. In order that the council might become more worthy of its pretensions, he addressed many letters to princes, bishops, and others, urging them to send representatives.[s] And agreeably to the resolution of a congregation of the council, he wrote in its name

Oct. 15.

to the Bohemians, professing great affection for them, exhorting them to peace and unity, and inviting them, with a view to these objects, to appear at Basel, with an assurance that they should have unrestrained liberty of speech, and a full safe-conduct for their stay as well as for their journeys. This letter was sent by the council to the emperor, and by him was forwarded to Bohemia.[t]

To Eugenius the idea of inviting to a free conference those who had been condemned as heretics at the councils of Constance and Siena, and who had since appeared in arms against the church, was altogether intolerable; and on the 12th of November he wrote to the legate, desiring him to break up the council of Basel, and to announce another general council, which was to meet at Bologna after an interval of a year and a half.[u] But Cesarini, unwilling that the schemes on which he had set his heart should be ruined through the pope's mistaken action, ventured, instead of obeying, to send a canon of Besançon to report the state of affairs to Eugenius,[x] and addressed to him a long and forcible letter of remonstrance.

After having entreated that the critical position of affairs may excuse his freedom, the legate relates the recent events in Bohemia, so far as he had been concerned in them. He expresses his belief that a conference between the council and some representatives of the Bohemians would be the most

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[r] Jul. ad Eugen. in Fascic. Rer. Exp. et Fug. i. 55; Theob. 148; Palacky, III. iii. 13.

[s] Mart. Coll. Ampl. viii. 28 seqq.; Herm. Corner, 1307: Dölling. ii. 318. On the 29th of October, Philibert, bishop of Coutances, offered a horse and expenses for a messenger to summon the prelates of Normandy (Joh. Ragus. 124). On Nov. 15, Archbishop Chichele wrote to his suffragans transmitting Julian's invitation, and desiring them to attend or to send representatives. (Wilk. iii. 518.)

[t] Hard. viii. 1313; Æn. Sylv. c. 49; Joh. Ragus. 113, 135–8.

[u] Rayn. 1431. 31.

[x] Hard. viii. 1576.

hopeful expedient for the pacification of Bohemia; and that such a council is urgently needed as a means of reformation. He speaks of his late experience as having shown him the deep disgust which had been produced in the minds of the German laity by the dissoluteness and disorders of the clergy; so that, unless these would reform themselves, it seemed likely that the laity would attack them in the manner of the Hussites; nay, unless these evils were remedied, the extinction of the Hussite heresy would probably be followed by the rise of some other. If the council should be dissolved, it would appear as if the church were afraid to meet the Hussites, who had been invited to it—as if the clergy were incorrigible, and were mocking God and man; the pope will risk the discredit of his name and incur dangers to his soul. A dissolution would involve political difficulties, which would surely redound to the disadvantage of the clergy. For himself, the legate is resolved to vindicate his honour by placing himself in the hands of the secular nobles. The apprehensions of danger to the pope's power, whether spiritual or temporal, are chimerical; nor is any danger to his temporal power to be put in comparison with the peril to souls. The temper of the assembled fathers is alarming, and suggests the likelihood of a schism if the dissolution be carried through. The pretence of difficulty of access to Basel on account of a war between the Dukes of Burgundy and Austria is vain, for these princes have concluded a truce.[y] The hope of gaining the Greeks (on which the pope had insisted) is no sufficient reason for risking the loss of Germany. The legate expresses his willingness to be superseded in his office, but earnestly begs that his engagements may be kept, and that the council may be continued—that the pope, as he had acted on insufficient knowledge, would now, after fuller information, revert to the original design.[z]

Without waiting for the papal sanction, the council held its first session on the 14th of December, when mass was said by Philibert, bishop of Coutances.[a] The subjects for discussion were defined as being three—the extinction of heresy; the restoration of peace and unity among Christians; and the reformation of the church.[b] The system of voting by nations,

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[y] The pope had insisted on this topic, and both Sigismund and the legate had laboured to make peace between the dukes, with a view to the council. See Martene, Coll. Ampl. viii. 40-2; Joh. Ragus. 106, 110.

[z] Æn. Sylv. pp. 64 seqq.; or Fasc. Rer. Exp. et Fug. i. 51, seqq.

[a] Hard. viii. 1106; Herm. Corn. 1317.

[b] Hard. viii. 1114-5.

which had been established at Constance was now set aside,—partly, it would seem, on account of the jealousies which had there arisen between the Spaniards and the English, and partly because the separation of the cardinals, as a body distinct from the nations, had rendered them eager for the pope's authority rather than for the general good of the church.[c] Instead of this arrangement, the council was divided into four "deputations," each composed of members belonging to all degrees of the hierarchy, from patriarchs and cardinals down to monks and secular clergy. These deputations were severally charged with the consideration of—(1) General business; (2) Reformation; (3) The Faith; and (4) Peace. They met thrice a-week, and no subject could be proposed in a general congregation until after it had been discussed in the deputations.[d]

The council was increased considerably in numbers; but of prelates there were comparatively few, nor did the representatives of universities form so important an element as at Constance. Italy had sent but a small number of members; England as yet none.[e] The mass of the council was drawn from the two nations which were nearest to Basel—the French and the Germans.

Eugenius, alarmed by the opening of communications with the Bohemians, issued, on the 18th of December, and on the 12th of February, 1432, fresh documents for the dissolution of the council, alleging, as before, the difficulties of access to Basel on account of the war between Austria and Burgundy, the state of his own health, which must prevent his attendance, the smallness of the numbers assembled, and the expiration of the seven years which had been fixed as a term at the council of Siena; and again he announced another council, to be held

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[c] Schröckh, xxxii. 34; Milman, vi. 93. The Canterbury convocation in 1433 resolved that the English representatives should advocate the division by nations (Wilk. iii. 522), and instructions were given to them accordingly. (Bekyngton, 262.)

[d] Hard. viii. 1439–42; Aug. Patric. ib. 1098. See Raumer, Hist. Taschenb. 1849, p. 124. For the rules laid down as to the conduct of members of the council, see Hard. viii. 1443–6; ix. 1100.

[e] The council sent the bishop of Lodi to beg that Henry VI. would send ambassadors and prelates, and would make peace with his enemies. He replied that he agreed to send representatives, and would expedite their going (Hard. viii. 1437; ix. 1091; Rayn. 1432. 7). John of Ragusa expresses surprise that, as Henry had greatly pressed the assembling of the council, no English members had appeared when it had already sat three years (65). The arrival of some English about the middle of February, 1433, and their entrance into the council on the 2nd of March, are noted by Peter of Zatec (Monum. 311, 319), but it appears that, in consequence of some jealousy, these were recalled as to which a remonstrance was addressed to the king by the bishop of Lodi (Bekynton, No. 258),— and a fresh deputation was sent in the following year. There are many

at Bologna.[f] But the council, remembering that the meeting at Siena had been rendered ineffectual through the late pope's contrivances, and inferring from the proceedings of Martin and of Eugenius that the papacy was hostile to such assemblies, resolved to continue its sessions. On the A.D. 1432. 5th of June, Cesarini addressed a second letter of remonstrance to the pope. He reports the hopeful state of his negotiations with the Bohemians, who had agreed to send deputies to Basel. He dwells on the immeasurable superiority of spiritual over temporal interests. He speaks of the growing numbers and influence of the council. He rests its legitimacy on the same foundation with the papacies of Martin and of Eugenius—the general council of Constance. He exposes the futility of the pretence as to the expiration of the appointed seven years from the time of the last council. He represents the views of persons who deny that the pope had power to dissolve a council, in contradiction to the decree of Constance,[g] and he intimates that he himself agrees in that opinion.[h]

But although the legate expressed himself thus plainly, he thought it well, out of regard for the papal authority, to resign the presidency of the council, to which Philibert, bishop of Coutances, was elected in his room;[i] and in a synodal letter, addressed to all faithful Christians, the assembled fathers declared their resolution to remain at Basel until the purposes of their meeting should be accomplished.[k]

About this time Sigismund suddenly[l] announced an intention of going to Rome for the purpose of receiving the imperial crown. It would seem that the difficulties, disappointments, and reverses which he had experienced, both in his

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letters relating to the council in Bekynton's correspondence,—among them a commission and instructions for the bishops of London, Rochester, and others, May 31, 1434 (Nos. 273-4). There is a letter in the king's name, July 17, 1434, blaming the council for having refused to admit his envoys without an oath, and for its proceedings against the pope. (Martene, Coll. Ampl. viii. 721. See too Hard. viii. 1436, 1514. Wilkins, 519-521.) Archbishop Kemp, of York, (afterwards translated to Canterbury) was among the representatives first chosen, but did not appear until 1435 (Hook. v. 218-220; Rayn. 1432. 18). The English had fierce quarrels with the Spaniards about precedence. (Letter of the Bishop of Parma, quoted by Voigt in Raumer's Taschenb. 1833, p. 63; Fuller, ii. 445.)

[f] Hard. viii. 1571, 1575-8, 1579, &c.; ix. 1085; Joh. Ragus. 170; Palacky, III. iii. 23.

[g] This decree is known by the name of *Frequens*. See p. 292.

[h] Æn. Sylv. 75-80; Fascic. Rer. Exp. et Fug. i. 63 seqq. The legate's remonstrances are both translated in Canon Jenkins's Life of him.

[i] Æn. Sylv. Bulla Retractationis, fol. 2; Planck, v. 435.

[k] Hard. viii. 1315 (Jan. 21, 1432).

[l] "Sine voluntate et assensu electorum," says Andrew of Ratisbon, in Eccard, i. 2163.

secular and in his ecclesiastical policy, had suggested the idea of endeavouring by this means to render his authority more venerable in the eyes of men; and perhaps he may have thought more especially that in the general council a crowned emperor would have greater influence than a king of the Romans.[m] But circumstances were greatly changed from the times when earlier emperors had repaired to Rome for coronation. Italy, which had formerly been regarded by the imperialist lawyers as the special domain of the crown, was no longer subject to it except in name; and the necessities by which Sigismund had been cramped throughout his life—necessities chiefly caused by the alienations and other improvident expenses of his predecessors[n]—prevented his appearing with such a force as might have overawed the princes and the republics of Italy.[o] At Milan, where he had been led to expect from the duke, Philip Mary Visconti, not only a welcome, but supplies of money and a force sufficient to make his authority respected by the Italians, he found himself treated with outward ceremony indeed, but with mortifying coolness and distrust.[p] The duke absented Nov. 25, 1431. himself from the solemnity of his receiving the iron crown, and altogether avoided a meeting with him.[q] Eugenius, fearing that the title of emperor would render Sigismund more powerful as against the papacy, deferred the Roman July, 1432–May, 1433. coronation under one pretext after another;[r] and for ten months Sigismund fretted in impotent expectation at Siena, where the cost of his maintenance pressed heavily on the citizens.[s] At length he was allowed to go on to Rome, after having sworn by his ambassadors that he would never May 31. forsake the interest of Eugenius; and on Whitsunday, 1433, he received the imperial crown in St. Peter's from the hands of the pope.[t] But there was little

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[m] See Aschbach, iv. 45.

[n] Such as the sacrifice of imperial property, &c., which Charles IV. had made for the election of Wenceslaus. Krantz, 'Saxonia,' 285; 'Wandalia,' 261. See above, p. 149.

[o] Sism. vi. 291.

[p] Krantz, Saxonia, 296; Sism. vi. 293. For notices of Philip Mary's character, see a Life in Muratori, xx.; Æn. Sylv. de Europa, c. 49; E. Windeck in Mencken, i. 1150; Antonin. 503; Herm. Corner, in Eccard, ii. 1233; Burckhardt, 'Cultur d. Renaissance,' 30.

[q] Schröckh, xxxii. 26.

[r] He had written in favour of the scheme (Rayn. 1431. 31); but it was commonly believed that (perhaps in order to punish Sigismund for his lenity towards the Hussites), the pope would not crown him. (Andr. Ratisb. 2163; Herm. Corner, 1316.)

[s] Hist. Senens. in Murat. xx. 41; Rayn. 1432. 20-1; Sismondi, vi. 291-5; Aschb. iv. 82 seqq.; "Audivi ego sæpius illum dicentem, quum Senis essemus, Ego ulciscar de illo perfidissimo tyranno qui me Senis tanquam belluam collocavit." Bonincontr. in Murat. xxi. 140.

[t] Poggio, Hist. Florent. 380; Zantfl. in Martene, Coll. Ampl. v. 433-4; Leon Aretin. in Baluz. Miscell. iii. 183-5

of splendour in the ceremony,[u] and, as Sigismund was suffering from gout, the pope was obliged to consent that his mule should be led only three steps by the emperor—a symbol rather than a performance of the traditional homage of Constantine.[x] It is said that from this time is to be dated the use of the double eagle as denoting the union of imperial and royal dignity.[y]

After a short stay at Rome, Sigismund set off for his northern dominions, where, in the meanwhile, his subjects had been tending to a state of anarchy.[z] On the 11th of October he reached Basel. He had throughout been earnest for the council, which, after the failure of the crusade, he had regarded as the only means of pacifying Bohemia; he had written to assure it of his support; he had urged on the pope, both by letters and by ambassadors, the expediency of allowing it to continue; and he had requested all Christian princes to aid it by their influence.[a] An assembly of the French clergy at Bourges, under Charles VII. had also taken up the cause of the council, and had petitioned the king to send an embassy to the pope, in order to procure his consent to its continuance.[b]

Feb. 26, 1432.

Sigismund, as we have seen, had forwarded the invitation of the council to the Bohemians in October, 1431,[c] and he had exerted himself to procure their appearance by deputies at Basel.[d] But much of the distrust caused by the fate of Hus still remained; and, while the Calixtines and even the Orphans were willing to negotiate, the Taborites declared that it would be a folly to submit to their enemies as judges.[e] The opinions of this party were set forth in a letter addressed to the council at Martinmas, 1431, and supposed to be chiefly the work of Procopius. The letter dwells on the corruptions of the ecclesiastical system—the faults of the clergy, the mischievous

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Infessura in Eccard, ii. 1876-7; Rayn. 1433. 12 seqq.; Palacky, III. iii. 111–3: Aschb. iv. 88, 101, 114. Eberhard of Windeck has a fabulous story that the crown having been put on unevenly, the pope, as the emperor knelt before him, set it straight with his foot. (Mencken, i. 1245.) See Gregorov. vii. 39.

[u] Gregorov. l. c.

[x] Rayn. 1433. 14; Aschb. iv. 118. Leonard of Arezzo (l. c.) says that the *officium stratoris* was omitted. For Sigismund's edict, comprising those of Frederick II. and Charles IV. on their coronations, see Rayn. 1433. 14.

[y] Aschb. iv. 119; Reumont, iii. 85. See Æn. Sylv. Vita Friderici III., in Kollar, Analecta, ii. 273.

[z] Palacky, III. iii. 18.

[a] Hard. viii. 1153, 1458, 1545–7, 1606; Rayn. 1431. 26; 1432. 1; Mart. Coll. Ampl. viii. 60, 63, 89, &c.; Schröckh, xxxii. 27; Aschb. iv. c. 4.

[b] Hard. viii. 1454 seqq.; Palacky, III. iii. 40.

[c] Page 406.

[d] Monum. Conc. Basil. 264; Lenf. i. 376.

[e] Palacky, III. iii. 23.

effects of wealth on them, on their pomp, luxury, incontinence, and rapacity; on the use of lying legends, on the prohibition of Holy Scripture, on the abuses of private mass and of confession, on the breach of the Saviour's command as to administration of the eucharist in both kinds, as to the persecution of the reformers, and other such matters.[f] To this the council replied on the 28th of December;[g] and it continued its attempts to conciliate the Bohemians. At length, after conferences at Eger between representatives of the two parties,[h] it was agreed that the Bohemians should send deputies to Basel.[i] One of them had bluntly said, "Lo, you have laws which allow you to break all promises and oaths; what security then can you give us?"[k] The safe-conduct was therefore elaborately drawn up, so as to allow no repetition of the treachery to which Hus had fallen a victim, and it included permission for the Bohemians to hold their services in their own fashion within their lodgings at Basel.[l] The pope at last gave a qualified assent to the attempt which the council desired to make at reconciliation.[m]

June 20, 1432.

On the 4th of January, 1433, the Bohemian deputies, thirty in number, arrived at Basel, where their foreign dress, with the wild and fierce looks of some among them, produced a great excitement. Procopius the Great was regarded with peculiar interest and awe for his combined character of priest and general—as the skilful and terrible commander before whom so many thousands had fallen.[n] The strangers were received with much respect by the council and by the magistrates of the city;[o] and notwithstanding the utter unlikeness of the men, a friendly relation was speedily established between Cesarini

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[f] Joh. Ragus. 153–170.

[g] Ib. 170 seqq.

[h] Invitation to the Bohemians, March 8, in Joh. Ragus. 197; Mart. Coll. Ampl. viii. 79; instructions to the envoys of the council, March 28, Joh. Rag. 208, &c.

[i] Mart. Coll. Ampl. viii. 131.

[k] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Boh. c. 49; Joh. Ragus. 218 seqq.; Palacky, III. iii. 45. Martin V. wrote very plainly in 1422 to the Duke of Lithuania:—"Scito tu fidem dare hæreticis violatoribus fidei sanctæ non potuisse, et peccare mortaliter si servabis, quia fidelis ad infidelem nulla potest esse communio." (Rayn. 1422. 22.) The council had said to the Bohemians:—"Plenam et omnimodam securitatem accedendi, standi, et redeundi promptis et non fictis dabimus animis." (Hard. viii. 1472.)

[l] Hard. viii. 1126; cf. ib. 1229, 1172; Joh. Ragus. 207, 221, 223; Lenf. i. 379.

[m] Rayn. 1432. 19 (Dec. 15).

[n] Æn. Sylv. c. 49; Pet. Zatec. in Mon. Concil. Basil. 289; Cochl. 247. "Inter quos sacerdos quidam erat, vir profecto truculentus et immanis, qui omni tempore sanguinem sitiebat, videbaturque in aspectu madidus et involutus humano cruore; cui nomen Procopius erat." (Joh. Stella, Annales Genuenses, in Murat. xvii. 1314.)

[o] Pet. Zatec. 289; Palacky, III. iii. 69. By way of preparing for the arrival of the Bohemians, all indecencies about the streets of Basel, all dicing, dancing, &c., had been forbidden. (Joh. Ragus. 258.)

and Procopius, who was often a welcome guest at the legate's table.[p]

On the Epiphany, the various sections of the Bohemians celebrated their religious services, and the curious spectators who were admitted to witness those of the Taborites and Orphans were astonished at the absence of an altar (for which a table covered with a towel was the substitute), of special vestments, and of the usual ceremonies.[q] For some days there was so much curiosity as to these services, that the legate thought of forbidding all resort to them; but the interest in them soon fell off with their novelty.[r]

On the 10th of January, the deputies were formally received by the council, when Cesarini, as president, addressed them in an eloquent speech which lasted two hours, and by the pathos with which, in the name of the mother church, he entreated them to unity, drew tears from the eyes of many on both sides.[s] Rokyczana, who for some years had been regarded as the leader of the Calixtines,[t] replied by expressing thanks for the kindness with which he and his companions had been received, and by requesting an opportunity of setting forth their opinions.[u]

On the 16th of January the discussion began. The Bohemians had agreed to insist upon four points, which were substantially the same as the Four Articles of Prague;[x] and when these were stated, some members of the council expressed their surprise that the differences which had produced so much agitation were not more considerable.[y]

The disputation which followed between four champions on each side was of enormous length—some of the speeches

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[p] Pet. Zatec. 311; Palacky, III. iii. 75. There is an account of the Bohemians at Basel in Brown's 'Fasciculus,' i. 311 seqq. Æneas Sylvius tells us that Cesarini made a practice of entertaining ambassadors, &c., immediately on their arrival at Basel, and used by this and other means to discover so much of their business as to be able to answer them at once when they had their audience. (Pentalogus, in Pez, IV. iii. 650.) The legate said to Procopius, on Feb. 14, "Quanto ego plus vobiscum conversor tanto meum cor plus vobiscum inclinatur." (Pet. Zatec. l. c.)

[q] Joh. Ragus. 259.

[r] "Unde factum est per neglectam licentiam quod nullomodo factum fuisset per exactam prohibitionem, quia humana fragilitas semper nititur in vetitum" (Joh. Ragus. l. c.)

[s] Hard. viii. 1510 seqq.; Mansi, xxix. 679; Joh. Ragus. 261; Pet. Zatec. 290; Æn. Sylv. c. 50.

[t] Schröckh, xxxiv. 702. John of Ragusa describes him as having led the Prague party out of many heresies by his preaching, although holding to the necessity of administering the cup. (141.)

[u] J. Ragus. 261.

[x] Hard. viii. 1446; Æn. Sylv. c. 50; cf. sup. p. 391.

[y] Palacky, III. iii. 84. See in Mart. Coll. Ampl. viii. 299, a paper of 28 articles imputed to the Bohemians. This was produced on Jan. 28.

extending to eight or nine days, and the whole occupying not less than fifty days.[z] For the Bohemians, who spoke first, appeared Rokyczana, Procopius, Nicolas, a Taborite bishop, and Peter Payne, who took up time by relating the troubles which he had undergone in his own country, and was frequently contradicted by English members of the council.[a] On the part of the council the argument was begun by John Stojcowic, of Ragusa, the Dominican already mentioned, who spoke from the 1st to the 11th of February,[b] and was followed by Giles Carlier, dean of Cambray, Henry Kalteisen, a Dominican and inquisitor of Mentz,[c] and John of Palomar.[d] Rokyczana then extorted the right of replying to John of Ragusa, and discoursed from the 2nd to the 10th of March, with the exception of two days. John of Ragusa wished once more to rejoin, and his opponent did not object to this; but the council had heard enough, and at last the debate came to an end.[e] The parties had throughout had different designs; for the Bohemians hoped that their articles might be accepted and generally enforced, while the council had no thought of any further concession than possibly that of allowing the Bohemians to hold their peculiarities by way of indulgence and exception.[f]

In the course of these discussions, Rokyczana excited much admiration by his eloquence,[g] and by a readiness of wit which often enlivened the more serious arguments. Procopius, although he showed much knowledge of Scripture, excited frequent laughter by the roughness of his manner. Thus, when the legate mentioned that some Hussites were reported to have

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[z] Æn. Sylv. c. 50; Rokycz. in Mart. viii. 353, 362, &c.

[a] Joh. Ragus. 269. Payne was opposed especially by "Quidam doctor theologiæ Anglicus, scilicet Perdix, nomine Petrus Pertricz." (Pet. Zatec. 335.) The same writer tells us that a Carmelite, having imputed to Wyclif an opinion which he could not find in his books, although he had undertaken to do so, "non verebatur tamen de mendacio, licet Anglicus esset" (303).

[b] See p. 402.

[c] Kalteisen afterwards became archbishop of Drontheim and titular of Cæsarea. (Trithem. Catal. Illustr. Virorum, 158; Quet. and Eccard, i. 828.)

[d] See p. 402. Jerome of Prague, the Camaldolite who has been already mentioned as a missionary to Lithuania (p. 312), asked leave to speak against the errors of his countrymen, and was told that he might do so after the appointed disputants had finished their speeches (Joh. Ragus. 269); but he does not seem to have used the opportunity. Andrew of Ratisbon had heard that John of Palomar, in dispute with a Hussite, "probationi ignis se submisit" (*i.e.* seemingly, he *offered* to undergo the ordeal), but that the other party refused. (Eccard, i. 2167.)

[e] The arguments are sketched by Peter of Zatec. The speeches of John of Ragusa, Carlier, Kalteisen, and Palomar, are given by Canisius, vol. iv. and thence by Hardouin and Mansi. See also Palacky, III. iii. 80 seqq.

[f] Palacky, III. iii. 94.

[g] He is described as speaking, "Animosa verbositate in expressa et tubali voce." (Andr. Ratisb. 2167.)

ascribed the origin of the mendicant orders to the devil, Procopius started up and exclaimed that this was quite true; "for," said he, "if neither the patriarchs nor Moses, our Lord nor his Apostles, instituted the mendicants, what can they be but the work of the devil and of darkness?"[h] The enormous length at which John of Ragusa spoke, and his frequent divergences into irrelevant subjects, provoked (as he himself candidly informs us) complaints on the parts of the Bohemians.[i] He was also charged by Rokyczana with unfairness in his quotations; although against this charge he defends himself.[j] But the chief offence which John gave was by using the word *heretic* sixteen times within a few minutes. The Bohemians took this as an insult to themselves. Procopius with furious contortions of his face, and his eyes suddenly bloodshot, exclaimed that it was a violation of the safe-conduct; that he and his companions would not have come to Basel if they had expected to be branded as heretics. It was in vain that the legate attempted to restore peace. The Bohemians absented themselves during the remainder of John's discourse; and the matter was carried further after the meeting had broken up. John disavowed, even with imprecations, any intention of offending the Bohemians, and his apologies were admitted; but Procopius still refused to meet him at the legate's table.[k]

The great debate was followed up by the appointment of committees, in which the discussion of the Bohemian differences was continued; and it was agreed that the council should send envoys into Bohemia. After a solemn leave-taking, therefore, on the 13th of April, the Bohemian deputies set out homewards on the following day, with Philibert of Coutances, the bishop of Augsburg, Palomar, Carlier, an English archdeacon, named Alexander, and some others, as representatives of the council.[l] These representatives were secretly instructed to work on the differences which existed between the Bohemian parties; and they found the task easy. They drew into their interest Meinhard of Neuhaus, a powerful baron, who from that time was the leader of the Bohemian Catholics, and entered into an agreement with other nobles to rescue the management of public affairs from the hands of the democratic

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[h] Æn. Sylv. c. 50, p. 119; Palacky, III. iii. 96–7.

[i] Joh. Ragus. 277.

[j] Ib. 279.

[k] Joh. Ragus. 280–3; Pet. Zatec. 304-5, 311; Palacky, III. iii. 88.

[l] Petr. Zatec. 357; Ægid. Carlerius de Legationibus, Monum. 361 seqq. This tract is very full on the subject, and contains documents, &c. See, too, Cochl. 258 seqq.

and tyrannical faction, whose interests were all on the side of war.[m]

The proposals of the council were embodied in four articles, which afterwards became known by the name of *Compactata*, and, after much discussion and some modifications, were agreed on as terms of peace on the 30th of November[n]:—

(1.) The clergy were allowed to administer the eucharist in both kinds to such adults[o] as should desire it; but always with the explanation that under each kind is the Saviour whole and perfect.

(2.) The punishment of sins is declared to belong, not to private persons, but to those who are in authority—clergy over clergy, and laymen over laity; and regard must always be had to right and justice.

(3.) As to the demand for free preaching, it is said that preachers must be authorised by their superiors, and that the power of the bishops must be regarded.

(4.) The church may possess lands and temporal property, and may have private and civil lordship over them. The clergy are bound to administer its property faithfully; and others may not invade or detain such property.[p]

These terms were granted on condition that in all other points the Bohemians should conform to the church as to faith and ceremonies.[q] But although the more moderate among them were willing to agree to this, the Taborites continued to hold out.[r] The discords between the various parties became more open and more violent;[s] and on Sunday, the 30th of

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[m] Æn. Sylv. c. 51; Ægid. Carl. 366; Cochl. 269; Palacky, III. iii. 114, 119-20.

[n] The envoys of the council had returned to Basel in July, and on Sept. 11th the bishop of Coutances, with Palomar and two others, set out on a second mission to Prague, where they arrived on Oct. 22. (Ægid. Carl. 376-7, 446-7, 456. See Martene, Coll. Ampl. viii. 698 seqq.; Monum. 495; Cochl. 271; Giesel. II. iv. 441-3; Palacky, III. iii. 122-8, 139-40, 146-7.)

[o] Some of the Hussites had insisted on the communion of infants. See, *e.g.* in Palacky's 'Documenta,' p. 674, the proposal that Jacobellus, as an advocate of the practice, should hold a disputation with Simon of Tussnow. (Cf. ib. p. 635, and p. 381, above.)

[p] To the last article were originally added the words, "sine reatu sacrilegii;" but these were, after much discussion, given up by the council's deputies. (Palacky, III. iii. 146-7.) There was also discussion as to the words, "Bona ecclesiae *usurpari non possunt*," for which the Bohemians wished to substitute *injuste detineri non debent.* (Ib. 202.)

[q] Cochlaeus says that the Hussites never kept the Compactata honestly, and deviated from the church in many points besides those which were allowed (287).

[r] See Ægid. Carler. 456 seqq.

[s] Palacky, III. iii. 151-161. When Procopius the Great, being ill, asked the Praguers to send him a doctor, they answered that he should have none but the executioner. (Joh. Ragus. 140.)

May, 1434, they came to a head in a great battle at Lipan. The fight lasted all day, and even through the night until dawn. The slaughter was immense, and among those who fell were both the Great and the Lesser Procopius.[t] No quarter was given; and it is said that, after the battle, Meinhard of Neuhaus—by proclaiming that the war was to be carried on until the neighbouring nations should be reduced, and that for this purpose the veteran followers of the Procopii were invited to serve with increased pay—induced a large number of Taborites and Orphans to enter some barns, as if by way of separating themselves from the less experienced soldiers; after which the doors were closed, the buildings were set on fire, and the victims of the treachery were burnt alive.[u] By this defeat and its consequences, the Taborites and Orphans were greatly reduced in numbers, and their power was effectually broken.

During the emperor's absence in Italy, the council of Basel had risen more and more decidedly into an attitude of opposition to the pope, and had manifested a desire, not only to triumph over Eugenius personally, but to humble the Roman see. In this course they were urged on by the influence of two cardinals—Branda and Capranica—who had special grievances against Eugenius, and had hurried to Basel in the hope of making the council an instrument of their vengeance.[x] But still more important than these cardinals was Nicolas Chryffts or Krebs, who, from his birthplace, Cüs, on the Moselle, is generally known by the name of Cusanus.[y] Cusanus, born in 1401, had raised himself from a very humble station; he was now dean of St. Florin's, at Coblentz, and enjoyed a great reputation for character and learning.[z] In his treatise "of Catholic Agreement," sent forth during the sitting of the council, he strongly maintains the superiority of general

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[t] Herm. Corner, 1338-9; Andr. Ratisb. 2166; Hard. viii. 1615; Palacky, III. iii. 157, 162-5.

[u] "Homines nigri, ad solem et ventum indurati, aspectu tetri atque horribiles, et qui circa fumum in castris vixissent, aquilinis oculis, impexo crine, promissa barba, corporibus proceris, membris hispidis, cute adeo dura ut ferrum quasi lorica repulsura videretur." (Æn. Sylv. c. 51, fin.) Cf. Cochl. 278 (who seems to approve of the thing); Palacky, III. i. 167-8, who says that Æneas Sylvius has much exaggerated the numbers by speaking of "pleraque millia."

[x] Hard. viii. 1358; Planck, v. 436. See Rayn. 1431. 54, 1432. 17; and the Life of Capranica in Baluz. Miscell. I. 341-5.

[y] Giesel. II. iv. 62. Æneas Sylvius speaks of him as "homo et priscarum litterarum eruditissimus, et multarum rerum usu perdoctus." (De Gestis Basil. Conc. p. 5.)

[z] Trithem. Catal. Illust. Virorum, 157-8.

councils over popes;[a] he holds that the decrees of councils do not derive their force from the papal sanction;[b] that the pope has no such superiority over other bishops as was supposed by the extreme papal party;[c] that infallibility is not promised to one member of the church, but to the whole;[d] that a council may depose a pope, not only for heresy but for other causes;[e] that the church has the power freely to choose its own chief; and that, if the archbishop of Treves should be so chosen by the assembled church, he, rather than the bishop of Rome, would properly be the successor of St. Peter's principality.[f] Cusanus, also, after investigating the alleged Donation of Constantine and the story connected with it, declares them to be fabulous;[g] he expresses an opinion that some of the decretals had been forged for the exaltation of the Roman see to the detriment of the church;[h] he denies the truth of the belief that the empire had been transferred from the Greeks to the Germans by the authority of the pope;[i] and, with regard to the convocation of councils, he is decidedly opposed to the papal pretensions.[k]

The council, at its second session, renewed the decree of Feb. 15, 1432. Constance, by which general councils were declared to have their power immediately from Christ, and to be superior to all other authority, even that of the pope.[l]

At the third session, the fathers declared that the dissolution April 29. of the council by Eugenius was null; they prayed him to recall it, to appear at Basel within three months, if his health would allow, or otherwise to send representatives with full power; and they added that, if this should be neglected, they would, under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, take care for the necessities of the church.[m]

At the fourth session (besides writing to the Bohemians)[n] June 20. they decreed that, if the papacy should become vacant during the continuance of the council, the succeeding pope must be chosen in the place where it was assembled.[o] They forbade the promotion of any new cardinals during the

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[a] De Concordantia Catholica, ii. 5, in Schard's 'Syntagma;' or in Cusanus's Works, ii. 683 seqq., ed. Basil. 1565.

[b] Ib. 8. 17.

[c] Ib. 13.

[d] Ib. 18.

[e] Ib.

[f] Ib. 34, p. 352, ed. Schard.

[g] iii. 2.

[h] Ib.; cf. ii. 17.

[i] iii. 3. His argument as to this partly rests on the fact that he could find no such transference by Adrian I.; whereas the coronation of Charlemagne was by Adrian's successor, so that the argument is thus far void.

[k] Ib. 15, &c.

[l] Hard. viii. 1121.

[m] Ib. 1121-5.

[n] Ib. 1126-30.

[o] Ib. 1131. This was repeated at the seventh session, Nov. 6, 1432; ib. 1140

continuance of the council.[p] They appointed a cardinal to be governor of Avignon and of the Venaissin, where a nephew of Eugenius had been unable to get himself acknowledged in that charcter;[q] and they ordered a special seal to be prepared, with the symbolical dove on one side and the title of the council on the other.[r]

Eugenius had endeavoured to treat with the council[s] by sending to Basel the archbishops of Calocza and Taranto. These prelates, in speeches addressed to the assembly, dwelt on the necessity of harmony and co-operation with a view to the reconciliation both of the Greeks and of the Hussites; and on the superior convenience of Bologna as a place of meeting, whereas they represented Basel as at once exposed to the Hussites and inaccessible for both the Greeks and the pope.[t] But the council, in a written reply, vindicated their course with regard to the pope, and their negotiations with the Bohemians. They combated the objections which had been made to the position of Basel, and prayed that the pope would not grieve the Holy Spirit by interfering with the important work which was before them as to the Greeks, the Hussites, and the reform of the church.[u]

At the sixth session, the promoters of the case against the pope requested that, as having failed to appear, he should be pronounced contumacious and obstinate; he was thrice cited at the high altar of the cathedral, and thrice at the principal door; but, as might have been expected, no response was made.[x] Sept. 6

At the eighth session, sixty days were granted "ex abundanti cautela" to the pope, within which time he was required to revoke the bull of dissolution, and entirely to join the council.[y] Dec. 18, 1432.

At the twelfth session, the term was extended by sixty days more, within which time any promotions or other exercises of patronage which the pope might make were to be null; and at the end of it, if he should not have July 13, 1833.

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[p] Ib. 1132.

[q] Ib. 1133; Rayn. 1432. 32; Jenkins, 214.

[r] Hard. viii. 1132. See the engraving in Lenfant, i. 429. Eugenius says that this was a novelty which no other general council had ventured on. (Rayn. 1436. 8.)

[s] For the various missions on both sides, see Mansi, N. in Rayn. ix. 117.

[t] Speech of Abp. of Calocza, Aug. 31, 1432, in Hard. viii. 1518-30; Abp. of Taranto, ib. 1530–40; cf. Aug. Patr. ib. ix. 1091; Herm. Corner, 1314.

[u] Resp. Synodalis (3 Non. Sept. 1432), Hard. viii. 1317-43.

[x] Ib. 1137.

[y] Ib. 1141.

obeyed the order, the cardinals and clergy were required to leave the Roman court within thirty days.[z]

Eugenius, on his part, was employed in preparing two bulls for the dissolution of the council, denying the validity of all its acts, and forbidding all obedience to it.[a]

At the thirteenth session, it was again proposed that, in Sept. 11, 1433. consequence of his disregard of citations, the pope should be declared contumacious. But Duke William of Bavaria, as the emperor's representative, with the magistrates of Basel and others, intervened, and obtained a further delay of thirty days, as Sigismund was expected at Basel.[b] The emperor (who had been formally acknowledged by the council as its protector)[c] had repeatedly written from Italy, for the purpose of moderating its proceedings,[d] and had also endeavoured, although vainly, to persuade the pope to concession.[e] On the Oct. 12. day after his arrival, he presented to some deputies of the council a document which he had at length obtained from Eugenius, revoking the dissolution, and acknowledging the council.[f] But this was not considered sufficient.

At the fourteenth session, where Sigismund appeared in Nov. 7. state, ninety days more were granted to the pope, and three forms were proposed to be submitted to him, that he might choose which he would subscribe—all of them, however, containing a declaration that he annulled his bulls of dissolution, and acknowledged the beginning and the continuation of the council as valid.[g]

In the meantime the intrigues of the duke of Milan, the arms of the rival condottieri Sforza, Piccinino, and Fortebraccio, and the rival factions of the Colonna and Orsini families, distracted Italy, and endangered the temporal dominions of the pope, who felt himself insecure even in his capital.[h] By these distresses Eugenius was disposed to seek a reconciliation with the council.[i] By a bull dated on the 15th of December, 1433,

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[z] Ib. 1155-6; ix. 1108.

[a] Ib. viii. 1173–6. The dates are July 29 and Sept. 15, 1433. There is a third and longer bull of Sept. 15, which the pope declared to have been drawn up without his knowledge. (Ib. 1176.)

[b] Ib. 1161-4.

[c] Sess. 9, Jan. 22, 1433. At the same time it declared any sentence of deprivation which the pope had pronounced, or might pronounce against him, to be null.

[d] *E.g.* Mart. Coll. Ampl. viii. 165, 185.

[e] See a letter from Eugenius to the doge of Venice, in Rayn. 1433. 19. Aug. Patric. in Hard. ix. 1113.

[f] Hard. viii. 1586. The date of it is Aug. 1, 1433.

[g] Hard. viii. 1167-8; Schröckh, xxxii. 46.

[h] Sism. vi. 305-6; Reumont, III. i 89-90; Gregorovius, vii. 41.

[i] Platina, 299. As to earlier proposals, see Mart. Coll. Ampl. viii. 551, &c.; Rayn. 1433. 5, 19.

and amended from that which the emperor had formerly produced,[k] he revoked his bulls for dissolution and all sentences which he had uttered against the council; and this revocation was accepted by the council at its sixteenth session, on the 5th of February, 1434.[l] April 26, 1434. At the seventeenth session, where the emperor appeared with the full ensigns of his dignity, the pope's legates were incorporated with the council, and admitted to the presidency of it, on swearing, in their own names,[m] that a general council has its authority immediately from Christ, and that all men, including even the pope, are bound to obey it in matters relating to faith, to the extinction of schism, and to the reform of the church in head and members.[n] By this adhesion Eugenius was supposed to sanction all the former proceedings of the council, as they did not fail afterwards to remind him.[o]

Sigismund, although he had throughout been friendly to the council, found many things to offend him when brought into personal intercourse with it. He shrank from the idea of a new schism, and declared that he would die rather than allow it.[p] He was disappointed that a body of pretensions so imposing should be so scanty in numbers.[q] He felt himself slighted by its entering into negotiations with other potentates without due reference to him for his approval; and especially he was disgusted by the disposition which it showed to meddle with the politics of Germany, as in a case of an appeal from him by the duke of Lauenburg.[r] On the 19th of May, 1434, he left Basel.[s]

The troubles by which Eugenius had been induced to submit to the council were soon after increased by an insurrection of his own subjects. On the 29th of May, a multitude of the Romans, provoked by the contempt with which their complaints had been received by his nephew, cardinal Francis Condolmieri, rushed to the Capitol with shouts of "Liberty!" and demanded

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[k] See Giesel. II. iv. 65-6.

[l] Hard. viii. 1172-82.

[m] "Privatis nominibus." The council had before refused to admit the legates as presidents. See the letter of 6 Kal. Jul. 1433 in Hard. viii. 1313-8. Cf. Mart. Coll. Ampl. viii. 823, 825.

[n] Hard. viii. 1183-4, 1465. See Turrecremata in Rayn. 1434. 14. The power of the legates was limited by strict conditions, which show that a fresh breach with the pope was apprehended. (Planck, v. 445-6.)

[o] Hard. viii. 1108, 1112. His advocates say that he approved only of the progress of the council, not of its decrees. See Turrecrem. in Rayn. 1433. 2.

[p] Andr. Ratisb. in Eccard, i. 2164.

[q] Schmidt, iv. 192.

[r] Ægid. Carler. in Monum. Basil. 520.

[s] Hard. viii. 1610; Lenf. i. 433-4; Aschbach, iv. 163-5; Schmidt, iv. 192, 194.

that Eugenius should make over the government to bannerets who should be chosen by the people. On his refusing to give up his nephew as a hostage, the cardinal was torn from his side.[t] Eugenius himself was placed under the care of a guard at St. Mary's in the Trastevere, but escaped in the disguise of a monk, with one companion, to the Tiber, where they found a boat ready to receive them. But the speed with which the boat was urged down the stream excited suspicion, and multitudes both on horseback and on foot made their way direct along the
June 14. Ostian road to St. Paul's, while the boat was delayed by the windings of the river. Showers of arrows, javelins, and stones were aimed at the boat from the bank, and attempts were made to pursue and to intercept it on the water.[u] Eugenius, however, reached Ostia in safety, and thence, by way
June 23. of Leghorn and Pisa, he made his way to Florence, where he was lodged in the monastery of Santa Maria Novella.[x] Among the reforms which he undertook in the monastic system during his residence at Florence was a restoration of discipline in that convent, which he transferred to the Friars Observant of St. Dominic.[y]

The council after its reconciliation with Eugenius, had greatly increased in numbers; and for a time it devoted itself to questions of reform,[z] with a diligence which has missed somewhat of its due estimation on account of the assembly's later proceedings.[a]

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[t] Infessura in Eccard, ii. 1878; Reumont, iii. 91; Gregorov. vii. 45.

[u] Infess. in Eccard, ii. 1878; Flav. Blondus, 482–4; Platina, 298; Joh. Stella, in Murat. xvii. 1313; Vespasian. ib. xxv. 256; Gregorov. vii. 46-7. The facts of the affair would hardly be suspected from the pope's account of it in a letter to the council. (Hard. viii. 1592.)

[x] Ist. di Firenze, in Murat. xix. 975; Antonin. 523.

[y] Antonin. 526; Vespas. 527.

[z] Aug. Patric. in Hard. ix. 1119 seqq.

[a] Schröckh, xxxii. 51, from Richer. With a view to reform, a bishop named Andrew addressed to Card. Cesarini, in March, 1436 (as appears by the date at the end), the "Gubernaculum Conciliorum," which is printed by V. der Hardt, vi. 139 seqq. The writer, who is there called *Magorensis*, is said by Gieseler (II. ii. 68), on the authority of "Antonii Biblioth. Hispan." to have been Andrew de Escobar, [titular] bishop of Megara, a Spaniard; but there seems to be a difficulty in reconciling this with his speaking of himself as having presided at the 6th session of the council of Constance (col. 154; cf. V. d. Hardt, iv. 97 seqq.). "Andreas, Hispanus Portugallensis, episcopus Megarensis," subscribed the council of Florence (Hard. ix. 425, 988). The writer of the treatise strongly maintains the superiority of general councils over popes (157, 220, 299, &c.). The pope's power is said to be only as "concilii executor et minister Christi" (162). Councils are extolled as the right means for reform (190-1), for the extirpation of heresies, the recovery of the Holy Land (193-5), and the restoration of monastic life. The argument is drawn from the examples of former councils, which, however, is sometimes oddly applied, *e.g.*, As the third general council condemned the heresy of supposing two Persons in Christ, a council is now necessary to put down the schisms of two or three rivals for the papacy (211). The writer lays down that a council can only be dissolved by itself; not by the

Decrees were passed for entire freedom of elections in churches; against expectancies, usurpations of patronage,[b] reservations, annates, and many of the exactions by which the Roman court drained the wealth of the church;[c] against frivolous appeals,[d] against the abuse of interdicts,[e] the concubinage of the clergy,[f] the burlesque festivals and other indecencies connected with the service of the church.[g] Rules were laid down as to the election and the behaviour of popes.[h] The pope was to make his profession with some additions to the form prescribed at Constance; and at every celebration of his anniversary, it was to be read over to him by a cardinal during the service of the mass.[i] The number of cardinals was limited to twenty-four: they were to be taken from all Christian countries, and to be chosen with the consent of the existing cardinals. A very few of royal or princely families might be admitted, but the nephews of the pope were to be excluded from the college.[k]

But it was natural that measures of reform which touched the privileges and the income of the papacy should excite alarm and jealousy in Eugenius. He sent envoys to beg that the decree against annates—a payment which he ventured to describe as of immemorial antiquity, and as sanctioned by the general council of Vienne[l]—might be suspended, or that provision might be made by other means for the support of his dignity, and for the many charges to which he was liable; but, although his suit was strongly urged on the council, the answer was that no provision could be made for him until he should have submitted himself to its authority. On this point Cesarini separated himself from the other legates, by speaking and voting with the majority of the assembly.[m] Eugenius vented his complaints against the council in letters and messages to kings and princes;[n] among other things he complained that, with a view to meeting the expenses of an expected mission

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pope. See two letters of Ambrose of Camaldoli to Eugenius in favour of reform. (Epp. i. 14-5.)

[b] Hard. 1196, 1209, 1247.

[c] Ib. ix. 1121.

[d] Ib. viii. 1195, 1245.

[e] Ib. [f] Ib. 1193; ix. 1120.

[g] Ib. viii. 1196-9; ix. 1121. Compare an ordinance of Charles VII. in Mart Thes. i. 1801; also d'Argentré, i. 242-8.

[h] Hard. viii. 1201-4.

[i] Ib. 1202-3.

[k] Ib. 1206-9. See Planck, v. 746.

[l] Eug. in Rayn. 1436. 4. That the origin of annates was later than that council, see p. 95.

[m] Hard. viii. 1318, ix. 1120-1; Mart. Coll. Ampl. viii. 613; Giesel. II. iv. 75.

[n] *E.g.* Rayn. 1437. 16, and especially the pamphlet of instructions to his envoys. (Rayn. 1436. 2 seqq.) In answer to this the council issued a synodal letter, Oct. 19, 1437. (Hard. viii. 1360-72; cf. Giesel. II. iv. 76.)

from the Greek Church, it had taken on itself to issue an indulgence resembling those which had been usual for crusades.[o]

The Greeks had been invited into the West both by the council and by the pope, with a view to confer on the reunion of the churches; but, as to the place of the conference, it was impossible to come to any agreement. The pope was resolved that it should be south of the Alps, while the council, by a Sess. xxv. May 7, 1437. majority of two-thirds, pronounced in favour of Basel, Avignon, or some town in Savoy.[p] But at the same session the minority of the council, headed by the legates, passed a decree in recommendation of Florence, Udine, or some other safe place in the south;[q] and while the decree of the majority was being read from the pulpit of the cathedral, one of the other party in a distant part of the building read out that of the minority, which, through the contrivance of the archbishop of Taranto, was fortified with the seal of the council, and was forwarded to the pope.[r] Eugenius gave his sanction to the decision of his partisans,[s] and on the 18th of September he issued a bull for transferring the council of Basel to Ferrara, although he allowed a stay of thirty days more at Basel for the purpose of conferring with the Hussites.[t]

But before this his relations with the council had become such as to provoke a resumption of the proceedings against him. July 31. At the 26th session, Eugenius was charged with many offences, and was summoned to appear, in person or by proxy, within sixty days.[u] At the following session his promotions of cardinals were annulled; and, as it was reported that Sept. 26. he intended to sell Avignon and the Venaissin, in order to pay for the expected visit of the Greeks, the council forbade this alienation of property belonging to the Roman see.[x] Oct. 1. At the 28th session his neglect of the citations was reported, and he was declared to be

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[o] Rayn. 1436. 12. The indulgence (Sess. xxiv. 18 Kal. Mai. 1436) is in Hard. viii. 1217; the council's answer to the pope's legates. ib. 1358.

[p] Hard. viii. 1222; ix. 1118, 1131. The people of Avignon were willing to lend money for the expenses, if their city might be the place. (Ib. 1131.)

[q] Ib. ix. 674–7; cf. Rayn. 1437. 1 seqq. &c. See a letter of Æn. Sylvius Piccolomini in Mansi, xxxi. 220 seqq.

[r] Hard. viii. 1231, 1239, 1258; ix. 1133; Rayn. 1437. 6-7; Jenkins, 260 seqq.; Milm. vi. 105-6; Ffoulkes, ii. 332. Aug. Patrizi represents the minority as far more respectable than the other party, which "ex vili plebe magna ex parte constabat, quamvis ducem haberet cardinalem Arelatensem, et nonnullos alios prælatos." (Hard. ix. 1131.)

[s] Ib. 681 (May 29).

[t] Ib. 698.

[u] Hard. viii. 1225–8, 1133. It is said that the emperor had interceded to procure this term of delay. (Ib. viii. 1251.) For other documents of the time, see Mart. Coll. Ampl. viii. 928, 931, &c.

[x] Hard. viii. 1229–31.

obstinately contumacious.[y] A renewal of the schism appeared to be at hand, and Sigismund was labouring to avert such a calamity, when his efforts were cut short by death, at Znaym, in Hungary, in the beginning of December, 1437.[z]

The pope's council opened at Ferrara on the 8th of January, 1438; but among the fathers of Basel the only defections to it were those of Cesarini, Nicolas of Cusa, and two others.[a] Cesarini found it impossible to remain at Basel, as the council became more entirely anti-papal, and seemed likely even to fix on himself as the head of a new schism.[b] He had ceased to attend the sessions of the council since that at which the proceedings against Eugenius had been resumed;[c] and in the beginning of 1438 he left Basel.[d]

The council, however, held on its course, undeterred by the condemnations uttered against it by the pope and the rival assembly, who declared the men of Basel to be excommunicate and deprived, and all their acts to be annulled.[e] At the 31st session, it pronounced that the pope was suspended, and that his powers both in spiritual and in temporal things had devolved on itself; and it forbade all obedience to him.[f] The next meeting pronounced the assembly at Ferrara to be a schismatical conventicle, and cited all its members to appear at Basel within thirty days.[g] In these proceedings the leaders were Louis Allemand, cardinal-bishop of Arles (the only cardinal who still remained at Basel)—a man who combined in a rare degree eloquence, temper, firmness, and tact;[h] and Nicolas de Tudesco, arch-

Sess. xxxii. March 24, 1438.

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[y] Ib. 1234–7. At this session the decree of the minority in favour of Florence, &c., was disavowed and annulled. (Ib.; cf. ix. 1135.)

[z] Ib. ix. 1136-7; Andr. Ratisb. in Eccard, i. 2174; Lenf. i. 474.

[a] On Cusanus's change of politics, see Schröckh, xxxii. 32-3; Voigt, En. Sylv. Piccolomini, i. 204; C. Schmidt, in Herzog, art. *Cusanus*—all more or less unfavourable to him.

[b] Vitá Juliani, ap. Ughelli, iii. 673; Hard. ix. 736.

[c] (Sess. xxvi. July 31, 1437.) Voigt, En. Silvio Piccolomini, i. 129.

[d] Perhaps on Jan. 7. His departure was not clandestine, but public, and the council gave him an escort. Nicolas of Cusa had left Basel earlier (Voigt, l. c.) Mansi thinks that Cesarini probably appeared at Venice as ambassador of the council of Basel. (Rayn. t. ix. 265.) See Milm. vi. 112.

[e] Hard. ix. 731–8 (Feb. 15); Rayn. 1439. 78 (Aug. 1439).

[f] Hard. viii. 1250–4. Olivier de la Marche declines to go into details: "Car à toucher à la fame et au renom de si saincte et haute personne en Chrestienté comme nostre sainct-père le pape, l'entendement se doit arrester de frayeur, la langue doit barbusser de crainte, l'encre secher, le papier fendre, et la plume pleyer," &c. (Petitot, i. sér. t. ix. 301.)

[g] Hard. viii. 1260-1. See also the synodical letters of March 15 and Oct. 19, 1437. Ib. 1360-72, 1375 seqq.

[h] Milman, vi. 131. "Vir omnium constantissimus, et ad gubernationem generalium conciliorum natus." (Æn. Sylv. p. 257.) See in Martene, Coll

bishop of Palermo (Panormitanus), the most famous canonist of the age.[i]

In the vacancy of the empire it was natural that the rival ecclesiastical parties should endeavour to gain the favour of the German electors. With this view the archbishop of Palermo was sent on the part of the council to Frankfort, where he was confronted with representatives of the pope. The electors, however, declared
March 7, themselves resolved to stand neutral for the time; and
1438. when Albert of Austria, a son-in-law of Sigismund, had
been chosen as his successor, the neutrality was continued, notwithstanding the exertions of further missions from both sides.[k] But in another way the council was able to draw encouragement both from Germany and from France. Charles of France refused
July, 1438. to send representatives to Ferrara.[l] In an assembly
of the French estates, held at Bourges under the presidency of the king, the reforms of Basel were adopted, and were embodied in a document known as the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges;[m] and at a great diet at Mentz, in March, 1439, where envoys both from the pope and from the council appeared, the reforming decrees of Basel were accepted by the Germans, while those which related to the process against the pope were set aside.[n]

The resolutions of these assemblies were evidently guided by a wish at once to secure the benefits of reform, and to avoid the danger of a new schism. But the council, misconceiving their effect, began to over-estimate its strength, and to flatter itself with the hope that the French and the Germans would soon formally array themselves on its side. And thus it continued

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Ampl. viii. 620, a letter of the duke of Milan, giving a curious account of the cardinal's escape from Rome to join the council. Olivier de la Marche calls him "noble homme, et du pais de Savoye" (l. c. 300). Hence he was connected with the duke-antipope Amadeus. By a strange fortune, this most decided opponent of the papacy was eventually beatified by Clement VII., and had churches dedicated to him at Arles and elsewhere. (Ciacon. ii. 843-4; Rayn. 1426. 26. Acta SS., Sept. 16, p. 536.)

[i] See Herzog, art. *Panormitanus.*

[k] Müller, 'Reichstagstheatrum,' i. 30–2; Schmidt, iv. 204–214; Schröckh, xxxii. 68-9.

[l] Rayn. 1438. 13-4.

[m] Preuves des Lib. de l'Égl. Gall. 321; D'Argentré, i. 232. See Æn. Sylvius, in Gobellinus, 290-1; Rayn. 1438. 14, and Mansi's note. This document, in its very form, involves a claim on the part of the nation to review the decisions of a general council; and, like the pragmatic sanction of St. Louis (see Vol. III. p. 465) it contains securities for the liberty of the national church. (Martin, vi. 392.) Eugenius wrote indignantly of it to the king (Rayn. 1439. 37), but Charles would not give it up. (Ib. 1440. 5.) See as to the Bourges acceptance, a letter of the Abp. of Lyons, in Hard. viii. 1620.

[n] Koch, 'Sanctio Pragm. Germanorum,' 8–15, 26, 93 seqq. (Argentor. 1789); Schröckh, xxxii. 72–4; Schmidt, iv. 211-5. The Mentz assembly endeavoured to provide for the pope's support by a system of taxation more reasonable than that which had been usual. (Schmidt, iv. 216.) Cf. 230 as to the further approval of the Basel reforms. The council allowed the Mentz limitations. (Koch, 171.)

(as it had before done) to disregard the intercessions, the warnings, and even the threats, of princes and others who endeavoured to persuade it to moderation in its proceedings against the pope.[o]

Bishops, in alarm at the headstrong course on which the council appeared to be resolved, for the most part stayed at home, or absented themselves from its meetings;[p] but the members of lower rank went on without hesitation. In April, 1439, the question was discussed whether Eugenius, in consequence of having disregarded the council's citations, and of having made a second attempt to dissolve it, were a heretic. Some were for voting him so simply; some thought that his heresy was aggravated by relapse, while others were for acquitting him; but at length, after a stirring debate, the matter was compromised by the ingenious device of voting him a heretic *pro*lapsed.[q] A violent discussion took place on the question whether presbyters should have the right of voting. Many of the bishops, from a wish to gain the assistance of the other orders as allies against the papacy, were disposed to allow this.[r] But the archbishop of Palermo maintained that they had only a consultative voice; he spoke of the great body of the council in very contemptuous terms,[s] and inveighed against the president, the cardinal of Arles, as wishing, with the assistance of such a rabble, and of two or three titular bishops, to do away with the rights of the prelacy.[t] At the thirty-third session, on the 16th of May, the more moderate part of the council, backed by strong representations from the ambassadors of various

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[o] Hard. viii. 1119, 1372, 1388, 1479; ix. 698, 1119, 1151; Giesel. II. iv. 841; Mart. Coll. Ampl. viii. gives several letters of warning, &c.

[p] Æn. Sylv. 43.

[q] Æn. Sylv. de Conc. Basil. p. 5.

[r] Voigt, i. 104. As to the right of voting in general councils, see Andr. Megar. in V. d. Hardt, vi. 235-270.

[s] "Colluvies copistarum." (Hard. ix. 1154.) Eugenius had before complained of the indiscriminate admission to vote, whereby it was likely that the *major* might not also be the *sanior pars.* (Rayn. 1436. 8.) John of Palomar, A.D. 1443, says that, after the separation of the council into two, few persons of any note remained at Basel. "Fuerunt quidam monachi apostatæ et fugitivi, et nonnulli vel notarii vel copistæ, et quidam alii vix in sacris constituti, nullius æstimationis, qui quidem nec in diœcesanis nec in provincialibus conciliis de jure vel consuetudine admitterentur, qui Basileam ad hoc profecti fuerunt, et ad hoc morabantur, ut effugerent superiorum suorum correctionem, vel ut alios litibus vexarent, vel ut scandalum aliquod perpetrarent," &c. (Mansi, xxxi. 201). Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, after having deserted the party of the council, speaks of it still more contemptuously: "Inter episcopos cæterosque patres conscriptos vidimus in Basilea coquos et stabularios orbis negotia judicantes," &c. (Oratio ad Austriacos, quoted by Giesel. II. iv. 88.)

[t] Hard. l. c.; Æn. Sylv. de Conc. Basil. 26 seqq. 36; Raumer, Hist. Taschenb. 1849, pp. 135–140. The cardinal, as reported by Æneas Sylvius, points out that the council, far from destroying the power of bishops, had given them a reality which they had not before. (27.)

powers, was able to obtain that, of eight articles which had been brought forward against Eugenius, three only, which bore on the relations of a pope and a council, should be affirmed, and that the others, which were of a personal nature, should be withdrawn.[w]

The 34th session of the council, on the 25th of June,[x] was fixed for the final act. As the attendance of bishops was expected to be scanty, the cardinal of Arles caused all the relics of noted sanctity which could be found in Basel to be collected, and, after having been carried in solemn procession about the streets, to be placed on the vacant seats; and such is said to have been the effect of this strange device that, when the invocation of the Holy Spirit was pronounced, the whole assembly burst into tears.[y] The number of mitred prelates was small; but the clergy of inferior dignity amounted to more than three hundred, and their demeanour was marked by a gravity and a decorum which had not appeared in the late meetings.[z] Eugenius was once more cited by two bishops;[a] and, as he made no answer, the decree of the council was pronounced—declaring him to be deposed as notoriously, manifestly, and obstinately contumacious, a violator of the canons, guilty of scandal to the whole church, as simoniacal, perjured, incorrigibly schismatic and obstinately heretical, a dilapidator of the church's rights and property, and unfit to administer his office. All faithful Christians were forbidden to adhere to him, and were discharged from all obligations to him.[b] And after the delivery of this sentence, the council chanted a jubilant *Te Deum*.[c]

A few days later, at a general congregation, the ambassadors of the emperor and of the French king, to the surprise of the council, expressed their concurrence in the acts of the late session, and made excuses for having absented themselves from it.[d]

In the mean time the temporal affairs of Eugenius had been prosperous. Within a very few months after having expelled him, the Romans found that the government which they themselves had set up was more intolerable than that of the pope; that without him their city was a desert;[e] and

Oct. 1434.

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[w] Hard. ix. 1155.

[x] Hard. viii. 1264; ix. 1156. Æneas Sylvius says Saturday, May 16, p. 43, and reckons the session as the 33rd.

[y] Æn. Sylv. 43, 45.

[z] Ib. As to the numbers, Æneas Sylvius says that there were no bishops from Spain, only one bishop and an abbot from Italy, and twenty mitred prelates from France and Germany, with 100 "aut certe plures," members of other kinds (43). Augustine Patrizi says 39 mitred prelates, and "not less than 300" of lower rank. (Hard. ix. 1156.)

[a] Aug. Patric. l. c.

[b] Hard. viii. 1263-4.

[c] Æn. Sylv. 44.

[d] Ib. 44-5.

[e] Æn. Sylv. de Europa, c. 58.

having put down the republican magistrates, they requested Eugenius to resume his authority.[f] For the time he preferred to remain at Florence, although they entreated him to return in person;[g] and he employed as his lieutenant John Vitelleschi, bishop of Recanati, whom, in reward of his military services, he afterwards raised to the dignities of cardinal, archbishop of Florence, and titular patriarch of Alexandria. But, A.D.
notwithstanding these high spiritual preferments, 1435–40.
Vitelleschi was little else than a mere condottiere—rough, ferocious, lustful, cruel, treacherous.[h] In order to establish the pope's authority by depressing the hostile family of Colonna, he laid the Campagna desolate, reduced Palestrina to a ruin more entire than that which had befallen it in earlier destructions, and compelled the inhabitants to seek a refuge elsewhere.[i] Yet the Romans, over whom for five years he exercised a despotic power, willingly bore with his vices and his oppression in consideration of the blessings of peace and steady government, to which they had been long unaccustomed.[k]

At length, however, Vitelleschi's enemies, by representing him as guilty of ambitious designs for himself, succeeded in awakening the pope's suspicions; and by orders from Florence the soldier-cardinal was treacherously arrested on the bridge of St. Angelo. In attempting to escape, he received April 2,
severe wounds; and it is possible that his death, 1440.
which took place in prison a fortnight later, may have been caused by these, although he himself suspected poison, and public opinion charged the crime on Eugenius.[l] His body, half-naked, was exposed for a time to the insults of the populace in the church of St. Mary sopra Minerva; but it was afterwards removed for burial to Corneto;[m] and the Romans, whose gratitude had outlasted his death, erected a statue to him as a new

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[f] Platina, 298; Infess. in Eccard, ii. 1878; Gregorov. vii. 50.

[g] Jan. 1436; Gregorov. vii. 55; Murat. Ann. IX. i. 217.

[h] "Homo imperiosus et sævus, et tyrannicam magis quam religiosam vitam præ se ferens . . . homo quidem ad agendas res aptissimus, sed natura sævissimus et immitis." (Platina, 298-9.) Infessura calls him "un huomo diabolico" (1878). Cf. Valla, de Donat. Constant.; Murat. Ann. IX. i. 221; Sism. vi. 351; Milm. vi. 99; Reumont, iii. 92-3, 98; Gregorovius, vii. 49, 79.

[i] Infess. 1879; Platina, 299; Poggius and Fl. Blondus, quoted by Gregorov. vii. 62; Reumont, iii. 94–6; Gregorov. vii. 52 57-8, 61-2. On one occasion he promised his soldiers 100 days' indulgence for every olive-tree that they should cut down. (Gregorov. 65.)

[k] Gregorov. vii. 80; Reumont, iii. 97.

[l] Æn. Sylv. de Europa, c. 58; Hist Frider. III. in Kollar, Analecta, ii. 131; Infessura, 1881; Platina, 312; Ciacon. ii. 900; Murat. Ann. IX. i. 212; Sism. vi. 375; Reumont, iii. 97; Gregorov. vii. 77-8.

[m] Ciacon. ii. 871, 900; Gregorov. vii. 61, 78. Vitelleschi's palace at Corneto

founder of their city.[n] Eugenius afterwards disavowed all share in Vitelleschi's death, on the ground that his orders had been misunderstood.[o] Scarampo, who had been the agent in the
Sept. 28, 1443. arrest of the patriarch, succeeded him in his power, and carried on the administration with severity.[p]

In 1443, after an absence of nine years, Eugenius himself returned to Rome. A late increase of taxation, and especially the imposition of a duty on wine, had called forth cries of "Death to the new taxes, and to those who invented them!" and, although these cries were not heard as the pope proceeded along the streets from the Flaminian Gate, the silence of the streets gave token of the popular discontent. Eugenius, on being informed of this feeling, caused it to be announced that the taxes were repealed; and at once he was greeted from all sides by acclamations which accompanied him as far as his palace.[q]

The council of Basel, at its next session after pronouncing
Sess. xxxv. July 10, 1439. the sentence on Eugenius, resolved to allow an interval of sixty days before proceeding to a new election.[r] In the meanwhile, a plague broke out in the town, and carried off many of the members, who are said to have professed in their last moments, while holding the holy eucharist in their hands, their firm adherence to the cause of the council, and their conviction that, in order to salvation, it was necessary to abandon the deposed pope.[s] The cardinal of Arles was urged to withdraw from Basel for a time, as the pestilence had shown itself among his household; it was represented to him that he ought to consult his safety for the sake of the interests which depended on his life; but he was resolved "to save the council at the peril of his life, rather than his life at the risk of the council."[t]

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is now an inn. (Handbook for Rome, ed. 6, p. 436.)

[n] "Tertio a Romulo Urbis Parenti." (Ciacon. ii. 900.)

[o] Reumont, iii. 98; Gregorov. vii. 81.

[p] See, *e.g.* Gregorov. vii. 93, as to the punishment of some clergy of the Lateran, who had stolen jewels from the case in which the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul were kept. Scarampo was made a cardinal.

[q] Infess. 1882; Platina, 304; Ciac. ii. 874. While at Florence Eugenius had consecrated the cathedral, which had been a century and a half in building. (Antonin. 527-8; Leon. Aretin. in Murat. xix. 937; Ciac. 888; Reumont, iii. 102.)

[r] Hard. viii. 1265

[s] Æn. Sylv. p. 47, who was himself so ill that he received the last sacraments (ib.). See his description of the plague, p. 46. Rinaldi exults in this pestilence as a judgment (1439. 27), but does not discover any such character in the plague which visited the council of Ferrara (1438. 24).

[t] Ib. 48. These words seem to belong to the writer himself, not (as is commonly said) to the cardinal.

After a few weeks the violence of the plague diminished, and those who had left Basel on account of it gradually returned.[w] On the 17th of September was held a session, which is remarkable as having passed a decree in favour of the Immaculate Conception;[x] although, as the council's authority has been disallowed in the Roman communion, that doctrine was not established as necessary until more than three centuries later.

Oct. 24.

At the 37th session, it was resolved to form an electoral college by associating with the cardinal of Arles thirty-two other members of the council, to be chosen out of all the nations and from all classes—bishops, abbots, doctors of theology, canonists, and ordinary clergy.[y] England, which had transferred itself to the rival council,[z] was the only country unrepresented; but Thomas, abbot of Dundrennan, a Cistercian house in the diocese of Candida Casa, was one of the three who were named by the council, and to whom the choice of the rest was entrusted.[a] In order to an election, a majority of two-thirds was required.[b] The arrangements for the conclave were carefully made, and while the election was in suspense, holy relics were displayed, and solemn processions moved about the streets, in order to implore a successful issue.[c]

Nov. 17.

On the first day seventeen candidates were brought forward;[d] and on the sixth day the election fell, by a majority which had increased in the successive divisions until it included all but seven of the electors,[e] on Amadeus, duke of Savoy. This prince, after having for thirty-eight years

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[w] Ib. 49.

[x] Sess. xxxvi.; Hard. viii. 1266. See below, Chap. VIII. iii. 4.

[y] Æn. Sylv. 48, 51, 52; Aug. Patr. in Hard. ix. 1161.

[z] Wilkins, iii. 525. See letters from the king to the council and to the pope, endeavouring to mediate. (Bekynton, Nos. 212-3.)

[a] Æn. Sylv. 52; Hard. viii. 1278. For Thomas of Dundrennan, see Jos. Robertson, Pref. to Scottish Councils, xcviii. He is mentioned ("abbas quidem Scotus") by Æneas Sylvius as among the most eminent members of the council—"vir subtilis ingenii" (p. 4, cf. 48). He was reckoned among the German nation (Ciacon. ii. 930-1), and would seem, by a letter from his sovereign, James I. (Mart. Coll. Ampl. viii. 615), to have been the only representative of Scotland, although at an earlier time the council had been attended by the bishops of Glasgow and Moray, the abbot of Arbroath, and many nobles. (Tytler, iii. 215). Dean Milman (vi. 131) styles him "abbot of an *obscure* Cistercian convent in Scotland" (vi. 131), and Dr. Grub strangely imagines that the dean could have applied this description to Melrose, with an abbot of which he accordingly identifies the Basel elector (i. 364). There is a letter from Eugenius to the archbishop of St. Andrews, denouncing the Scots who had taken part in the council of Basel after the translation. (Rayn. 1440. 2.)

[b] Hard. viii. 1269; Æn. Sylv. 58.

[c] Æn. Sylv. 55-6, 60.

[d] Æn. Sylv. 58.

[e] Aug. Patr. says, 22 out of 29 (Hard. ix. 1166). Others say 26 out of 33. "Et per hunc modum Basilea peperit Basiliscum." (Antonin. 525. Cf. Rayn. 1439. 34; 1440. 8.)

governed his state with a high reputation,[f] had in 1434 made over the administration to his son, although he still retained a control over the younger duke; and, under the title of dean of St. Maurice, he had become the head of a society of twelve noble hermits which he founded at Ripaille, on the southern shore of the Lake of Geneva.[g] The character of Amadeus, both as prince and as hermit, is highly extolled by Æneas Sylvius;[h] and, although it is probable that the discipline of Ripaille was of no very ascetic kind, the charges of luxury and voluptuousness which have been brought against the society appear to be exaggerations, unsupported by contemporary authority, and swollen by hatred of him as an antipope before they were eagerly turned to account by sceptical writers.[i] There can be no doubt that the council was guided in its choice by a consideration of the duke's powerful connexions, and of the private means which would enable him to support in some degree the papal dignity, although deprived of the territorial revenues and of the other resources which had been commonly attached to it; indeed, these recommendations had been impressed on the electors by the cardinal of Arles, who had also expressed a hope that the new pope might be able, by his power as a secular prince, to recover the possessions of the papal see.[k] And, although wonder was generally felt that a man of such eminent position should undertake the burden of a contested papacy,[l] it was supposed by some, even in his own time, that his withdrawal from the government of his hereditary state, and his assumption of the character of a hermit, had been prompted by a desire of the doubtful spiritual dignity which he had now attained.[m]

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[f] Gobellinus, 331.

[g] Æn. Sylv. 58; Aug. Patr. in Hard. ix. 1166; Oliv. de la Marche, i. 302; Monstrel. vi. 141; Oldoin. in Ciacon. ii. 934. His title was "Decanus militum in solitudine Ripaliæ in humilitatis spiritu Deo famulantium" (Hard. viii. 1283). St. Maurice was the great local saint of the region. See Vol. I. p. 117.

[h] "Cœlibem ac religiose viventem," De Gestis Conc. Basil. 58; and at p. 59 he speaks of his life as very severe. Cf. De Europa, c. 42, p. 439; Comment. 331-2.

[i] The most respectable authority for this idea, Monstrelet, carries it only a very little way: "Et se faisoient, lui et ses gens, servir au lieu de racines et d'eau fontaine du meilleur vin et des meilleures viandes qu'on pouvoit rencontrer" (vi. 142). See Ciacon. ii. 937; Voigt, En. Silvio, i. 86; Gregorov. vii. 72. For the later developments, see Voltaire, quoted by Schröckh, xxxii. 92-3; Gibbon, vi. 241.

[k] Æn. Sylv. 60.

[l] See Leonard. Aret., quoted by Reumont, III. i. 103.

[m] So Antoninus, 525. "Qui tunc spreto sæculo . . . magis voluptuosam quam pœnitentialem sex viris equestris ordinis, qui secum pœnulam et baculum assumpserant, ut mos est eremitis, vitam degebat . . . Credo, quod post annos octo (?) secutum est, expectans ad summi pontificis cathedram evocari; nam et tunc rumor increbuerat Amadeum papam futurum." (Gobellinus, Commentarii, p. ii. p. 4.) Flavius Blondus says that he had been led "a

Amadeus, on receiving a report of his election from a deputation headed by the cardinal of Arles, professed, with tears in his eyes, that he was unwilling to leave his quiet life. But his reluctance, whether real or affected, was at length overcome. He was enthroned in the church of St. Maurice;[n] and, after having gone through other usual formalities, he was crowned at Basel on the 23rd of July, 1440. The ceremony was very splendid. The tiara, which was of great magnificence, was placed on the antipope's head by the cardinal of Arles; four other cardinals, who had been promoted by Amadeus himself, assisted, and eight bishops officiated for cardinals who were absent.[o] The knightly hermits of Ripaille were present to do honour to their chief; but the most remarkable feature in the ceremony was the presence of the new pope's sons, the duke of Savoy and the count of Geneva, who stood on either side of him, and assisted him at the mass.[p] Although he had stipulated that he should be allowed to retain his own name, and the beard which adorned him as a hermit, he had afterwards yielded to papal precedent in both respects, and styled himself Felix V.[q]

It soon appeared, however, that the council could expect but little aid in the daring course on which it had ventured. It had already been deserted by many of its most important members; and, although it continued to proceed in disregard both of the violent censures which were denounced against it by Eugenius with his rival council,[r] and of the visible decrease of its own authority, its supporters were limited to Savoy, Switzerland, Queen Elizabeth of Hungary (widow of the emperor Albert), a few German princes and towns, a part of the Car-

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phytonibus" to expect the papacy, and that his retirement was merely a pretence in order to this; that of the 33 electors 22 were from the duke's territories, and the rest were persons of no account—some of them expelled from their dignities (561). But he brings no charges of unseemly life. Eugenius, in denouncing Felix after his election, says, "Primum nobiscum, ut debuit, contra Basilienses sentiebat, summa devotione, ut ferebatur, incensus." (Rayn. 1439. 36.) Yet it appears that as duke he had encouraged the council in its resistance to Eugenius. (Voigt, i. 87, quoting a letter of Jan. 26, 1432.) There is a letter from Eugenius to him after his retreat, asking his good offices with the council. (Rayn. 1435.)

[n] Gobellin. 333; Hard. viii. 1283-4.

[o] Aug. Patric. in Hard. ix. 1170; Æn. Sylv. 62.

[p] Æn. Sylv. 62.

[q] Aug. Patr. in Hard. ix. 1166-7. Julius II. was the first pope for centuries who wore a beard. Clement VII. allowed his beard to grow as a token of grief for the sacking of Rome by the Constable de Bourbon. After this, many popes, down to the 18th century, appear on their monuments with moustaches and beards; but these are no longer like that of Julius, of the flowing or "patriarchal" kind. (Gregorovius, Gräber d. röm. Päpste, 124.)

[r] Hard. ix. 1003 (Aug. 31, 1439); with the council's reply, Oct. 7, viii. 1110 seqq.; Lenf. ii. 44. Eugenius, in order to punish Cardinal l'Allemand, bestowed the archbishoprick of Arles on the bishop of Aix in Provence. (Lenf. ib.)

thusian order, and the Franciscans of Germany, with some universities of Germany, France, and Poland.[s] The duke of Milan, who had married a daughter of Felix,[t] made overtures for an alliance, but the terms which he proposed were exorbitant, and nothing came of the negotiation.[u] Alfonso of Aragon, who, after much politic hesitation, had given in his adhesion to the council,[x] sided with it for a time, in the hope of making good his claim to Naples through its influence.[y] The countenance which the imperial and the French ambassadors had professed to give to the deposition of Eugenius was found to be fallacious. The emperor had written to the council, strongly reprobating the deposition, and desiring them to refrain from any new election;[z] and among the Germans in general the deposition and the election were regarded as acts done in contempt of their own neutrality.[a] The king of France, on receiving at Bourges a missive from the council, expressed disapproval of the deposition and of the election; he spoke of Felix by his secular title,[b] and exhorted both him and the council to study the peace of the church.[c] Yet he did not disown the council, nor adhere to the rival assembly of Ferrara.[d] Sess. xlii. Aug. 4, 1440. The popularity of the council was not increased in France by its imposing a tax of a fifth for five years, and a tenth for the following five years, on all ecclesiastical benefices which should become vacant; for in this way it was intended to provide Felix with an official income until he should recover the patrimony of the church.[e]

The emperor Albert died on the 5th of November, 1439,[f] and in his room was elected, as king of the Romans, his cousin Feb. 4, 1440. Frederick, duke of Styria, a prince of dull and unenterprising character, whose reign extended to fifty-three years.[g] Before his promotion Frederick had been

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[s] Aug. Patr. in Hard. ix. 1168, 1172-3, 1177; Lenf. ii. 50. See Palomar, in Mansi, xxxi. 205.

[t] Art de Vérif. xvii. 267.

[u] Aug. Patr. 1178.

[x] March 8, 1436. Hard. viii. 1636; Giannone, iv. 260; Lenf. ii. 46, 50.

[y] Rayn. 1437. 25; 1441. 16 seqq.

[z] Aug. Patr. in Hard. ix. 1161.

[a] Schröckh, xxxii. 93.

[b] "M. de Savoye"—"Dominus Sabaudiæ."

[c] Aug. Patr. 1171.

[d] Lenf. ii. 47; Schröckh, xxxii. 94. He seems after a time to have submitted to Eugenius, although maintaining the pragmatic sanction. (See Rayn. 1439. 27.)

[e] Hard. viii. 1288; Aug. Patric. ib. ix. 1170. The German church was exempt from this impost. (Ib.) Felix and his cardinals quarrelled about the division of it. (Ib. 1180.)

[f] The Annales Novesienses [of Nuys, near Düsseldorf] say that he was poisoned by the archbishop of Gran. (Mart. Coll. Ampl. iv. 603.)

[g] Schmidt, iv. 223; Chmel, ii. 10. Frederick is variously reckoned as the third, the fourth, and the fifth of his name. (See Müller, Reichstagstheatrum, 11.) Of his character Albert

favourable to the council,[h] so that both the members of it and Pope Felix had hopes of drawing him into their interest by the offer of the imperial crown.[i] The question between the pope and the council was discussed at three German diets between representatives of the opposite parties. At the second of these diets, in 1441,[k] the archbishop of Palermo exerted himself with all his powers to show that the council was still of full authority, and that it had been justified in all its measures. But Nicolas of Cusa asserted the cause of Eugenius with great force. Only seven bishops, he said, had voted for the deposition of the pope, whereas not less than twelve were requisite to depose a simple bishop.[l] And he was able to allege the success of Eugenius in reconciling the Greeks and other orientals—a success which, however unsubstantial and transitory (as we shall see hereafter), told powerfully for the time as a token of the Divine favour.[m] It was proposed that another general council should be summoned, and in the meantime Germany was to persevere in its neutrality.[n]

The council continued to decline in numbers and in authority. The members wasted much of their time in discreditable squabbles.[o] At the xliii. session, where Felix presided, a decree was passed for celebrating the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin (July 2), a festival which had been instituted by Urban VI., and confirmed by Boniface IX., but had never been sanctioned by the popes of the Avignon line.

July 1, 1441.

Krantz says, "Erat ille Fabio Maximo propior quam Scipioni, multa reponens in cunctatione; nihil illi de celeritate conficiendæ rei." (Saxonia, 304.) Yet he was not without ability, and Æneas Sylvius, in his 'Commentaries,' cites many of the emperor's sayings. (Cf. Freher, ii. 178.) Comines says, "L'empereur estoit de très-petit cœur, et enduroit toutes choses pour ne despendre rien," and styles him "le plus parfaitement chiche homme que prince ny autre qui ait esté de nostre temps." (Ed. Petitot, Mémoires, xii. 98, 337; cf. 117.) In truth his want of money was the real excuse for much that seemed mean and greedy in him (Schmidt, iv. 343-6; Coxe, i. 311). Mr. Hallam is very severe on Frederick (i. 496). Chmel ('Friedr. IV.') makes the best of him. There is an elaborate character in Ranke's Hist. of the Reformation (tr. by Mrs. Austin, i. 101–5), in which his fundamental good sense and his tenacity of purpose are especially noticed. (Cf. Palacky, IV. ii. 66.)

[h] Schmidt, ii. 226.

[i] Aug. Patr. in Hard. ix. 1167.

[k] The clergy and citizens of Mentz declared their resolution to be neutral by refusing to admit Felix's representatives, except on condition that they should lay aside the legatine insignia. (Ib. 1184, 1275.) To this time belongs a request of the council to the king of England, that he would support it, and would receive its decrees—as, it is said, the king of the Romans, the German electors, &c., had done. (Bekynton, No. 223.)

[l] Aug. Patr. 1175. See his views in a letter to the Castilian ambassador (May 20, 1442), Opera, 825-9.

[m] See Aug. Patr. 1185; Lenf. ii. 71-4; Schmidt, iv. 228; Schröckh, xxxii. 98–102; Milm. vi. 137

[n] Cochl. 327; Lenf. ii. 62; Schmidt, iv. 229; Schröckh, xxxii. 100.

[o] Lenf. ii. 62.

As a motive for this decree, it was said that the Virgin's intercession was especially needed in the disunited condition of the church.[p]

On the 11th of November, Frederick appeared at Basel. He was received by Felix (with whom he had before had an interview at Susa), and by nine of his cardinals; but, although he behaved with great respect to the antipope, his treatment of him was marked by an avowed reserve. Instead of the titles of *Holiness* and *Beatitude*, the bishop of Chiemsee, who spoke in the emperor's name, was instructed to address Felix as *Your Clemency* and *Your Benignity;* and he explained that the emperor refrained from showing the usual marks of reverence, in order that he might preserve his neutrality, and so might be better fitted to act as a mediator and a peacemaker. To this Felix replied that he took all in good part, and he protested that he had not accepted the papacy from motives of ambition, but solely in the hope of comforting the church in her affliction.[q]

Felix, under the plea of illness, withdrew from Basel to Lausanne, promising to return in the following spring; but he never fulfilled this promise, nor perhaps was he ever asked to fulfil it.[r]

The council continued to sink, and was especially weakened by losing the support of Alfonso of Aragon. Joanna II. of Naples, at her death, in February, 1535, had left her kingdom to René, the brother of Louis of Anjou, who had died in the preceding year.[s] The pope, who had affected to treat Naples as a fief which had lapsed to the Roman see, was disposed to favour René's interest;[t] while Alfonso still maintained his pretensions, and advanced fresh claims as the heir of King Manfred and of the Hohenstaufen.[u] But in 1443 Eugenius found it expedient to abandon René, who, through want of sufficient means, had been unsuccessful in his attempts. After stipulations on both sides,[x] Alfonso received from Rome a bull of investiture in the Neapolitan kingdom;[y] and in consideration of this he agreed to forsake the Council of Basel, and to withdraw his bishops from it—among them the

July 13, 1443.

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[p] Hard. viii. 1292; ix. 1178-9; Lenf. i. 62; Schröckh, xxxii. 101.

[q] Aug. Patr. 1188.

[r] Ib.; Schröckh, xxxii. 104.

[s] Rayn. 1434. 38; Giann. iv. 223; Sism. vi. 323. See Hallam, M. A. i. 351-4.

[t] Rayn. 1435. 13, 15; 1443. 7.

[u] Sism. vi. 323.

[x] Rayn. 1443. 1-5; 1445. 1 seqq.

[y] Rayn. 1443. 6-7 seqq.; Æn. Sylv. de Europa, c. 65; Giann. iv. 263; Sism. v. 416-9.

formidable Nicolas of Palermo, who thereupon gave up the insignia of the cardinalate, to which he had been promoted by Felix.[z]

The 45th and last session was held on the 16th of June, 1443, when Lyons was chosen as the place of the next general council; but, although the council of Basel never met again, it declared itself to be still in existence.[a]

The authority of this assembly has been variously estimated within the Roman communion. The more moderate divines in general acknowledge its ecumenical character as far as the 26th session, *i.e.* until the time when Eugenius proposed to transfer it to Ferrara.[b] But the advanced Gallicans maintain its authority throughout; and by the more extreme Romanists it is altogether disavowed.[c]

We may now turn to the history of the council which had been summoned by Eugenius with a view to the union of the Greek and the Latin churches.[d] Although the old dislike of the Greeks for the Latins had rather been increased than lessened by all earlier negotiations for this purpose, their danger from the Turks, which continually became more urgent, compelled them to fresh attempts to gain assistance from the west throughout the reign of Manuel.[e] His son, John Palæologus II., who succeeded to the throne in 1425, had been advised by him to look towards the west for support,[f] and endeavoured to act on this policy. He had visited Western Europe, in 1423, for the purpose of begging assistance,[g] and he appears to have even entertained the idea of succeeding

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[z] Aug. Patr. in Hard. ix. 1193-4; Schröckh, xxxii. 79; Lenf. ii. 81-2. Æneas Sylvius says, "Illum non quippe voluntas, sed sola necessitas principem fecerat, eumque obedire principi suo oportebat." (De Gestis Conc. Bas. 42; cf. 43.) The archbishop died of plague, in 1445. Herzog, art. *Panormitanus.*

[a] Hard. viii. 1301-2; Lenf. ii. 84.

[b] See Giesel. II. iv. 52 (who, however, somewhat misrepresents Bellarmin).

[c] There is a short dissertation against it, by L. Holstenius, in Labbe's 'Concilia,' xiii. 1659-60. Clement XIV. censured the maintenance of the council until its 26th session as an error. In a Roman edition of the councils it is altogether omitted. (See Giesel. II. iv. 52.)

[d] See the 'Vera Historia Unionis non veræ, seu Concilii Florentini exactissima Narratio,' by Syropulus (or, as the editor calls him, Sguropulus), edited by Creighton, afterwards bishop of Bath and Wells, with a very free translation, Hagæ Comitis, 1660; 'Hist. of the Council of Florence, from the Russian,' by B. Popoff, ed. J. M. Neale, Lond. 1861. Gass, author of the article *Syropulus* in Herzog, thinks, in opposition to Allacci, that Creighton's form of the name, *Σγουρόπουλος*, is probably right. Allacci began on a very great scale a book of animadversions on Creighton, but published only one part, consisting of about 750 pages.

[e] *E.g.* Rayn. 1420. 27; 1422. 2 sqq.

[f] See G. Phranza, ii. 13, p. 178, ed. Bonn; Gibbon, vi. 228; Ffoulkes, ii. 316.

[g] Rayn. 1423. 26; Eberh. Windeck, in Mencken, i. 1170.

Sigismund as emperor of the west, and of thus reuniting both the empire and the church.[h]

In the course of his communications with pope Martin, the emperor signified his readiness to attend a general council (although his father had warned him against such a measure),[i] and, in consequence of an invitation from the council of Basel, some representatives of the Greeks, headed by the protovestiary Demetrius Palæologus, appeared at Basel in 1434.[k] The council, in return, sent John of Ragusa and others to Constantinople;[l] but, besides the necessary difficulties of the case, it was found that the breach between the pope and the council—authorities which the Greeks had supposed to be in unison with each other—introduced an extraordinary perplexity into the negotiations.[m]

There was much discussion as to the place where the intended council should meet. The Greeks, at Basel, objected to that city as being too remote for the attendance of their countrymen, who supposed it to be beyond the Pillars of Hercules.[n] They desired that some more accessible place in Italy or elsewhere should be fixed on; and the emperor urged this especially on the ground of the patriarch's age and infirmity,[o] while the fathers of Basel (as has been related) suggested Avignon by way of compromise.[p]

An indiscreet expression, that the council had endeavoured to put down the old separation of the Greeks as well as the new separation of the Bohemians, was studiously circulated in exaggerated terms, with the intention of exasperating the Greeks.[q] The envoys of the council at Constantinople threw the blame on the mistake of a scribe; but the Greeks would not accept this explanation.[r] The emperor, however, interposed by remarking that it did not matter what the Latins might say

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[h] He professed to have received from Sigismund himself a promise to secure the succession for him. (Syropulus, ii. 34, p. 36.)

[i] Phranza, l. c.

[k] Syropulus, ii. 21; Hard. viii. 1185-6, 1188, 1626; Rayn. 1433. 28; 1434. 15; Martene, Coll. Ampl. viii. 738, &c.

[l] Ib. 820; Hard. viii. 1496. See Mansi, in Rayn. ix. 193.

[m] See Bekynton, Nos. 208-9.

[n] Hard. viii. 1186; see Rayn. 1437, seqq.; Gibbon, vi. 231.

[o] Letter of Nov. 26, 1435, in Hard. viii. 1634.

[p] Ib. 1186, 1210, 1212, 1379, &c.; Syrop. ii. 31; Rayn. 1436. 11–3; Mart Coll. Ampl. viii. 673, 684, &c. See p. 424.

[q] "Illud recens Bohemorum, antiquumque Græcorum *dissidium* penitus extinguere." (Sess. xix. Sept. 7, 1434, Hard. viii. 1185; cf. 1492.) In the Greek misrepresentation the word became *αἵρεσιν*. (Syrop. ii. 28.) "At all events, the comparison of the Greeks with the Hussites, in point of heresy was justly a matter of offence to all the orthodox." (Popoff and Neale, 24.) See the letter of John of Ragusa, Mansi. xxix. 652-3 (Feb. 9, 1436).

[r] Syrop. ii. 29.

or boast among themselves, if they would forward the pacification of the church; that he hoped to see the expression in question, and any other faulty language, amended in the general council; and at length the Latin envoys appeased the outcry by withdrawing the offensive words.[s]

The project of a conference with the Greeks afforded Eugenius (as we have seen) a pretext for ordering the translation of the council from Basel to Ferrara;[t] and, as the breach became wider, each party used the most strenuous efforts to secure the expected visitors. Missions were sent by both to the emperor and to the patriarch; rival funds were raised to meet the expenses of the Greeks; rival fleets were hired at Venice and Marseilles, and were despatched for their conveyance;[u] and it was not without difficulty that the emperor was able, by threats and absolute prohibitions, to prevent these from fighting within sight of Constantinople, as the pope's admiral, his nephew cardinal Francis Condolmieri, declared that he was instructed to sink and destroy the ships of the council's fleet.[x] The two legates vied with each other in offers of money,[y] although the patriarch Joasaph protested that, if the Latins were allowed to pay the expenses of the Greeks, these would be unable to maintain their independence.[z] But the pope's emissaries (among whom was Nicolas of Cusa)[a] were perhaps less scrupulous in intrigue than their opponents,[b] and succeeded in gaining their object. On the 29th of November, 1437, the emperor and the patriarch, with twenty-two bishops and a great train of ecclesiastics, set sail on board of the Venetian ships provided by the pope. The patriarch, in defiance of the remonstrances of his clergy, took with him the magnificent plate of St. Sophia's; the emperor and his court were splendidly equipped at the cost of the church's treasures,[c] which he had seized for the purpose; and, with a view to controversial use, the theologians were

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[s] Ib. 33-4, 38.

[t] p. 424. He professed to have urged the Greek question on the council of Constance, and on his predecessor. (Rayn. 1437. 8.)

[u] At the 29th session of Basel, Oct. 12, 1437, the pope was attacked for his dealings with the Greeks. (Hard. viii. 1238. See L. Chalcocond. 152; Rayn. 1437. 11 seqq.; Mart. Coll. Ampl. viii. 763, 895; Hard. viii. 1187, 1256; ix. 683, 687, 693, 1138, &c.; Ffoulkes, ii. 321 seqq.) Andrew of Santa Croce professes to believe that the council's ships (which were at Marseilles) were intended "Non ut Græcos ducerent, sed ut eos a veniendo averterent." (Hard. ix. 710.)

[x] Syropul. iii. 11.

[y] Ib. 12.

[z] Ib. ii. 18.

[a] Hard. ix. 683.

[b] See the complaints of the council, ib. 1239, 1259. Platina says that Eugenius corrupted the commander of the Marseilles fleet, which the council had engaged. (300.)

[c] Syrop. iii. 17-8.

furnished with a large collection of books.[d] By those who expected no good result from the expedition, an earthquake which occurred immediately after the emperor's embarkation, two days earlier, had been regarded as a token of the Divine anger.[e] After a tedious voyage, varied by occasional landings and residences on shore,[f] the Greeks—more than 500 in all[g]—arrived at Venice on the 8th of February, and were received with much splendour, although the ceremony was somewhat marred by rain.[h] The magnificence of the great trading city appears to have impressed them as deeply as in an earlier age the companions of Henry Dandolo had been impressed by the glories of Constantinople;[i] "of it," says a Greek, "I suppose the prophet to speak, 'God hath founded it upon the seas, and prepared it upon the floods.'"[k] The riches of St. Mark's church were seen with a strong and peculiar interest, as being derived in great measure from the plunder of the Byzantine sanctuaries in that crusade which for a time had given Latin emperors to the east.[l] On the other hand, a Greek tells us that the Venetians crowded to the religious services of the strangers, declaring that, while they had never seen Greeks, they had supposed them to be barbarians, but that they now knew them to be the first-born of the church, and that the Holy Spirit spoke in them.[m] At Venice, the Greeks were for the first time fully informed of the hostility which had arisen between the pope and the council of Basel.[n] Their first inclination was to join the council, while the doge advised them to remain at Venice, so as to hold the balance between the parties.[o] But at length they decided on accepting the pope's invitation, partly in consequence of the advice of cardinal Cesarini, who happened opportunely to pass through Venice after having forsaken Basel for Ferrara.[p] The emperor wrote to the council of Basel, exhorting its members to join the new assembly.[q]

A.D. 1438.

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[d] Ambros. Camald. Ep. xix. 36, in Mart. Coll. Ampl. iii.

[e] Syrop. iv.

[f] At Cursoli, one of their landing-places, they were informed of Sigismund's death. (Ib. 9.)

[g] Leon. Aret. in Murat. xix. 940.

[h] Syrop. iv. 13; Phranza, ii. 14; Andr. S. Cruc. in Hard. ix. 741-2.

[i] See Vol. III. p. 331.

[k] Hard. ix. 4; cf. Phranza, ii. 14; Syrop. iv. 16, &c. It is quite clear from the narratives that the west had become more splendid than the east. See as to the vessel in which the emperor was towed to Ferrara, Phranz. ii. 16.

[l] Syrop. iv. 16.

[m] Ducas, 119.

[n] Leon. Aret. in Murat. xix. 939.

[o] Syrop. iv. 15.

[p] Ib. 17.

[q] Hard. ix. 15 1113

On reaching Ferrara, it was found that there were deep questions of etiquette to be settled, as, indeed, they had in some degree been already apprised.[r] The emperor was received by Eugenius standing, and, after having kissed his hand, was about to throw himself at his feet, when the pope prevented the act, and seated him at his own left hand, which the emperor reverently kissed.[s] But the patriarch, who had declared at Venice that he would deal with the pope only as an equal in rank,[t]—as a father, a brother, or a son, according as their respective ages might determine,—was told, both on the way, and by a deputation which greeted him on his arrival, that he would be required to kiss the pope's foot. His natural indignation at this was increased by the fact that the members of the deputation were not in his opinion of sufficient dignity to be employed by the pope on such a commission. Long and lively discussions arose; but at length the patriarch, by firmly refusing the degrading obeisance, was able to get himself excused.[u] More, however, remained behind. The patriarch was told that he could not be allowed a higher rank than that of the cardinals, who (it was said) took precedence even of the western emperor; and, although he had hoped that his own sovereign might receive from the spectacle of the pope's grandeur a wholesome lesson as to the relations of the spiritual and the secular powers, he was not prepared for this.[x] At the solemn reception in the church of St. George, and afterwards at the sessions of the council, while the pope occupied the central seat, the emperor of the *Romæans*[y] (as he was styled), who had supposed the place of highest dignity to be due to himself, was seated at a lower level, in a chair corresponding to the vacant chair of the western emperor, and the patriarch was on an equality with the cardinals.[z] At every possible point, and on every possible occasion, the battle of ceremony was renewed, to the irritation both of the eastern clergy and of the emperor.[a]

March 12.

The council had been opened by the cardinal-legate Albergati on the 8th of January, and the pope had been at Ferrara from the 27th of that month.[b] But the Greeks were much

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[r] Phranz. ii. 15.

[s] Ib.; Hard. ix. 8.

[t] Syrop. iv. 19.

[u] Syrop. iv. 19-21.

[x] Schröckh, xxxiv. 390; Gibbon, vi. 232.

[y] "Romæorum"—the western emperor being emperor of the Romans.

[z] Syrop. vi. 16, 22, 27; Hard. ix. 9, 12. Something, however, was afterwards gained, *e. g.* that the patriarch's chair should have a purple covering, like the pope's. (Hard. ix. 25.)

[a] Syrop. iv. 11; vi. 15-7, 22, &c.

[b] Hard. ix. 716, 723; Rayn 1438. 1-3.

disappointed by the scanty numbers of the assembly, and it was agreed that an interval of four months should be allowed to pass before the beginning of the formal sessions, in the hope that, by despatching envoys to the princes of the west, the council might induce these to send representatives.[c] The Greeks, in the meanwhile, indulged in the fancy that the fathers of Basel were to be added to those of Ferrara.[d]

While waiting for the result, the emperor withdrew to a monastery some miles from the city, where he devoted himself to sporting in a style which both injured the cultivators of the soil and disgusted the owner, the marquis of Ferrara.[e]

During this delay the ecclesiastics who were at Ferrara engaged twice a week in skirmishes on the points in dispute between the churches,[f] and for these encounters twelve champions were selected on each side. Among the Greeks, the most eminent were Marcus Eugenicius, archbishop of Ephesus, and proxy for the patriarch of Antioch,[g] and Bessarion, archbishop of Nicæa—both lately promoted to the episcopate, with a view to the discussion with the Latins.[h]

Contrary to the usual custom of the Greeks, the emperor would not allow laymen of high rank to take any part in the disputation,—professing that such matters were for ecclesiastics only, but really from a wish to keep the management in his own hands, and to make the clergy answerable for any failure.[i] Among the Latins, the most conspicuous disputants were cardinal Julian Cesarini and a Spaniard, named John, provincial of the Dominicans in Lombardy.[k] It is said that the saintly Bernardine of Siena, by prayer for the Divine assistance, was enabled to dispute fluently in Greek, without any previous knowledge of the language.[l] The roughness of Mark of Ephesus contrasted so unfavourably with the graceful and persuasive

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[c] Syrop. iv. 27; Hard. ix. 10; Gibbon, vi. 235.

[d] Rayn. 1438. 15.

[e] The Marquis Nicolas III., the Azo of Byron's 'Parisina,' (Gibbon, Misc. Works, 830, ed. 1837; see Chalcocondylas, 152–4; Cron. di Bologna, in Murat. xviii. 615, A.D. 1425) behaved with hospitality and respect, but his courteous request that the emperor would refrain from utterly destroying the game, with which the lands had been stocked at great expense of money and care, was altogether disregarded. (Syrop. vi. 2, 7; vii. 4.) The farmers complained loudly, but in vain (vii. 4). At last, however, the emperor was frightened away from the place by a disturbance which arose out of another cause. (Ib. 5.)

[f] Hard. ix. 17.

[g] The archbishop had made a difficulty as to accepting this commission, regarding it as beneath the dignity of his see. (Syrop. iv. 29.)

[h] Syrop. iii. 15; Chalcocond. 155; Hard. ix. 7, 5.

[i] Syrop. vi. 1–4.

[k] Syrop. v. 16; Aug. Patr. in Hard ix. 1139.

[l] Acta SS., Mai, 20, p. 311

oratory of Cesarini, that it was sometimes necessary for the Greeks to substitute Bessarion as their advocate; yet Cesarini's copiousness was sometimes found to be wearisome,[m] and Syropulus tells us that, although the cardinal was the more eloquent, the archbishop of Ephesus was the stronger and the more solid.[n]

Cesarini also endeavoured, as at Basel, to employ hospitality as a means of conciliation and persuasion; but when the patriarch became aware of this, he forbade his clergy to accept the cardinal's invitations.[o] The difficulties of language were smoothed by the skill of Nicolas Secondino, a native of Negropont, who interpreted the speeches on both sides.[p]

The Latins supposed the Greeks to be heretical on no less than fifty-four points;[q] but the chief subjects of discussion were limited to four—(1) The Procession of the Holy Ghost; (2) Purgatory; (3) the use of leavened or unleavened bread in the Eucharist; and (4) the primacy of the Pope. But the Greeks felt that they were not at liberty. The emperor, in his zeal for union (or rather for the material gain which he expected from union)[r] kept a strong hold over them. No one was allowed to leave the town without a passport;[s] and measures were taken to prevent anyone from privately returning to Constantinople, and for the severe punishment of any who should make the attempt.[t] A plague broke out, and alarmed them greatly, although the sufferers were almost exclusively either Latins or followers of the patriarch of Russia, Isidore, a Greek by birth, who reached Ferrara in August, with a great train of horses.[u] A rumour that Amurath was about to attack Constantinople excited them to press for immediate aid; but all that the emperor's importunity could obtain from the pope was a promise of two small vessels[x]—a promise which was never fulfilled.[y]

But more than all other distresses, that of subsistence

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[m] Syrop. vi. 21, viii. 10; Hard. ix. 168.

[n] Syrop. v. 5-6; vi. 6, 21.

[o] Syrop. v. 2, who himself suffered by this restriction.

[p] Life of Cesarini, in Ughelli, iii. 677. In answer to the compliments of Cesarini and another cardinal, the interpreter ascribed his success to the grace of the Holy Spirit, who was the subject of discussion. (Andr. S. Cruc. in Hard. ix. 761.) See Tirab. VI. ii. 107.

[q] Syrop. vi. 1.

[r] We can by no means trust the Ferrarese diarist's representation—"Dicto Imperadore venne per veder se la sua fede era megliore de la nostra." (Murat. xxiii. 188.)

[s] Syropulus speaks of the system of passports as an established western custom, which the emperor took up on arriving at Ferrara. (vi. 1.)

[t] Ib. vi. 1, 8; Gibbon, vi. 236.

[u] Andr. S. Cruc. in Hard. ix. 755; Syrop. vi. 3, 5.

[x] κάτεργα.

[y] Syrop. v. 10, 12.

pressed heavily on the Greeks. They had been annoyed by finding that, instead of an allowance in money for this purpose, rations were doled out to them;[z] but now the supply became irregular, and the reason of this was not to be mistaken. The allowance fell more than four months into arrear, and applications or complaints were treated with rudeness.[a] Many were obliged to sell their property, and even to pledge their clothes, for the sake of food.[b] The pliant were supplied, while the more stubborn were reduced to misery by hunger, and when they had thus been brought to concession, they were rewarded with money and provisions.[c]

The first question which was debated was that of Purgatory. June 4, seqq. As to this, the Latins maintained that, while souls free from stain, such as those of the saints, go immediately after death into bliss, and while the souls of those who die in mortal sin go into eternal torments, the intermediate class—the souls of those who have repented, and have died in the enjoyment of the church's rites, yet whose sins, committed after baptism, have not been fully done away with in this life,—must undergo a cleansing by purgatorial fire, which will be longer or shorter according to the character of their guilt; that in this state they may be assisted by masses and alms; and that, having been thus purified, they will enter into the happiness of the saints.[d]

The Greeks, on the other hand, held that Purgatory is not a place of fire, but that its suffering consists in darkness, gloom, and exclusion from the Divine presence.[e]

On this subject the discussion was long protracted, and the arguments of Mark and Bessarion on the Greek side were fused into a treatise by Gemistius, under whom both the archbishops had formerly studied.[f]

The first regular session of the council was on the 8th of October, when disputants were chosen by each side, and Bessarion made a long speech, to which the bishop of Rhodes replied at similar length at the next meeting.[g] At the third session, the Oct. 14. subject of the Procession of the Holy Spirit was brought forward. The discussion turned mainly on the question whether the article of the Procession from the Son were an addi-

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[z] Ib. iv. 28. See Gibbon, vi. 239, n.

[a] Syrop. v. 9; vi. 20.

[b] Ib. 19.

[c] Ib. passim.

[d] Syrop. v. 13; Hard. ix. 16.

[e] Hard. ix. 20.

[f] Syrop. v. 14; see Jenkins, 283; Popoff, 50-1.

[g] Hard. ix. 25-36, 755 seqq.

tion to the creed, of such a kind as to contravene the decree of the general council of Ephesus, which had forbidden the making of any new creed other than that of the Nicene council[h]—or whether (as the Latins contended) it were merely a legitimate explanation.[i] On this question the dispute was carried on until the fifteenth session (Dec. 8th), without any approach to agreement. The Latins were unable to trace the interpolation higher than the age of Charlemagne,[k] although they produced a canon of a council at Toledo, anathematising all who should refuse it; and they wished to discuss the article on its merits. To this the Greek emperor was willing to agree, as were also Bessarion and the primate of Russia;[l] and the great majority of the assembly voted for it,[m] although the patriarch objected that, as the Latins were obstinate on the question of the verbal addition, they would probably be found yet more intractable on the question of the truth of doctrine.[n]

Dec. 8.

At the fifteenth session, the pope signified his intention of transferring the council to Florence.[o] For this the prevailing sickness gave a pretext, although it had already begun to subside.[p] But the Greeks, supposing that the translation was intended as a means of bringing them more under the pope's control, made vehement objections; some of them, among whom was Mark of Ephesus, attempted to abscond.[q] The emperor endeavoured to soothe them;[r] the pope told them that, in consequence of the occupation of his territory by Piccinino, he was deprived of the means of entertaining them, but that they might be assured of receiving splendid hospitality from the Florentines.[s] As their allowance was now five months in arrear, this argument told powerfully on them; and when they consented to the removal of the council, they were rewarded by the payment of a part of what was due to them.[t] On the 16th of January, 1439, the pope left Ferrara in state—the marquis of Ferrara holding his rein;[u] the Greeks followed, although unwillingly; and, after having been exposed to some dangers on the way, through the dis-

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[h] Can. 7.

[i] Hard. ix. 36 seqq.

[k] Ib. 68, 92; Syrop. vi. 19, 20.

[l] Syrop. vi. 23; vii. 7, 10.

[m] Ib. 8.

[n] Ib. vii. 10.

[o] Hard. ix. 172.

[p] See ib. 24, 178, 858, 860, &c.; Ffoulkes, ii. 346.

[q] Syrop. vi. 24; vii. 1.

[r] Ib. vii. 12.

[s] Mark of Ephesus pledged his mitre to the Florentines for a large sum, that he might be able to maintain the Greeks; and the Florentines offered an equal sum if the council might be translated. (Gennadius, in Rayn. 1437. 20.)

[t] Syrop. vii. 12; Hard. ix. 173, 177.

[u] Hard. ix. 177.

turbed state of the country,[x] they reached Florence on the 13th of February, and were received with great demonstrations of honour.[y]

Early in March the debates as to the Procession of the Holy Ghost were resumed; and the question was now discussed on its merits.[z] The decision, however, was to rest on the authority of the Greek fathers only, as the Greeks refused to know anything of the Latin ecclesiastical writers.[a] But there was much suspicion as to some of the authorities which were produced on the Latin side.[b] And a fierce dispute was carried on as to a passage of St. Basil; the Greeks asserted that this was corrupt in the copies used by the Latins, and, although they admitted that the text was the same in some copies at Constantinople, they said that the best manuscripts were without the words on which the Latins relied.[c]

While the Latins were united among themselves, differences of opinion became manifest among the Greeks,[d] and a jealousy which had early appeared between the archbishops of Ephesus and Nicæa[e] broke out into violent quarrels. Mark of Ephesus was vehement in the assertion of the Greek doctrine, and declared that all who held the Double Procession were not only schismatics but heretics.[f] Bessarion was more artful and more conciliatory, maintaining that the difference between the churches was one of expression only—not of doctrine,[g]—and drawing distinctions of meaning between the prepositions which had been used in speaking of the Procession.[h] The two became excited. Bessarion spoke of Mark as possessed and mad—an imputation which was seconded by a rumour industriously spread;[i] while the archbishop of Ephesus retorted by styling his rival a bastard and an apostate,[k] and at last withdrew from the sessions.[l]

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[x] There was ground for the words used by the members of the Basel council against its transference:—"Italia tota ardet guerris, omnis gleba suos habet armigeros et prædones, et vix simplices viatores secure transire possunt." (Hard. viii. 1342.)

[y] Ib. ix. 177; Syrop. viii. 15.

[z] Hard. ix. 189, 863.

[a] Ib. 870, seqq.; Syrop. viii. 15. See, however, Hard. ix. 579, 931, &c.

[b] Hard. ix. 1058, &c.

[c] Hard. ix. 225, seqq.; 273, seqq. Bessarion afterward maintained the genuineness of the passage, and that the copies in which it was wanting were corrupted in some cases by visible obliteration. (Ib. 1046–9.) But the words seem really to be spurious. See Basil. Opera, ed. Garnier, i. 272.

[d] Ib. 377.

[e] Syrop. v. 15-6.

[f] Hard. ix. 313.

[g] Hard. ix. 313, 320.

[h] ἐκ and διὰ. See Syrop. ix. 4; Hard. ix. 586, seqq.

[i] Syrop. ix. 2, 6. Mark was subject to epileptic fits. (Hard. ix. 551.)

[k] *Σὺ ὑπάρχεις κοπέλιν, καὶ ἐποίησας ὡς κοπέλιν.* (Syrop. ix. 6.) Creighton's translation of this is very ample:—"Ego te non minus despicor, Nicæne, prognatum semine meretricio, spurium, qui natale solum ut nothus perfidia dehonestare non cohorruisti."

[l] Hard. ix. 578.

The pope reproached the Greeks for wasting their time.[m] The emperor exerted himself in all possible ways to put a pressure on the divines of his church.[n] The system of withholding supplies was anew employed, and with increased effect; money skilfully given when the receivers had been reduced to actual hunger, exercised a powerful influence on their opinions;[o] nor was more direct bribery wanting.[p] Under these various influences, the labours of the council for union made progress. The twenty-fifth and last session was held on the 24th of March, when the emperor summed up the discussion on the question of the Procession by saying that the Greeks had their creed from Scripture and the œcumenical councils, without addition or diminution; but that the Latin addition was agreeable to the teaching of the Scriptures; that, as the Greeks would not receive the addition, and the Latins refused to alter it, he would leave the pope to devise terms of union; otherwise the Greeks would return home.[q]

Ten representatives of each side were appointed to draw up a form of union; and after much lively argument, and the rejection of many proposed schemes, a definition was at length agreed on—being framed in Latin by Ambrose Traversari, head of the Camaldolite order, and rendered into Greek by Bessarion.[r] (1.) The question as to the Procession of the Holy Ghost was compromised, on the ground that the Greeks, by speaking of Him as proceeding from the Father, did not exclude the Son, but only intended to guard against the opinion which they had supposed the Latins to entertain, of the Spirit's proceeding as if from two Principles; and that, as the Latins disavowed this, the two churches really held the same truth under different forms of expression. (2.) As to the question of leavened or unleavened bread in the Eucharist, it was decreed that the sacrament may be consecrated in either kind, and that each of the churches may retain its own custom. (3.) It is affirmed that souls whose sins have not been fully expiated in this life,

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[m] Hard. ix. 316; Syrop. x. 1.

[n] Syrop. passim. *E. g.* his rebuke of the bishop of Heraclea, viii. 5; ix. 1–3, &c.; Ffoulkes, ii. 353. When the emperor made a speech in favour of union, a favourite dog, who lay at his feet, began to howl, and continued to accompany him throughout. (Syrop. iv. 10.)

[o] Hard. ix. 590; Syrop. viii. 6; ix. 1-2; x. 3-4.

[p] Fl. Blondus, Decad. p. 551. Allatius fiercely defends the proceedings at Florence against all charges of unfairness, corruption, &c. (De Eccl. Orient. et Occid. Perpet. Consensione, l. ii. cc. 1 seqq.)

[q] Hard. ix. 317–320.

[r] Hard. ix. 377, 401 seqq.; Andr. S. Cruc. ib. 954 seqq.; Syrop. viii. 12 seqq.

are purified by purgatorial pains after death, and that they may be aided by masses, prayers, alms, and other works of piety; but as to the nature of purgatory nothing is defined against the opinion of either church. (4.) The Roman pontiff is declared to have the primacy of the whole world,[s] as being the successor of St. Peter, who was chief of the Apostles and true vicar of Christ; and that to him, in St. Peter, was given by the Saviour, "full power of tending, directing, and governing the church, according as is contained both in the acts of the ecumenical councils and in the sacred canons."[t] The other patriarchal sees—Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem—were to hold the same order as of old, "to wit, with all their privileges and rights preserved."[u]

Although, however, the substance of the definition was settled, there remained irritating questions of form. Was the name of the emperor or that of the pope to stand first? Was the pope alone to be mentioned, or were the other patriarchs to have a like honour? And for two days the conclusion was delayed by a dispute whether the word "all" should be inserted in the reservation of the rights of Oriental patriarchs. The pope was able to carry the question of precedence over the emperor, and the word "all" was at length conceded to the Greeks.[v]

The patriarch Joasaph, who had throughout exerted himself in favour of union,[x] died after a long illness on the 10th of June; and the Greeks became more eager than before to return to their own country.[y]

By degrees all the Greek bishops were brought over, with the exception of Mark of Ephesus, who had procured, through

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[s] "These words are not found in the Greek version of the official copy of the decree sent to England. MS. Cotton, Cleop. E. iii. 78." (Ffoulkes, ii. 363; cf. 481 seqq.)

[t] "Quemadmodum *et* in gestis œc. conciliorum, &c. continetur." The common reading has *etiam* for *et*, as if the following words were merely a confirmatory reference; but Launoy shows, from Blondus (Decad. p. 551) and from the Greek text (*καθ' ὃν τρόπον καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρακτικοῖς . . . διαλαμβάνεται*), that the intention is to point out the laws by which the papal government should be regulated. (Giesel. II. iv. 513.)

[u] Hard. ix. 419–421.

[v] Syrop. x. 2; Hard. ix. 417.

[x] Syrop. vii. 2. Mark of Ephesus accused him of having been corrupted; but Joseph of Methone indignantly vindicates him. (Hard. ix. 595.) John of Ragusa speaks very highly of the patriarch. (Mansi, xxix. 656-7.)

[y] Hard. ix. 408; Syrop. ix. 15. St Antoninus says that he died in the Latin faith (529), and with this agrees a document which professes to be his will, written on the eve of his death. (Ib. 407; Hard. ix. 5.) Mr. Jenkins speaks of this as certainly a forgery (Life of Julian, 300). Mr. Ffoulkes seems to think it genuine, but composed in circumstances which make its trustworthiness as an expression of the testator's full mind questionable. (ii. 363.)

the emperor's brother, a promise that he should not be compelled to sign the Definition, and should be sent home in safety.[z] "Then we have done nothing at all," was the pope's remark, on being informed of this exception.[a]

Some important ecclesiastical officers were compelled, after much reluctance, to subscribe—a compulsion which they felt as an especial hardship, because they had not been allowed to vote.[b] Among these was the chronicler of the council, Syropulus, "Great Ecclesiarch" (or chief sacristan) of the church of Constantinople, who satisfied his conscience by resolving to do penance, or to retract at some future opportunity.[c] At last the Definition, which ran in the name of pope Eugenius, with the "consent" of John Palæologus and of the representatives of the eastern patriarchs, was completed by the subscriptions.[d]

On the 6th of July—little more than a week after the day on which the council of Basel had pronounced Eugenius to be deposed,[e]—his triumph over the Greek church was celebrated in the magnificent cathedral which he had lately consecrated.[f] All Florence kept holiday in honour of the great occasion.[g] A vast multitude thronged the building, and looked with curiosity and reverence on the rich attire of the Greek prelates—unaltered from the early ages of the church.[h] The Definition of the Council was read in Latin by Cesarini, and in Greek by Bessarion, and was received with general acclamations.[i] The representatives of the churches embraced each other; the Greeks kissed the pope's knees and hand, and the act of reconciliation was followed by a solemn mass, at which the Greeks were astonished to see the pope drink the eucharistic wine through a tube.[k]

But very soon fresh differences arose. Varieties as to ritual and other matters—among them, as to the practice of divorce—

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[z] Syrop. x. 5. 'Αλλ' *ἔμεινεν ὁ κολοιὸς κολοιός*," says the writer of the Greek acts of the council. (Hard. ix. 412.)

[a] Syrop. x. 9.

[b] Syrop. x. 6; cf. ix. 9.

[c] *'Εξεστί μοι ποιῆσαι ὃ βούλομαι εἰς ἐμαυτὸν.* (Ib. x. 7.)

[d] Hard. ix. 420–8. On the insufficiency of these signatures as a representation of the church, see Ffoulkes, ii. 360. "England," says Mr. Ffoulkes, "was represented by one bishop only, Rochester." But, as the bishop of Rochester of that time was not named Andrew, he could hardly be meant by the signature "Andreas Roffensis;" nor, if we follow up the suggestions of the various readings, *Rossumensis* and *Rossiniensis* (Hard. ix. 988), do we find that either the Scottish or the Irish Ross (Keith, 4to ed. 111; Ware, i. 587), or the archbishoprick of Rossano, in southern Italy (Ughelli, ix.), had then a prelate named Andrew.

[e] Gibbon, vi. 240.

[f] See p. 430.

[g] Syrop. x. 10.

[h] Vespasian, Vita Eugen. in Ughelli, iii. 678, or Murat. xxv. 261, who speaks of 200 bishops.

[i] Syrop. x. 10.

[k] Ib.

were brought forward and discussed.[l] It was found impossible to solve in a satisfactory manner the question as to the invasion of eastern sees by Latin bishops.[m] The Latins, having secured the victory, treated the Greeks with contempt, and when it was proposed that they should in their turn attend a Greek mass, the pope insulted the Greeks by requiring that the service should previously be rehearsed before himself or the cardinals.[n] And there were still delays and hindrances as to the payment of their allowance to the Greeks.[o]

The pope wished to have the refractory archbishop of Ephesus made over to him for correction;[p] he desired that the Greeks should elect a patriarch at Florence, and recommended for their choice the Latin patriarch, as a man who, in addition to other qualifications, was wealthy, and so far advanced in years that his riches might be expected to fall in no long time to the church.[q] But the emperor replied that the Latins had nothing to do with the case of Mark, who, if faulty, ought to be judged by his Greek brethren[r]; and that the patriarch must be chosen in the imperial city by the votes of the whole province, and must be consecrated in the church of St. Sophia.[s]

On leaving Florence, the Greeks found fresh cause of complaint as to the manner in which they were conveyed homewards; for as to this the pope's engagements were very imperfectly observed.[t] At Bologna some of them lodged in the same inn with some English envoys, who were on their way to the papal court.[u] The Englishmen asked what had been done in the council; and on being informed of the result, they remarked, to the disgust of the Greeks, who had been boasting of its entire success, that, if there were no agreement either as to the words of the creed, as to the doctrine of the Procession, or as to the use of the eucharistic bread, the pretended union did not deserve the name.[x] Already some of those who had conformed began to show repentance and shame. At Venice, where the bishop of Heraclea was compelled by the emperor to celebrate a Greek mass in St. Mark's, the words

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[l] Hard. ix. 429; Syrop. x. 12.

[m] Syrop. x. 14.

[n] Ib. x. 11.

[o] Ib. 17.

[p] Ib. 12; Hard. ix. 432; Ducas, 119-120.

[q] Syrop. x. 12; Hard. ix. 432. Mr. Ffoulkes supposes that the Latin patriarch was the pope's nephew. (ii. 366.)

[r] Syrop. x. 16. After the pope had repeatedly asked for Mark, the emperor sent him to Eugenius, but with an assurance of safety. The pope spoke strongly to the archbishop, but without effect. (Syrop. x. 15.)

[s] Ib. 12; Hard. ix. 452.

[t] Syrop. xi. 5.

[u] See Bekynton, 79, 81-2.

[x] Syrop. x. 18.

of the Double Procession and the prayer for the pope were omitted.[y] At Corfu and elsewhere there were displays of the dissatisfaction which had been called forth by the late concessions; and at Constantinople, a storm of execration and reproach arose, such as in an earlier age had greeted the representatives of the eastern church on their return from the second council of Lyons.[z] The churches were deserted, although, in compliance with the popular feeling, the prayer for the pope and all mention of the union were suppressed.[a] Even the emperor's own name was in some churches omitted from among those commemorated in the diptychs.[b] The vacant patriarchate was refused by the bishops of Heraclea and of Trebizond, who, with professions of deep remorse, retracted their late compliances with the Latins.[c] There was an attempt to elect the stubborn champion of eastern orthodoxy, Mark of Ephesus, to the vacant see, although he himself refused to concur.[d] Metrophanes, bishop of Cyzicus, who accepted the office, found that the people turned their backs on his benediction.[e] The emperor's brother Demetrius, who had refused to subscribe the union at Florence, and had withdrawn from that city in anger,[f] raised against John the standard of earlier orthodoxy.[g] Bishops and others withdrew from the patriarch's communion, and high officials of the church—among them the "great ecclesiarch" Syropulus—resigned their offices,[h] while Metrophanes endeavoured by violent means to enforce the union, ejecting bishops and others who opposed it, and even invading the jurisdiction of other patriarchs.[i]

In 1443 the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem held a council,[k] at which, by a slight change in his name, Metrophanes was stigmatised as a murderer of his mother, the church.[l] They denounced the council of Florence, and declared the patriarch, with all metropolitans, bishops, and others in-

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[y] Syrop. xi. 2-5.

[z] Ducas, 120; see Vol. III. p. 480.

[a] Syrop. xii. 1.

[b] Ib. 2; cf. xii. 8-9.

[c] Ib. 2-3; Chalcocond. 156.

[d] Syrop. xii. 2. St. Antoninus says that the emperor set on foot a disputation between the bishops of Nicæa and Corone, and that Mark died of vexation at being defeated. (530.) Joseph of Methone's answer to Mark, although addressed to him personally, must have been written after his death, which the author represents as having been like that of Arius. (Hard. ix. 595.) Rinaldi and Mansi (n. in Rayn. t. ix. 459) suppose this tract to have been written by George Scholaris, who afterwards became patriarch under the name of Gennadius.

[e] Syrop. xii. 5. See as to his nomination, ib. 3.

[f] Ib. ix. 11.

[g] Ib. xii. 11.

[h] Ib. 6, 7, 9.

[i] Schröckh, xxxiv. 424.

[k] As to a council said to have been held in 1440, see ib. 420.

[l] Μητρόφονος. Allat. de Eccl. or. et occid. perpet. Consens. 939 seqq.

truded by him,[m] to be deposed; and, emboldened by living under the rule of Mahometan sovereigns, they threatened the emperor with the extreme censures of the church if he should continue in his heterodoxy.[n] Some of the Greek prelates went so far as to address a friendly letter to the Hussites, urging them to union with the Greek church, as the means of withstanding the common enemy.[o]

The attempt to unite the churches by such sacrifices as those to which the Greeks had submitted at Florence, had drawn forth no effective help from the west; and the increased alienation which resulted from its failure, tended to accelerate the ruin of the Byzantine empire.[p]

The primate of Russia and the archbishop of Nicæa had been promoted to the cardinalate, in order at once to reward their past services and to secure their influence for the maintenance of the union.[q] But the hopes which were thus rested on them were disappointed. Isidore, on returning to Russia, found that the prince, Basil, upbraided him in the public service of the church as a traitor to the orthodox cause, and that the clergy rejected him. He was even imprisoned in a monastery, and was glad to make his escape to Rome, whence he was afterwards sent to Constantinople as representative of pope Nicolas V.[r] The more prudent Bessarion, declining either to resume his Asiatic see or to accept an appointment by the emperor and the synod to the patriarchate of Constantinople,[s] remained in the west, to enter on a new and brilliant career.[t]

Oct. 13.

From Florence Eugenius, in April, 1443, translated the council to Rome; and, about a fortnight after his return to that city, he reopened its sessions in the church of St. John Lateran. Before leaving Florence he had received into communion some representatives of the Armenian church,[u] and to complete the supposed reunion of Christendom, he now received deputies (real or pretended) of the Copts, the Jacobites, the Maronites, and the Chaldeans.[x] But in the case of

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[m] Μητροπολίδια βέβηλα καὶ μιαρὰ ἐπισκοπίδια. (Ib.)

[n] Ib. 939–945.

[o] Ib. 947–9.

[p] Milm. vi. 128. Phranza traces the Turkish aggression and the ruin of the empire to the attempt at union. (ii. 13.)

[q] Platina, 302. Ambrose of Camaldoli had early advised Eugenius to appoint Greek cardinals, and had reminded him that Benedict XIII. had with good effect promoted Jews to bishopricks. (Ep. i. 15.)

[r] Mouravieff, 76–8; see, too, Ciacon ii. 903. It was supposed that Isidore, who was himself a Greek, had aspired to the patriarchate after the death of Joasaph. (Syrop. v. 5.)

[s] Phranz. i. 17.

[t] Ciacon. ii. 905.

[u] Rayn. 1439. 12-7.

[x] Hard. ix. 153, 1015 seqq., 1018, 1031, 1041, 1185; Rayn. 1441. 1 seqq.;

these orientals, as in that of the Greeks, it soon appeared that the reconciliation was unsubstantial.

Eugenius had projected an expedition against the Turks in favour of his imperial ally.[y] The Germans, English, and French were so deeply engaged in their discords at home, that no help could be expected from them as nations,[z] although adventurers both from France and from Germany joined in the enterprise. Julian Cesarini, who had been promoted to the episcopal cardinalate of Frascati, was commissioned to exert his eloquence for the sacred cause in Hungary and Poland,[a] and readily gained Ladislaus, an ambitious young prince, who reigned over both these countries.[b] A great army was collected; and at its head, under Ladislaus, was John Huniades, a general already famous for his skill in war;[c] while arrangements were made for the co-operation of the Byzantine emperor, of the famous George Castriot, or Scanderbeg,[d] and of fleets from Venice and Genoa. The crusaders (on whom the cardinal was careful to impress the religious character of their expedition by regular masses, preaching, and other exercises)[e] advanced as far as Sophia, the Bulgarian capital, and gained two considerable victories, which were celebrated by a triumph at Buda.[f] The Turks sued for peace on terms highly favourable to the Christians; and Ladislaus concluded with them a ten-years truce, which was ratified by oaths on the sacred books of both parties.[g] During these negotiations the cardinal had kept silence, although visibly annoyed by the course which they took. But before the conference was ended, he received tidings of the expected allies, which seemed to open a prospect of greater successes. Carried away by enthusiasm, he urgently represented to the king that the Turks had not fulfilled all their stipulations; that an engagement made with infidels without the pope's sanction was of no force; he declared that, by the pope's authority, he absolved the crusaders

A.D. 1444.

Aug. 1.

1442. 1; 1444. 1, &c.; Gibbon, vi. 240; Giesel. II. iv. 545-6. See Bekynton, ii. 52, 327 seqq. There was a thanksgiving day in England for the reunion. (Williams, Introd. to Bekynton, ciii.)

[y] Hard. ix. 1037; Gibbon, vi. 265. See Phil. Callimachus, De Rebus a Vladislao gestis, in Bongars, Hungar. Rerum Scriptores, Francof. 1600.

[z] See as to the pope's endeavours to reconcile them, Rayn. 1444. 5.

[a] Bull of Jan. 1, 1443, in Rayn. 1443. 13-8.

[b] Æn. Sylv. Ep. 81; Gibbon, vi. 266.

[c] As to his origin, see Chalcocondylas, 136.

[d] Rayn. 1444. 7.

[e] Vita ap. Ughelli, iii. 679; Vespas. in Mai, i. 182.

[f] Æn. Sylv. 'Europæ Status,' in Freher, ii. 46; Gibbon, vi. 267.

[g] Gibbon, 268; V. Hammer, i. 456. Some say that it was also confirmed by the Holy Eucharist.

their oaths;[h] and he vehemently reproached a Polish bishop who opposed the breach of faith.[i] To this unhappy suggestion Ladislaus listened; and, with a force greatly weakened by the withdrawal of the French, the Germans, and others, who had supposed the campaign to be at an end, he again, in defiance of warnings,[k] advanced into Bulgaria.[l] But on reaching Varna, where the auxiliary fleets had been expected, it was found that, instead of these, sultan Amurath appeared, at the head of an Nov. 10. overwhelming force, which had been conveyed into Europe by Genoese ships;[m] furious on account of the late perfidy, and even (it is said) calling on the Saviour to avenge the dishonour done by His worshippers to His name. In the engagement which followed,[n] the victory seemed for a time to incline to the side of the crusaders; but their impetuosity proved fatal to them. About 10,000 were slain—among them, king Ladislaus, who fell while charging the Janissaries.[o] The fate of Cesarini is more mysterious, and is related in various ways. The most probable story seems to be, that, in fleeing from the field, he stopped to give his horse water, and, while so employed, was killed by robbers, who stripped his body naked, and left it to be recognised by some of his followers.[p]

In Bohemia, the result of the battle of Lipan had thrown A.D. 1434. the chief power into the hands of the Calixtines, among whom Rokyczana was now the most prominent

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[h] Æn. Sylv. Ep. 81, p. 565; Phil. Callim. in Bongars, 315–8; Laon. Chalcocond. 171; Rayn. 1441. 5; Gibbon, vi. 268; Hammer, i. 460; Jenkins, 330–7. Æneas Sylvius says that Cesarini acted under orders from Eugenius (Freher, ii. 47), but considers that the event proves the obligation of keeping oaths as well to the enemies as to the household of faith. (Ep. 81.) Rinaldi takes a different view: "Immo, plurimum commendandus est, quod in ea re sedis apostolicæ partes egregiè exegerit." (1444. 10.)

[i] Jenkins, 339-340.

[k] Jenkins, 315.

[l] Phil. Callim. 346.

[m] Vespas. in Mai, i. 181, 183; Nauclerus, 1068; Rayn. 1444. 7, 9.

[n] Rayn. 1444. 9. Æneas Sylvius throws the blame of this battle on Huniades. (Freher, ii. 47.) Nauclerus blames Huniades for fleeing before the case was desperate. (1069.)

[o] G. Phranz. ii. 19; L. Chalcocond. 175–8; Phil. Callim. 353; Rayn. 1444. 9; Gibbon, vi. 270-1; Hammer, i. 463.

[p] This is the account preferred by Æneas Sylvius. (Hist. Frider. in Kollar, 'Analecta,' ii. 119; Opera, 399; Freher, ii. 48.) See Chalcocond. 178; Krantz, 'Wandalia,' 278; Nauclerus, 1069; Ughelli, iii. 671-2; Gibbon, vi. 272; Jenkins, 357-8. Another story is, that the cardinal fell into the hands of the Turks, and was put to death with horrible tortures at Adrianople. (Ægid. Carlerius, in Baluz. Miscell. i. 351; Palacky, IV. i. 127.) Æneas Sylvius says that he did not expect Cesarini to be successful. "Non consuevit hic fortunatus esse in bellis, sicut Bohemia ostendit." (Ep. 81, fin.) And he recurs to this in a remarkable way, in a letter to the duke of Milan, giving an account of the defeat of the crusaders. (Ep. 52.) In another letter he speaks of himself as having been told by Caspar Schlick, in a dream, that the soul of Julian, as a martyr for Christ, had been received at once into heaven. (Archiv für österreichische Geschichtsquellen, xvi. 397.)

leader.[q] The Orphans were broken up as a party, and the remains of them were divided between the Calixtines and the Taborites, while the Taborites, although weakened, were still considerable, and continued their extreme opposition to the Roman system, both in doctrines and in the externals of religion.[r]

During the years which immediately followed, we read of frequent conferences between various parties, between Sigismund and the Bohemians, of communications with the council of Basel,[s] of contests as to modifications of opinion, and of formularies drawn up with a view to peace.[t] The national feeling was strongly displayed in the terms which the Bohemians wished to prescribe to Sigismund as a condition of receiving him for their king;[u] and, not content with the compromise by which the use of the eucharist in both kinds had been allowed to such adult persons as should desire it, they wished to enforce this manner of reception throughout Bohemia, and insisted on the necessity of administering the sacrament to infants.[x]

In October, 1435, Rokyczana was elected archbishop of Prague by a body of persons chosen as representatives of all classes. But Sigismund refused to confirm the election unless on terms to which Rokyczana would not submit; and the discord became worse than before.[y]

On the 5th of July, 1436, the *Compactata*[z] were accepted by the Bohemians in a great assembly at Iglau, where all estates of the kingdom appeared in the presence of Sigismund, who was seated on a lofty throne in the market-place.[a] On the conclusion of the agreement, Philibert of Coutances, as chief legate of the council of Basel, intoned the *Te Deum;* there were loud acclamations of joy from the multitude, while Sigismund and many others expressed the same feeling by tears; and the general rejoicing was displayed in bell-ringing, bonfires and feasting.[b] All ecclesiastical censures were remitted, and the

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[q] Theobald. 159; Palacky, III. iii. 172.

[r] Palacky, III. iii. 181, 186.

[s] *E. g.* Hard. viii. 1468; Andr. Ratisb. in Eccard, i. 2167 seqq.

[t] Giles Carlier, in Monum. Conc. Basil. 506 seqq., is very full as to these matters.

[u] Palacky, IV. i. 189, 224-7.

[x] Ægid. Carler. 508.

[y] Theob. 160. Palacky (who is very favourable to Rokyczana) says that he refused sincerely, from an apprehension of difficulties, and because he wished rather to obey than to command. (III. iii. 206.)

[z] See p. 416. Sigismund had promised to confirm them, Jan. 8. (Hard. viii. 1614.)

[a] Thom. Ebendofer, in Monum. Basil. 775; Joh. de Turonis, ib. 820; Cochl. 189; Palacky, 215-6.

[b] Lenf. i. 456; Palacky, III. iii. 218; Letter of the legates in Hard. viii. 1620.

emperor agreed to accept Rokyczana as archbishop of Prague.[c] But on the following day, when a service of thanksgiving was performed, the peace was again disturbed by Rokyczana's administering the communion in both kinds at an altar of a church where the bishop of Coutances was at the same time celebrating mass in the usual Roman fashion. This act, done in a building which did not belong to the Utraquists, was alleged to be in excess of the liberty allowed to them by the late agreement, and fresh differences arose in consequence.[d]

July 25.

In the same month Sigismund, after a formal negotiation, was accepted by the Bohemians as their king. But he was not disposed to fulfil loyally some of the conditions which had been imposed on him.[e] He refused to confirm the election of Rokyczana unless he would submit to the church in all things, including the question of the chalice.[f] The bishop of Coutances, who had been requested to remain while the other legates returned to Basel, acted as administrator of the vacant see, performing the episcopal functions, and zealously exerting himself to re-establish the Roman system.[g] The old priests returned, and refused to give the sacrament to the laity except in one kind; the canons were restored in the cathedral, and the orders of monks and friars began to reappear.[h] On the other hand, Rokyczana was reported to have said that he would not accept institution from the legate, forasmuch as every priest had the same authority with bishops.[i] On both sides there were complaints that the late agreement was not observed.[k] Rokyczana, irritated at the course which things were taking, denounced the monks in a sermon as devils, and talked of shedding blood. On being informed of this, the em-

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[c] Cochl. 296; Oswald de Joh. Rokycz. 22.

[d] Joh. de Turon. in Mon. Basil. 821; Ebendorfer, ib. 779; Æn. Sylv. Hist. Boh. c. 52; Oswald, 24; Lenf. i. 456; Palacky, III. iii. 220.

[e] Cochl. 297, 301; Schmidt, iv. 195; J. Turon. 829; Schröckh, xxxiv. 711-2; Giesel. II. iv. 446; Palacky, III. iii. 221–232. Æneas Sylvius ascribes to Sigismund the saying, "ignarum esse regnandi qui simulare nesciat." (p. 473.)

[f] Oswald, 24; Schröckh, xxxiv. 714; Palacky, 234.

[g] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Boh. c. 52, p. 122; Lenf. i. 463; Palacky, III. iii. 235, 247. Philibert is styled by Rokyczana's biographer, "vir disertus, et ad omnem fraudem acutus." (16.) Others speak far more favourably of him.

[h] Æn. Sylv. c. 52; Cochl. 303; Palacky, III. iii. 261 seqq.

[i] J. Turon. 848.

[k] Palacky, 246-7. Cochlæus says that the Hussite clergy never observed the condition of declaring to the people that Christ was contained entire under each species: "Nihil igitur prosunt eis compactata, quæ ipsimet nunquam servaverunt; ideo semper indigne communicant, et in judicium sibi manducant et bibunt, non dijudicantes corpus Domini, quod est Ecclesia," &c. (310.)

peror, who had been already provoked against Rokyczana by other stories of violent language, and by unfounded suggestions of treasonable designs, burst out into words which June 16,
seemed to threaten the preacher's life; and Rokyczana 1437.
for a time withdrew from Prague.[l]

The council of Basel refused to sanction the election of Rokyczana, whom it regarded as the author of the late troubles; it also refused to allow the communion of infants, as being contrary to the Compactata, and the use of the vernacular language in the Epistles, Gospels, and Creed.[m] But at the xxx. session, a decree was passed, by which, while it is declared Dec. 23,
that the faithful laity, or clergy other than the con- 1437.
secrator, are not required by the Lord's command to receive the eucharistic cup; that under each kind Christ is contained whole and entire, and that no one ought without the church's sanction to change the traditional custom of communicating in one kind only—the council yet allows that the mode of administration is left to the church's discretion, and that to those who worthily communicate in either way, the sacrament is profitable for salvation.[n]

The death of Sigismund, in December, 1437, left Bohemia in confusion. His endeavours to get Albert of Austria elected as his successor had been fruitless; and when Albert was now chosen, on condition that he should observe the Articles of Prague, the Compactata, and all Sigismund's other engagements, the more violent Hussites set up in opposition to him a boy of thirteen, Casimir, brother of the king of Poland.[o] Bohemia was invaded by a Polish army, in concert with Casimir's Bohemian supporters; but the battle of Zelenic July, 1438.
established Albert on the throne.[p]

Within little more than a year, however, the death of Albert plunged Bohemia into a long anarchy.[q] About four Oct. 27,
months later, the emperor-king's widow gave birth to 1439.
a son, who received the name of Ladislaus. The Feb. 22, 1440.
Bohemians, unwilling to have an infant for their sovereign, offered the crown to duke Albert of Bavaria and to the

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[l] Æn. Sylv. c. 52; Joh. Turon. 836, 840, 859, 861, 867; Oswald. 24; Palacky, III. iii. 236.

[m] Cochl. 311.

[n] Hard. viii. 1214.

[o] Æn. Sylv. c. 55; Leuf. ii. 3; Palacky, III. iii. 299. I need not go into the intrigues of Sigismund's widow, Barbara, whom Æneas Sylvius describes as "inexhaustæ libidinis mulier, neque Christianæ neque alteri cuipiam religioni astricta." (c. 59.)

[p] Palacky, III. iii. 315.

[q] Ib. III. iii. 321; IV. i. 1–5.

emperor Frederick; but both declined it,[r] and by Frederick's advice the young Ladislaus was acknowledged. After the death of the prince's mother, in December, 1442, Frederick undertook to act as his guardian, and as regent of the kingdom; but Bohemia continued to be distracted by the rivalries of religious and political factions.[s] The breach between the council of Basel and the pope added to the discords of Bohemia. The Chapter of Prague adhered to Eugenius, while bishop Philibert was with the council, to which he owed his commission as legate.[t] The Bohemians were angry because the council had done nothing for the vindication of their orthodoxy, and because Rokyczana and other elected prelates were unable to obtain consecration.[u] When Philibert had been carried off by a pestilence in June, 1439,[x] the antipope Felix and the council Nov. 1440. nominated Nicolas von der Leiter, a native of Prague, as archbishop; but he failed to gain an entrance to the see.[y] On the other hand, Rokyczana, although on the death of Albert he returned to Prague and recovered his power, was unable to obtain the pope's acknowledgment as archbishop; and in his exasperation at this, he behaved with great violence towards the partisans of Rome—even denying them Christian burial.[z]

At a meeting at Kuttenberg in October, 1441, where about three hundred priests were present, Rokyczana produced a confession of twenty-four articles. In this document the administration of the eucharist in both kinds, the communion of infants, the use of the vernacular language in divine service, and the lawfulness of marriage for the clergy, were maintained; while at the same time it acknowledged seven sacraments, transubstantiation, the elevation of the host, and other points of Roman doctrine and other ritual.[a] In opposition to this, the Taborites (who had A.D. 1443. refused to attend at Kuttenberg) produced at a conference in 1443 a confession of fifteen articles, in

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[r] Æn. Sylv. c. 57; Coxe, i. 202; Nauclerus, 1066-7; Palacky, IV. i. 30, 34, 41.

[s] Schmidt, iv. 227; Coxe, i. 203; Palacky, IV. i. 101–3. Æneas Sylvius says, "Bohemis . . . gubernatores eligere placuit, inter quos Ptarsco et Mainardus priores habiti. Stetit aliquamdiu concordia discors," &c. (c. 58, p. 128.) Hence it has been commonly supposed that Meinhard, as of the Roman party, and Henry v. Ptaczek, as a Calixtine, were chosen joint governors. (Coxe, i. 203.) But Palacky says that the idea of a regency was not started until after the death of Ptaczek (whom he highly eulogises) in 1444. The only meaning which is consistent with facts is, therefore, that the two exercised the chief power in Bohemia as heads of their respective parties. (IV. i. 49, 115.)

[t] Palacky, IV. i. 51.

[u] Ib. 44.

[x] Ib. III. iii. 334

[y] Palacky, IV. i. 51; Theob. 313; Oswald. 26.

[z] Lenf. i. 53.

[a] See Palacky, IV. i. 68, who says that the report in Theobald is spurious, but of unknown origin.

which two sacraments only were acknowledged, and they condemned the doctrine of purgatory and the use of images, with all belief of a spiritual presence in the eucharistic elements, which they regarded as mere signs, unentitled to any reverence.[b] At this conference, which was opened at Prague, and was afterwards continued at Kuttenberg, Przibram, who had been reconciled with Rokyczana, vehemently attacked the Taborites, whose opinions were more and more tending to what was styled Picardism—a denial of all sacramental grace.[c] The conference (in which Nicolas Biskupek and Coranda were prominent on the Taborite side) was the last public disputation in which the Taborites took part.[d] The result of it was to disclose more clearly than before the width of the difference between the parties. In the following year, a diet at Prague declared for the eucharistic doctrine of Rokyczana and Przibram, and rejected that of the Taborites, who found that their influence rapidly sank. The towns which had been theirs gave themselves up, one by one, to clergy of the Calixtine party, and a few years later the Taborite doctrine was confined to Tabor itself.[e]

A.D. 1444.

As the council of Basel declined, Eugenius rose higher in his pretensions. The French king had acknowledged him in 1441, and in 1444 the alliance was cemented by the appointment of the dauphin, Louis, to be the standard-bearer of the church.[f] To the request of the Germans that a new general council might be called, the pope answered that there was no need of such an assembly, as a general council was already sitting under his own presidency at Rome, to which he had translated it from Florence, and to deny its authority was to attack the Catholic faith. He offered, out of complaisance to the emperor, to ask this venerable body whether a new council were needed; but with the Germans he could settle nothing until they should have given up their neutrality—a thing unknown to the faith of Christ.[g]

A.D. 1443.

It seemed as if a decided breach were near; but Frederick

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[b] See the views contrasted, Palacky, IV. i. 97. He says that Theobald's account is either invented, or altered from the truth. (98.)

[c] Palacky, IV. i. 91–6, 99; see above, p. 388. It was charged against Przibram that he usually attacked Peter Payne in Bohemian, of which he knew that Payne had not enough to answer him readily. (Ib. 99.) See as to his party, ib. 438.

[d] Ib. 96; Lenf. ii. 78-9; Oswald. 29, 30.

[e] Palacky, 105–8.

[f] Rayn. 1441. 9; 1444. 13.

[g] Aug. Patric. in Hard. ix. 1190.

hoped to come to an understanding with the pope by means of a new agent whom he had lately taken into his service, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini.

Æneas Sylvius was born at Corsignano,[h] in 1405, of a Sienese family, which could trace its nobility to a great antiquity, but had become grievously impoverished, so that in early life he was obliged to take a share in the labours of the field.[k] He had studied law at Siena, but without becoming fond of it,[l] as he preferred the classical literature of Greece and Rome, in which the famous scholar Filelfo was his teacher.[m] He attended the council of Basel, at first as secretary to Cardinal Capranica, from whose service he afterwards passed into that of other masters.[n] He had been employed by the council in important affairs;[o] among them was a mission to Scotland, in the course of which he went through some adventures which threw a valuable light on the state of Great Britain in those days.[p] He had also cultivated literature, and had produced, among other things, a Latin tale of adulterous intrigue, in which he has imitated the moral tone of Boccaccio perhaps more successfully than his skill in narrative.[q] His manner of life had been lax; but he excused this on the plea that he was not yet in the higher orders of the ministry.[r]

At Basel his abilities, and his determination to make his way by means of them, became conspicuous. After the return of his last patron, Cardinal Albergati, to Italy, his eloquence won

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[h] See Reumont, III. i. 129.

[k] Platina, 321; Voigt, 'En. Silv. de' Piccolomini als Papst Pius II. und sein Zeitalter,' i. 4–6, 3 vols. Berlin, 1856–63. The story of a Roman origin, although countenanced by himself (Comment. 225), is fabulous. (Voigt, i. 5.) The writings of Æneas Sylvius are partly collected in his 'Opera,' and partly scattered through miscellaneous publications. An arrangement of his earlier letters, with the addition of 46 before unpublished, is given by his biographer Voigt in the 'Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichtsquellen,' Bd. xvi. Wien, 1856. As to the 'Commentarii,' see Voigt, ii. 336–341. I have not seen the edition by Fea, and have used that which goes under the name of Gobellinus. (See Tirab. VI. ii. 31.)

[l] Voigt, i. 17-8.

[m] Reumont, III. i. 131.

[n] Platina, 321; Æn. Sylv. Ep. 188, p. 758; Voigt, i. 20–2, 79, 83.

[o] Plat. 322.

[p] See the 'Commentarii' (Gobellinus), 5; Ep. 188, p. 758-9; Scott's 'Border Antiquities' in Miscell. Prose Works, vii. 79. The object of this mission has been matter of conjecture—his own statement, that it was to get a prelate restored to the king's favour (Comment. 4) not being accepted. (Voigt, i. 91.) See Jos. Robertson, Pref. to 'Concilia Scotiæ,' 91, seqq.

[q] This story, 'Eurialus and Lucretia,' is printed as No. 114 among his Epistles, and appears to have enjoyed an immense popularity in the form of separate editions, both in the original and in translations. It relates to the time of Sigismund's stay at Siena, and Eurialus is supposed to mean Caspar Schlick, to whom it is inscribed in Ep. 112; cf. Ep 113. (Hahn, Monum. Præf. No. ix.; Aschb. iv. 439; Voigt, ii. 299–301.) The novel is dated from Vienna, July, 1444. When pope, the author expressed his penitence on account of it. (Ep. 395.)

[r] See his letter to his father on the birth of a son. (Ep. 15; cf. Ep. 92; Voigt, i. 285.)

for him an important position in the council,[s] and he displayed much zeal in its cause and in that of the antipope Felix.[t] His diplomatic skill was employed in persuading the Hungarians to release Albert of Austria from an oath by which he had pledged himself that he would not accept the empire.[u] He became secretary to the antipope, and in that character was sent to the emperor Frederick, who flattered his literary vanity by the title of laureate,[x] and invited him to become his secretary.[y] Having with difficulty obtained a release from the antipope's service, Æneas accepted the office, and, professing to have overcome the levities of his former years, he was now ordained as subdeacon, deacon, and priest.[z] In politics he became for a time a pupil of Caspar Schlick, one of the most eminent men of the age, who filled the office of chancellor under three successive emperors;[a] and in no long time he found himself able to direct the policy of Frederick.[b]

In 1445 Æneas was employed by Frederick on an important mission to the pope. His enmity to Eugenius had been notorious; and as he was believed with reason to be especially obnoxious at Rome,—indeed the pope had forbidden his approach—his kinsmen at Siena entreated him to venture no further.[c] But Æneas went on to Rome and was able to gain an interview with the pope, to whom he addressed himself very skilfully. He avowed his past hostility to Eugenius, but pleaded ignorance as his excuse for an offence in which he had shared with Cardinal Cesarini, with the archbishop of Palermo, and other eminent persons. He pro-

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[s] Thus he spoke two hours in favour of Pavia as a place for meeting the Greeks, and the speech was much admired, although unsuccessful. (Comment. 8.)

[t] Ib. 9; Ep. 188, p. 578; Plat. 322. In company with Albergati he had formerly visited Amadeus at Ripaille. (Comment. 332; Ep. 188, p. 758.)

[u] Comment. 9.

[x] The document conferring this (July 27, 1442) is in Mencken, iii. 2039.

[y] Comment. 12; Plat. 322; Milm. vi. 152; Voigt, i. 185. The account of Vienna, with its sensual and pleasure-loving people (Vita Frider. in Kollar, ii. 9) is very curious. (Cf. Ep. 165.) Among the reasons why he could not feel himself at home in Germany was the difference of food, "quamvis facilius est Italicum vorare theutonice quam Theutonicum italice lambere." (Archiv für Kunde österr. Geschichtsq. xvi. 372.)

[z] Comment. 13; Milm. vi. 153; Voigt, i. 278.

[a] In his letter on the miseries of a court life (Ep. 166), he thanks Schlick for having invited him to his own table, and so having delivered him from the nauseous fare of the courtier in general, which is very fully described (p. 728). Compare the description of Henry II.'s housekeeping, by Peter of Blois. (Ep. 14, Patrol. ccvii. 47-8.) To Schlick also he was indebted for seeing that his salary should be fairly paid (p. 734). He gives a curious account of seeing Schlick and others in his sleep. (Letter to Carvajal, Nov. 13, 1449; Archiv für österr. Geschichtsquellen, xvi. 395.)

[b] Voigt, i. 281. For his ideas of the part which the emperor ought to take in the union of the church, see his 'Pentalogus,' in Pez, IV iii. 663, seqq.

[c] Comment. 15.

fessed to have learnt at the imperial court to take truer views than before, and to have welcomed his mission to Rome as holding out a hope of reconciliation with the pope.[d] He entreated forgiveness, and at the same time intimated an opinion that his value was such as to make it expedient to treat him with consideration. Eugenius saw the importance of attaching to himself a man so able and so full of resources; and although he did not welcome the emperor's request that he would summon a council in some German city, he skilfully impressed on the envoy that his position was one in which he might do much for the protection of the truth and for the good of the church.[e]

In the same year, Eugenius, supposing himself to have nothing to fear from the emperor, issued orders for the deposition of the archbishops of Treves and Cologne, who had taken part with the council of Basel, and as electors of the empire had supported the neutrality of Germany; and in their stead he nominated two ecclesiastics of the Burgundian connexion.[f] But instead of awing the Germans, this proceeding against prelates so high in dignity, and so powerful both by their office and by their family connexions, endangered his hold on Germany.[g] The archbishops kept possession of their sees, and in March, 1446, met their brother-electors at Frankfort, where a general spirit of defiance was manifested. The electors declared that unless Eugenius would withdraw the deposition of the archbishops, accept the decrees of Constance and Basel as to the authority of general councils, and appoint a council to be held in some German city in the spring of the following year, they would conclude that he wished to suppress for ever the holding of general councils, and would thereupon summon one by their own authority or join the party of the antipope.[h] An oath of secrecy was taken as to these terms; but the emperor, who had been informed of them without being bound by an oath, disclosed them to his secretary, who saw in the circumstances of the case an opportunity for exerting his political skill.[i] The emperor had told the envoys of the Frankfort meeting that he disapproved of the deposition of the archbishops, but that the princes had done wrongly in assuming judgment over the pope and in threatening to forsake

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[d] Comment. 16.

[e] Ib. 17; Schröckh, xxxii. 116.

[f] Harzheim, v. 286–8; Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frid. in Kollar, ii. 120; Schröckh, xxxii. 116-7.

[g] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frid. l. c.; Schmidt, iv. 235.

[h] Giesel. II. iv. 94 (from Müller's 'Reichstagstheatrum'); Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frid. 120-1.

[i] Ib. 121-2; Schmidt, iv. 237

him. He now sent Piccolomini and others to the Roman court, with instructions to bring the pope, if possible, by peaceful means to revoke the deposition.[k]

Of the secretary's colleagues in this mission, the most remarkable was Gregory Heimburg, who is described as the most eminent among the Germans for eloquence and legal learning[l]—a man of fine person, but rough in manner and careless of his appearance, whose sturdy German patriotism regarded the Italians with dislike and contempt.[m] The bearing of Gregory, and the tone of his language in expressing the resolution of the German princes to hold together in opposition to the papal assumptions, were new to the Roman court;[n] and in Gregory his acquaintance with that court excited feelings of strong aversion and of injured national pride. But his more politic Italian companion used his opportunities differently,[o] and privately assured the pope that, if he would reinstate the archbishops and would accept the decree of Constance as to the regular assembling of general councils, all Germany would abandon its neutrality.[p] The pope, instead of giving the ambassadors a reply, dismissed them with a promise that he would answer by letter;[q] and Piccolomini was followed in his return to Germany by an invitation to become the papal secretary.[r]

At Ulm, Piccolomini found Caspar Schlick and others, who had been sent by the emperor to a meeting of the German princes at Frankfort. The council of Basel had sent the cardinal of Arles and others as its representatives; but the imperial ambassadors interfered to prevent the cardinal from having his cross carried before him as legate, and from pronouncing his benediction.[s] On the pope's side were Nicolas of Cusa and

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[k] Ib. 122.

[l] "Fuit autem Gregorius pulcro corpore, statura eminenti, facie læta, illustrioribus oculis, capite calvo; sed neque linguæ neque motibus temperans, sui cerebri, nulli auscultans, suorum morum, sibi vivens, in omni re libertatem præferens, obscœno cultu, nihil verecundiæ habens, cynicam vitam commendans." (Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frid. 123; cf. Opera, ii. 86; Ep. 120; Voigt, i. 361.) The following sketch of Gregory at Rome may be worth quoting:—"Gregorius juxta montem Jordanum post vesperas deambulans, caloribus exæstuans, quasi et Romanos et officium suum contemneret, demissis in terram caligis, aperto pectore, nudo capite, brachia discoperiens, fastidibundus incedebat, Romamque et Eugenium et curiam blasphemabat, multaque in calores terræ ingerebat mala." (Hist. Frid. 124.) There is a life of Gregory by Clem. Brockhaus (Leipz. 1861), who says that he was of noble family, and that his omission of the *von* from his name was a characteristic peculiarity (p. 1). Dr. v. Döllinger speaks of him as "ein Mann der plumpe Anmassung und bäurischen Trotz für deutsche Geradheit und Freimüthigkeit ausgab." (ii. 344.)

[m] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frid. 123.

[n] Ib.

[o] See Ranke, Hist. Reform. i. 49.

[p] Hist. Frid. 123-4.

[q] Ib. 124.

[r] Schröckh, xxxii. 126.

[s] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frid. 126.

Carvajal; but Thomas of Sarzana, bishop of Bologna, who had been expected as the chief representative of Eugenius, was unable to appear until later. Six of the seven electors were resolved to declare for Felix, if Eugenius would not consent to an agreement; but the emperor's policy aimed at dividing the electoral college.[t]

The story of the late mission to Rome was told by Gregory Heimburg, who, according to Æneas Sylvius, reported all the harsher part of the pope's sayings, and left out all that was more favourable.[u] He represented Eugenius and the curia as irreconcilably hostile to the Germans, and indulged in strong and telling sarcasms on the cardinals, especially Bessarion, whom, on account of his beard, he spoke of as an old he-goat.[x] In order to correct the exaggerations of his colleague, Piccolomini addressed the assembly; and when taunted with the inconsistencies of his past career by the cardinal of Arles and another of the Basel party, he replied that it was not he, but the council, that had changed.[y] The secretary, however, did not trust to his eloquence alone, but made large use of bribery in the emperor's interest; and, although the archbishop of Mentz was not to be personally corrupted, a distribution of 2000 florins among his counsellors proved effectual.[z] The archbishop expressed to Piccolomini the difficulties which he felt as to the manner of withdrawing from his engagements with the prelates of Treves and Cologne and with other electors; whereupon Piccolomini took the statement of terms which had been drawn up on the part of the electors, and by "squeezing out all the venom" (as he expresses it) skilfully reduced them to such a form that they might give no offence to the pope, while they might yet be subscribed by the electors as expressing their intentions. The document thus ingeniously altered was readily accepted by the majority of the electors, while the Duke of Saxony, the Archbishop of Treves, and the Archbishop of Cologne, although dissatisfied, made no opposition.[a]

On reaching Rome with these proposals, the German ambassadors found that the clergy of the papal court were against them. It was said that the Church was sold, that the Romans were led, like buffaloes, by a ring through the nose. The cardinals in general (although profuse in their hospitalities to the

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[t] Ib. 125-6; Koch, 21-3.

[u] Æn. Sylv. 127.

[x] Ib. 127.

[y] Ib.; Voigt, i. 377.

[z] Hist. Frid. 127-8.

[a] Ib. 128; Comment. 20; Koch, 25-6

strangers)[b] objected to the sacrifice of annates and of patronage of ecclesiastical dignities, and to the scheme for assembling general councils at regular intervals. The pope, they said, ought to be rich and powerful, in order that he may be able to protect prelates, to make peace between princes, to combat unbelief, and to extirpate heresy;[c] there had never been so many heresies as in the time before Sylvester, because then the papacy was poor, and therefore disregarded. To this the Germans replied that they did not wish to reduce the pope to poverty, but to provide for him by less objectionable means; and Eugenius found it necessary to overpower the opposition of the cardinals by threatening to add to their body. Four new cardinals were actually created—among them, Thomas of Sarzana, bishop of Bologna, and John Carvajal, a Spaniard, who had been among the pope's chief agents in the late negotiations.[d] Dec. 16.

In the meantime the state of the pope's health, which had long been weak, became so alarming that the ambassadors for the most part hesitated to treat with him in the condition to which he was reduced. But Piccolomini urged on his colleagues that their obedience should be professed to Eugenius, as another pope might be less favourable, and even a new schism might break out; and John of Lysura said that it would be enough if there were life in the smallest toe of the pope's left foot, although all his other members were dead.[e] The ambassadors were admitted to his bedchamber, where they found him still wearing an air of dignity, but evidently dying.[f] The terms were agreed on—chiefly that the pope should accept the decrees of Constance in general, and especially that which related to the assembling of general councils; that he should sanction such of the Basel decrees as had been accepted by the Germans under the emperor Albert, until a legate who was to be sent into Germany should be able to make other arrangements;[g] that the archbishops of Cologne and Treves should be reinstated on acknowledging Eugenius as the true vicar of Christ; and that all who had taken part in the proceedings of Basel should be Feb. 7, 1447.

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[b] Æn. Sylv. in Baluz. Miscell. i. 335.

[c] See Æn. Sylv. de Germania, 1076.

[d] Æn. Sylv. in Baluz. i. 336; Hist. Frid. 130; Ciacon. ii. 924. Their promotion was announced to them as they were on their return from Germany; and, according to some writers, the pope sent their red hats to meet them at the Flaminian gate, that they might enter Rome in dignity. (Platina, 308; Rayn. 1446. 5.)

[e] Æn. Sylv. de Morte Eug. &c. in Baluz. i. 336; Comment. 22 [misprinted 6].

[f] Æn. Sylv. in Baluz. 337; Hist. Frid. 131.

[g] Harzheim, v. 382-3; Koch, 28-9.

forgiven on submission.[h] On these terms the Germans consented to give up their neutrality, and adhered to Eugenius; they undertook that the emperor should withdraw his safe-conduct from the council of Basel, and bring other potentates to do the like.[i]

The result of the negotiations was proclaimed at a great public assembly, and there were demonstrations of joy such as were usual for the celebration of an important victory. Rome enjoyed a general holiday; bells were rung, bonfires blazed, music resounded about the streets, relics of especial sanctity were displayed; the mitre said to have been given by Constantine to Sylvester, which Eugenius had lately acquired, was carried in procession from St. Mark's to the Lateran, and at night there was a brilliant illumination.[k] But on the day after the conclusion of the peace the pope's illness increased. He had executed four bulls for the purpose of carrying out the agreement; and by a fifth, which was grounded on the impossibility of fully considering all things in his sickness, he declared that nothing in the agreement should infringe on the privileges of the church.[l]

Feb. 5.

It is said that Eugenius, in reliance on a prophecy made to him in early life by a mysterious hermit, believed that the end of his papacy was at hand;[m] but he resolutely held out against the approach of death, and when the last sacraments were offered to him by Antoninus, archbishop of Florence, he said that the time was not yet come, and that he would give notice when it arrived. He took leave of the cardinals in a long speech, expressing satisfaction at the reconciliation of the church, and urging that the work should be carried out. The safety of the church, he said, would depend on their agreement among themselves. But when asked to recall the cardinal of Capua,[n] whom he had banished, he refused: "Ye know not what ye ask; it is best for you that you should be without him, and for him that he should be in exile."[o] One of the pope's chamberlains, who has left an account of his last hours, speaks

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[h] Baluz. i. 336.

[i] Æn. Sylv. in Palacky, IV. i. 162

[k] Æn. Sylv. Comment. 5-6 (really 21-2); Hist. Frid. 132; Baluz. i. 337.

[l] Rayn. 1447. 4-7; Koch, 187 seqq. The bulls are more fully given in Müller's Reichstagstheatrum. See Gieseler, II. iv. 97; Harzheim, v. 302.

[m] Vespas. in Mur. xxv. 266.

[n] Nicolas de Acciapacio, cardinal of St. Marcellus and archbishop of Capua, had been promoted by Eugenius, but was afterwards banished by him, in order, as is supposed, to gratify Alfonso of Naples, whose succession he had opposed. (Ciac. ii. 902; Ughelli, vi. 353.)

[o] Æn. Sylv. in Baluz. i. 338.

much of the humility and penitence which he displayed.[p] Among his latest sayings was the expression of a regret that instead of becoming cardinal and pope, he had not died in the safer condition of a simple monk.[q] His death took place on the 23rd of February, 1447, sixteen days after the conclusion of his agreement with the Germans.

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[p] Murat. III. ii. 902 seqq. Piccolomini's speech on the death of Eugenius (here quoted from Baluze's 'Miscellanea') is also in that volume. (Col. 878 seqq.)

[q] Vespas. in Murat. xxv. 266. Æn. Sylvius wrongly dates his death on the preceding day, the feast of St. Peter's chair. (Comment. 7; cf. Ciacon. ii. 876, 890.)

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE ELECTION OF POPE NICOLAS V. TO THE DEATH OF PAUL II.

A.D. 1447–1471.

Eugenius, a few days before his death, had decreed that the regulations of the council of Basel as to the choice of a pope should be of no effect, but that the election should be conducted according to the laws enacted by Gregory X. at the council of Lyons, and by Clement V. at the council of Vienne.[a] In accordance with this decree, the cardinals met in conclave at the church of St. Mary *sopra Minerva*, on the 4th of March.[b] But before that meeting an attempt to effect a revolution in the government of Rome had been made by Stephen Porcaro, a man of much literary culture, eloquent, popular, and connected by familiar friendship and correspondence with some of the most eminent among his contemporaries.[c] Porcaro's mind had been inflamed by his classical studies with an enthusiastic desire for the restoration of the ancient republican government. He disdained the career of public office, in which he had held honourable employments under the last two popes; and, not content with the respectable dignity of a knightly pedigree, he affected to trace his descent to the ancient Roman Porcii. Believing that the opportunity for action had come, he addressed the common council of the people[d] when it was assembled in the church of Ara Cœli, after the death of Eugenius, denouncing in vehement words the indignity and disgrace that the children of the Scipios should submit to the yoke of priestly dominion. But, although there were some who would gladly have acted on such words, others recalled to memory the anarchy which had followed on the expulsion of Eugenius, and the citizens were held in check by the fear of Alfonso of Naples, who had occupied Tivoli and other places in the neighbourhood, and had assured the cardinals of his protection and assistance in

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[a] Rayn. 1447. 12. See vol. III. p. 478; Clement, I. c. iii. c. 2.

[b] Æn. Sylv. in Baluz. Misc. i. 339.

[c] Ambros. Camaldul. Ep. viii. 23-4; xix. 22-4, &c.; Reumont, III. i. 123; Gregorov. vii. 100.

[d] As to the government of Rome at this time, see Gibbon, vi. 401-2.

case of need.[e] The business of the conclave was therefore allowed to proceed, under the guardianship of the ambassadors of certain princes—amongst whom Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini appeared as representing the emperor.[f]

The names of Capranica, Carvajal, and Prosper Colonna were brought forward, and on the afternoon of the third day it seemed as if Colonna were likely to be elected by the method of *access*.[g] The bishop of Bologna was about to vote for him, when his own name (for which some votes had been given in the morning) was suggested by the archbishop of Taranto; and it was accepted by all, as that of the only one among the cardinals which was not obnoxious to any party.[h]

The new pope, Thomas Parentuccelli, was the son of a physician, and was born in 1398 at Pisa, although he was commonly styled after his mother's birthplace, Sarzana.[i] He had studied at Bologna, and had acquired such a reputation that Æneas Sylvius speaks of his knowledge as universal, and declares that whatever was hidden from him must be beyond the knowledge of man.[k] Having early lost his father, and having been unkindly treated by his stepfather, he had in his youth been compelled to struggle with difficulties.[l] But he was drawn forth from obscurity by the patronage of cardinal Albergati, in whose household he spent twenty years;[m] he had distinguished himself in disputation with the Greeks at Ferrara and Florence;[n] he had been employed in important missions, such as that which was sent into Germany for the purpose of breaking up the league of the electors[o] and within eighteen months he had become bishop, cardinal and pope.[p]

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[e] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frid. in Kollar, ii. 135; Id. ap. Baluz. i. 339; Poggio, ib. 345; L. B. Albertus de Conjur. Porcaria, in Murat. xxv. 309; Infessura, in Eccard, ii. 188; Platina, 309; Gregorov. vii. 101-2.

[f] Æn. Sylv. in Baluz. Miscell. i. 339 (where the account of the formalities is curious); Hist. Frid. in Kollar, ii. 135; Gregorov. vii. 103.

[g] *I.e.* when, after an indecisive ballot in the forenoon, the elector, in the afternoon, "revoking his morning's ballot, transfers his vote to some one whose name had that morning already come out of the ballot-box." (Cartwright on Papal Conclaves, 154.)

[h] Æn. Sylv. in Baluz. i. 340-1; Plat. 308; Giorgi, Vita Nic. V., Rom. 1742, pp. 3-4.

[i] Janott. Manetti, in Murat. III. ii. 907; Vespasian, ib. xxv. 269; Plat. 308.

[k] Ap. Baluz. Misc. i. 341; cf. Jan. Manetti, 911-3; Vespasian in Murat. xxv. 270, 274.

[l] Thus he said to one of his biographers, with reference to his early life, "Vespasiano, avrebbe creduto il popolo di Firenze che un prete da sonar campane fosse stato fatto sommo pontefice?" (Vesp. 279; cf. Manetti, 909.)

[m] Manetti, 912-8; Vesp. 270.

[n] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frid. 137; Vesp. 272; Plat. 308.

[o] Ib. See p. 461.

[p] Vespas. 270. Bologna was not yet an archiepiscopal see.

In grateful remembrance of his patron, Nicolas Albergati, he took the name of Nicolas V.[q]

Nicolas is described as a man of small and spare person, as affable and unassuming,[r] quick in temper but easily pacified; as sparing of expense on himself, but liberal to others, and munificent in his encouragement of literature and art.[s] Æneas Sylvius blames him for too great confidence in his own judgment, and disregard of the opinion of others.[t] Although moderate in his general policy, he was zealous for the interests of the Roman see, and was bent on recovering for it, if possible, the privileges which had been assailed by the councils of Constance and Basel.[u] When asked by Piccolomini to confirm the agreement which his predecessor had made with the Germans, he expressed himself with moderation and good sense—that the bishops of Rome appeared to him to have extended the borders of their garments too far, by leaving no jurisdiction to other bishops; while, on the other side, the council of Basel had too much shortened the pope's hands; that, for himself, he did not intend to deprive the bishops of their rights, but trusted that respect for the rights of others would be found the best means for the preservation of his own.[x]

Piccolomini, on whom Eugenius had intended to bestow the bishoprick of Trieste,[y] received this reward of his labours from Nicolas, and returned to Germany, carrying with him a written confirmation of the late agreement, and resolved to work out the pope's design.[z]

June 28.

In June 1447, a meeting was held at Bourges, where Charles of France presided, and the archbishop of Treves represented his brother electors of Cologne, the Palatinate and Saxony. It was agreed between the French and the Germans that no regard should be paid to the authority of either the council of Basel or that of the Lateran, although it was explained that by this nothing was intended against the observance of such decrees as had been accepted either in France or in the empire; that the king should urge the disso-

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[q] Plat. 308; Manetti, 921; Reumont, III. i. 114.

[r] Vespas. 274.

[s] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frider. 137; Manetti, 918; Plat. 316; Gregorov. vii. 106; Reumont, III. i. 112-3.

[t] Hist. Frid. 137.

[u] Giesel. II. iv. 101.

[x] Æn. Sylv. in Baluz. Misc. i. 340.

[y] The former bishop, whose death had been expected, outlived Eugenius. On the vacancy, Nicolas announced the appointment of Piccolomini to the emperor, while the emperor presented him to the pope, and both combined to set aside an election made by the chapter. (Gobell. Comment. 23 (misprinted 77); Voigt. i. 111.)

[z] Schröckh, xxxii. 153.

lution of both assemblies, and should request pope Nicolas to summon a new council for the following year, in compliance with the decree of Constance.[a]

In July a diet was assembled at Aschaffenburg, where cardinal Carvajal appeared as legate, while Piccolomini acted at once as a servant of the emperor and of the pope. The question of a provision for the pope, which had been proposed at the council of Basel,[b] was adjourned for discussion till the next diet, unless in the mean time it should have been settled by an agreement with the legate;[c] and Carvajal took advantage of the interval to procure the emperor's assent to a scheme which was greatly in favour of Rome.[d] Instead of receiving a compensation, the pope was to resume the practices of annates and reservation, on terms almost the same which had been allowed by the council of Constance, except that, instead of the alternate patronage of certain dignities, he was to have the presentation to such as should fall vacant in the alternate months of the year.[e] By this concordat, the *acceptata* of Mentz[f] was set aside, and Germany became again subject to those burdens against which she had for thirty years been struggling, and from which she had for a time appeared to have gained a deliverance.[g] This triumph of the papacy was chiefly due to the art of Piccolomini, who not only swayed the mind of Frederick, but by an unscrupulous use of bribery in the form of privileges, patronage, exemptions, and the like, induced the reluctant electors to sacrifice the interests of the national church to their own private advantage.[h]

Feb. 17, 1448.

Nicolas, in the end of 1447, proclaimed a crusade against

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[a] Hard. ix. 1317–23 (where the title of the Constance decree is misprinted *sequens* instead of *frequens*).

[b] See p. 423.

[c] Dacher. Spicileg. iii. 774; Koch, 36; Giesel. II. iv. 101-2.

[d] This, which although really agreed on at Vienna, is known as the concordat of Aschaffenburg (Schröckh, xxxii. 159) is in Harzheim, v. 395 seqq. It is questioned whether Frederick, under the terms laid down at Aschaffenburg, was entitled to give his consent for all persons concerned. (See Schröckh, xxxii., 161; Voigt, i. 417.) Coxe vindicates the emperor for consenting. (i. 256.)

[e] Koch, 201 seqq. The "menses papales," or "rigorosi," were the alternate months beginning with January. See Gieseler, II. iv. 102-3, as to the strange corruption which, by the omission of the words "de quibus," had the effect of throwing into the pope's hands the patronage of deaneries, which the concordat had been expressly designed to keep from him.

[f] See p. 426.

[g] There has, however, been much dispute as to the interpretation of the concordat. See Schröckh, xxxii. 161, 169, 171; Planck, v. 467-9; Giesel. II. iv. 102, 104; Koch, 53 seqq.; Voigt, i. 417–421.

[h] Koch, 39-44; Schröckh, xxxii. 168; Giesel. II. iv. 103. In some churches, as Bamberg and Würzburg, the concordat never took effect. (Schröckh, xxxii. 166, 173-4.)

the antipope, and authorised the French king to seize his territories.[i] But such measures were happily not needed in order to the extinction of the schism. The submission of the Germans to Eugenius and his successor involved an abandonment of the council of Basel. The emperor, therefore, signified to that assembly that he withdrew his protection from it, and charged the citizens of Basel, under penalty of the ban of the empire, to harbour it no longer.[k] By this the remaining members found themselves obliged to join the antipope at Lausanne; and at a meeting held at Lyons, between the president, cardinal Allemand, and envoys from the kings of France, England, and other princes, it was agreed that Felix should submit to his rival.[l] The antipope, whose supporters had fallen away from him until he found himself acknowledged only in his own duchy of Savoy,[m] declared to the remnant of the council that, for the sake of the church's peace, he
April 7, 1449. resigned his dignity;[n] the eight cardinals of Felix's
April 19. party then affected to choose Thomas of Sarzana to
April 25. the papacy;[o] and the council formally dissolved itself.[p]

By a wise moderation on the part of Nicolas, all the sentences of Eugenius against the council were revoked.[q] Amadeus was made cardinal-bishop of Sabina, with the first place in the sacred college, and a commission as legate for Savoy and Piedmont;[r] and his adherents were allowed to retain their dignities.[s] The most prominent of these adherents, cardinal Allemand,[t] was able so entirely to atone for his offences against the papacy, that he eventually received the honour of beatification from pope Clement VII.[u] Amadeus himself re-

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[i] Hard. ix. 1313; Rayn. 1447. 18.

[k] Mart. Coll. Ampl. viii. 996–7; Naucler. in Rayn. 1448. 2.

[l] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frider. 137; Dacher. Spicil. iii. 768, 770-1; Hard. ix. 1324 seqq.

[m] Poggius, in Rayn. 1449. 4; Schröckh, xxxii. 157.

[n] Hard. ix. 1335; Rayn. 1449. 1, and Mansi's note.

[o] Rayn. 1449. 5-6.

[p] Ib. 6, p. 535. There are documents connected with this in Dacher. Spicil. iii. 778 seqq.

[q] Hard. ix. 1314, 1337.

[r] Rayn. 1449. 6; J. Juv. des Ursins, in Mart. Thes. i. 1809; Platina, 311; Ciac. ii. 978.

[s] Hard. ix. 1327, 1337; Rayn. 1447. 19; 1449. 7; Antonin. 550. There is a letter of Nicolas authorising the archbishop of St. Andrews to absolve those who had taken part in the council. (Rayn. 1447. 20; cf. Theiner, Monum. 277.) Capranica, bishop of Fermo, had been made cardinal by the council (having been designated by Martin V.), but afterwards joined Eugenius at Florence. The pope wished him to lay aside his hat, and to receive it anew; but Capranica refused, and Eugenius gave way. (Vespas. in Mai, i. 185; Ciac. ii. 834.)

[t] He died Sept. 16, 1450. (Gregorov. vii. 108.)

[u] A. D. 1527 (Rayn. 1450. 20; Acta SS., Sept. 16.) See p. 426.

turned to the cheerful seclusion of Ripaille, where he died in 1450 or the following year.[x]

In his political conduct, and especially with regard to the other Italian powers, Nicolas showed himself sincerely desirous of peace;[y] nor did he allow himself to be entangled in a contest for the duchy of Milan, which became vacant by the death of the last Visconti, Philip Mary, in 1447. Philip Mary had bequeathed his power to Alfonso of Naples;[z] but the emperor claimed the duchy as a fief, which had lapsed to the empire through the extinction of the Visconti; while Charles of Orleans advanced pretensions which were supported by the king of France, and the Milanese themselves favoured Francis Sforza, a condottiere, who had married an illegitimate daughter of the late duke, but had alienated the jealous nature of Philip Mary by the growth of his power and renown. A war of two years and a half was concluded in February, 1450, by a peace, which established Sforza in possession of the duchy.[a]

Throughout his earlier life, Nicolas had been distinguished by his love of literature; and his elevation enabled him to foster by the authority and by the wealth of the papacy the studies to which he was devoted.[b] The time was one of extraordinary intellectual movement. Already men of letters were held in high consideration by the princes of Italy, who were proud to entertain them at their courts, and in some cases endeavoured to acquire for themselves the reputation of learning and mental accomplishments;[c] and, under the republican government of Florence, they found such encouragement from the chief families (among which the Medici were now rising into pre-eminence) as to make that city the head-quarters of the literary revival.[d] Nicolas himself had lived there in the train of pope Eugenius, and had been intimate with the most emi-

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[x] See Mansi in Rayn. ix. 562.

[y] Vespas. 278, 280; Platina, 309–311; Schröckh, xxxii. 175.

[z] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frid. 139.

[a] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frid. 139, 146 seqq.; De Europa, 463; Simoneta in Murat. xx. 600–7; Gregorov. vii. 110–3. Matthew of Coussy says that Philip Mary had advised the Milanese to establish a republic. (Monstrel. ed. Buchon, x. 108.)

[b] Vespas. 273, 279. See a dissertation at the end of the Life by Giorgi.

[c] Bayle, art. *Naples, Alfonse de*, notes B. C.; Tirab. VI. i. 25, seqq.; Burckhardt, Cult. der Renaissance, 171 seqq. For Alfonso of Naples, see the life of him by Vespasian, in Mai, Spicil. i. 75, seqq. 93; Æn. Sylv. de Europa, 470; Mariana, ii. 414; Sismondi, vii. 216; viii. 274-5; Hallam, Hist. Lit. i. 243. For Cosmo de' Medici, Vespas. in Mai, i. 335 seqq.; Sismondi, vii. 116 seqq. For Frederick, duke of Urbino, Vespas. in Mai, 118 seqq.; Burckh. 176; and Dennistoun. Vespasian gives a list of the chief books in the duke's library, 125 seqq.

[d] Gregorov. vii. 512-3; Reumont, III. i. 318; Roscoe, Life of Lorenzo, 241-8; Life of Leo, i. 51.

nent scholars.[e] His own patronage of literature, as has been remarked, was not the condescension of a prince, but showed the interest of a genuine lover of books.[f] He invited men of learning to settle at Rome;[g] he collected manuscripts wherever they could be found; even the great calamity which in his pontificate befell Christendom through the Turkish conquest of Constantinople was turned to advantage in this respect, as fugitive scholars brought with them to Italy such books as each could rescue, and Nicolas employed agents to search in Greece for remains of ancient literature.[h] The study of Greek, which had been revived in the preceding century,[i] became now so popular in Italy, that even ladies of high rank are said to have been able to discourse in Greek.[k] Plato was introduced into the west by Gemisthius Pletho, and disputed the supremacy which Aristotle had long held in the schools.[l] In the western countries, too, manuscripts which had lurked in monastic or other libraries were now brought to light, and revealed writings of classical authors which had been unknown for centuries.[m] Through the works of Cicero and Quintilian the power of oratory rose into such estimation that Nicolas himself is even said to have partly owed his election to the admiration excited by his funeral discourse over his predecessor.[n]

Under Nicolas the scanty library of the popes, which had accompanied them to Avignon and had thence been brought back to Rome (although not without considerable loss), was lodged in the Vatican, and was increased by five thousand manuscripts.[o] The pope employed a large number of copyists in the multiplication of books—a work in which such labour was soon to be superseded by the art of printing, which at this very time produced its first-fruits. He engaged scholars of reputation to translate into Latin the writings of Greek classics and fathers; and a new version of the whole Bible, from the original tongues, was projected and partly executed.[p]

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[e] Vespas. 271; Gregorov. vii. 515.

[f] Milman, vi. 179.

[g] Vespas. 279.

[h] Ducas, 171; Filelfo, in Rayn. 1455. 15; Manett. 926; Gibbon, vi. 252; Gregorov. vii. 517, 519.

[i] See p. 366.

[k] Gregorov. vii. 551-2; Hippolyta, daughter of Sforza of Milan, made a Latin speech to Pius II. (Comment. 107.)

[l] Gibbon, vi. 252.

[m] Manett. 927; Platina, 316; Tirab. VI. i. 101; Gregorov. vii. 516.

[n] Manett. 917; Vespas. 278; Gregorov. vii. 508.

[o] Manett. 926; Gibbon, vi. 251; Gregorov. vii. 521. Reumont gives much information as to libraries. (III i. 331 seqq.)

[p] Æn. Sylv. de Europa, 459; Manett. 927, 937; Tirab. VI. i. 57; Reumont. III. i. 329; Burckhardt, 150. Vespasian 282-3 gives a list of works executed under the pope's patronage

Among the most eminent scholars of the age was Laurence Valla, born at Rome in 1406. About the year 1440, Valla produced his treatise on the 'Donation of Constantine,' a masterly exposure of the forgery which, although not without occasional question, had been generally received for centuries.[q] Rome was no safe place for the author of such a work; and Valla secretly withdrew to Naples, where his critical spirit was exercised on the pretended correspondence of the Saviour with Abgarus, and on the common belief that the Apostles' Creed was formed by the contribution of an article by each of the Apostolic Twelve.[r] For these writings he was arrested by the Inquisition, was condemned as a heretic, and would have been burnt, but for the intercession of King Alfonso.[s] His entreaties that he might be allowed to return to Rome were disregarded by Eugenius; but Nicolas invited him, made him his own secretary, and furnished him with literary employment.[t] To this employment Valla probably owed his preservation from sharing in fatal revolutionary schemes which might have been likely to enlist his sympathy; for, after having shown the worthlessness of the foundation on which the temporal power of the papacy had been made to rest, he had gone on to argue that no pretence of prescription could be admitted in behalf of that power, to exhort the Romans to rise against it, and to advise the popes themselves to abandon it.[u] He was promoted by Calixtus III. to a canonry of the Lateran, and died in 1465.[x]

Of the Greeks, Bessarion was distinguished above the rest, not only by his fame as a scholar, but by the dignities of cardinal, and titular patriarch of Constantinople.[y] He had acquired a perfect command of the Latin language, and had been able to adapt himself to the manners of his new society.[z] For a time he administered the government of Bologna as legate with great success;[a] he was employed on important missions, and at more than one election appeared likely to be chosen pope. He lived

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[q] Tirab. VI. ii. 339, 347; Valla's treatise is in Schard's 'Syntagma,' and in Brown's 'Fasciculus,' i. 152 seqq. See Döllinger, 'Papstfabeln,' 104.

[r] Gregorov. vii. 544.

[s] Rayn. 1446. 9. It is said that he underwent a whipping in the Dominican convent, but this rests only on the authority of his enemy Poggio. (Lenfant, Conc. de Basle, ii. 148.)

[t] Gregorov. vii. 547–9.

[u] Fascic. i. 155-6; Greg. vii. 546; cf. Hallam, Hist. Lit. i. 199.

[x] This is said to be the year given in his epitaph, although some place his death in 1465. (See Bayle, art. *Valla*, n. A.)

[y] See Fabricius, Bibl. Gr. xi. 422 seqq. He did not, however, become patriarch until after the death of Isidore, in 1463, under Pius II. (Rayn. 1463. 58.)

[z] Platina, Panegyr. in Bessar. p. 79; Gaspar Veron. in Murat. III. ii. 1032.

[a] Ib. 79-80.

in splendour and bounty, and was regarded as the patron of the Greeks who had settled at Rome. His house was full of scholars, partly his own countrymen, and partly Latins who cultivated Greek literature; and, like Nicolas, he was a zealous collector of manuscripts, of which he bestowed a precious collection on the doge and senate of Venice.[b]

The character of the new literary class in general was not without serious defects. They were too often without dignity or self-respect, indifferent to public interests, willing to bask in the patronage alike of popes, of republics, or of the princes who held in Italy a position like that of the ancient Greek tyrants, and they were always ready for the sake of advantage to transfer themselves from one patron to another. They were vain, greedy, quarrelsome, bitter in their mutual jealousies and envies, unsteady, unthrifty; and with their study of the classics they not uncommonly combined the morality of ancient paganism.[c] Nor even in respect of literary value can their works claim the praise of originality; the minds of these scholars were exercised in the illustration and imitation of the ancients, without being able to produce anything of independent merit.[d] And little did Nicolas and the other ecclesiastical patrons of the classical revival suspect that its results would be, on the one hand, to paganise the church, and, on the other hand, to produce a rebellion against its authority.[e]

Nicolas was bent on renewing the splendour of his city. The whole of the Vatican quarter was to be rebuilt according to one grand plan, and in a style of unexampled magnificence.[f] The venerable basilica of St. Peter, founded by the first Christian emperor,[g] was to make room for a new structure, to be designed in the form of a Greek cross, and surmounted by a soaring cupola;[h] and the work was begun by removing the ancient sepulchral chapel of Probus,[i] at the further end of the church,

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[b] See his letter to them (1459) in Mart. Coll. Ampl. iii. 1600; Vespas. in Mai, i. 193; Plat. Panegyr. 83; Ciacon. ii. 908; Gasp. Veron. in Murat. III. ii. 1033; Murat. Ann. IX. ii. 155; Gregorov. vii. 559–561.

[c] Roscoe, 'Lorenzo,' 75; Sismondi, vii. 161–4; ix. 79; Burckhardt, 213; Gregorov. vii. 508, 533. See his sketches of Poggio, Filelfo, &c., 537 seqq.; Tirab. VI. ii. 46. "If their mutual reports of each other are to be trusted, they must have been the vilest set of miscreants that ever existed." (Hartley Coleridge, Biog. Borealis, 517, ed. 1.)

[d] Greg. vii. 534-5; Reumont, III. i. 389.

[e] Gibbon, vi. 253; Milm. vi. 178, 182; Gregorov. vii. 509; Reumont, III. i. 321.

[f] Manett. 931; Platina, 316; Gregorov. vii. 629.

[g] Reumont, i. 640.

[h] Man. 931; Greg. vii. 631.

[i] It was built by his widow, Anicia Proba, and is described as "templum magis pro magnitudine ejus quam oratorium." (Panvin. de Basil. Vatic. in Mai, Spicil. Rom. ix. 257.)

in order to the erection of a new tribune, which had risen only a few feet above the ground at the time of the pope's death and was destined to be superseded by a yet more magnificent structure in the following century. Around the great church were to be grouped a palace, churches, convents, and a library, with a cemetery, gardens, and porticoes; and the rebuilding of the palace was commenced.[k] The Pantheon was restored from a ruinous condition; and the destruction of ancient Roman monuments was checked.[l] Many other churches of the city were restored;[m] much was spent on repairs of the walls and on new fortifications of the Vatican quarter, with a view to protecting the popes against such tumults as that by which Eugenius had been driven from Rome;[n] and in many provincial towns, such as Orvieto, Viterbo, Fabriano, Spoleto, and Assisi, the short pontificate of Nicolas was marked by the erection of new and splendid public buildings.[o] To Nicolas is also ascribed the introduction of a magnificence before unknown into the services of the church. Gold and silver plate in profusion, jewelled mitres, vestments, altar-coverings, and curtains inwoven with gold, attested the munificence of the pope and the sumptuousness of his taste.[p]

The arts of painting and sculpture, as well as that of architecture, enjoyed the patronage of Nicolas. Under him the saintly Dominican John or Angelico of Fiesole, who had been invited to Rome in 1445 by Eugenius, adorned the new chapel of St. Laurence in the Vatican.[q] But both literature and art were exotics at Rome, where the love of antiquity rarely took

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[k] Manetti, 933-4; Gregorov. vii. 631-2; Reumont, III. i. 381-2, 516.

[l] Schröckh, xxxii. 196; Gregorov. vii. 55-6, 551.

[m] Man. 931; Reumont, III. i. 380.

[n] Man. 930; Infessura, 1885; Plat. 316; Ranke, Hist. of Popes, iii. 249 (from a poem of the time); Gregorov. vii. 630; Reumont, III. i. 379. The emperor Frederick, on visiting Rome, expressed great admiration of the pope's buildings. (Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frid. 202.) But St. Antoninus applies to Nicolas the words of St. Luke, xiv. 30, "This man began to build, but was not able to finish" (p. 550). Cf. Gregorov. vii. 629.

[o] Manetti, 929; Platina, 316; Sism. vii. 170; Reumont, III. i 385-6.

[p] Æn. Sylv. de Europa, 459; Gregorov. vii. 143.

[q] Vasari, iv. 35; Gregorov. vii. 633. Angelico did much more at Rome, but the paintings in the chapel of St. Laurence are said to be the only remaining specimens. Some of them have been engraved for the Arundel Society, and in one the figure of a pope is a portrait of Nicolas. (Ib. 674.) Angelico died in the same year with the pope, and is buried in St. Mary's sopra Minerva. Vasari says that Nicolas wished to make him archbishop of Florence, but that he excused himself on the ground of unfitness, and recommended his brother-Dominican Antoninus—who was thereupon appointed. (iv. 36.) If this story be true, it ought to be referred to the papacy of Eugenius (Comment. ib. 46), who is reported to have said that Antoninus was the only person whom he had found it necessary to threaten with excommunication in order to persuade him to accept an archbishoprick. (Vespas. in Mai, i. 227.) See Crowe-Cavalcaselle, i. 590, 593.

any other form than that of political republicanism.[r] With the exception of Valla, no native Roman became prominent among the scholars of the time; the painters, the sculptors, the architects, were brought from Florence; and while they found patrons in the popes and the cardinals, they met with no encouragement from the Roman nobles.[s]

An attempt had been made in 1423 to celebrate a jubilee according to the calculation of thirty-three years, as that interval had elapsed since the first jubilee of Boniface IX. in 1390.[t] This attempt, according to the expression of a chronicler, was "neither forbidden nor authorised" by Martin V.,[u] and it proved a failure. But in the pontificate of Nicolas, the term of half a century since the last jubilee was completed, and the pope took measures for celebrating it with the fullest effect.[x] By some powerful persons, indeed, the pilgrimage was discouraged. Duke Henry of Bavaria told his subjects that forgiveness might be had of God in all places alike.[y] The Teutonic knights of North Germany, wishing to prevent their subjects from taking a long journey which might have been hurtful to the interests of their brotherhood, refused to publish the bull for the jubilee; but they were afterwards glad to appease the pope's anger by a present of a thousand ducats, in order that the indulgences of the jubilee might be dispensed by their own clergy to those who should give certain alms and perform certain devotional exercises in their own country.[z] The unwonted security of the ways induced multitudes to flock to Rome, so that no jubilee since the first (that of the year 1300) had been so crowded or so brilliant. The pilgrims are compared to flights of starlings, to heaps of bees or ants, to the sand of the sea-shore;[a] and such was the pressure one day on the bridge of St. Angelo, when the stoppage of a mule caused a confusion between those who were rushing to the display of the Veronica[b] and those who were

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[r] Reumont, III. i. 385.

[s] Reumont, III. i. 318-9; Gregorov. vii. 513, 623, 655, 672.

[t] See p. 171.

[u] Andr. Ratisb. in Eccard, i. 2152. But it would seem from Raynald. 1423. 22, that he was really angry, and put a stop to it. Chacon says that Martin celebrated a jubilee in 1425, when there was a great concourse of people to Rome, and provisions were very cheap. (ii. 818.)

[x] Rayn. 1449. 15.

[y] Schröckh, xxxiii. 468.

[z] Voigt, 'Stimmen aus Rom' (correspondence of the representative of the order) in Raumer, 'Hist. Taschenbuch,' 1833, pp. 138-142. The pope did not escape the charge of rapacity. (Ib. 115.) Philip, duke of Burgundy, got from Nicolas the benefit of the indulgence for those who should put into the church-boxes at Mechlin a fouth of what the Roman pilgrimage would have cost; and this was afterwards mitigated by leaving the amount to each person's conscience. (C.-Zantfl. 473.)

[a] Vespas. 282; Manetti, 924; C. Zantfl. 472; Gregorov. vii. 113.

[b] See Vol. III. 267.

returning from it, that about two hundred were crushed to death, or forced into the Tiber and drowned.[c]

The privileges of the jubilee were continued for some time after the end of the year, and the cardinal of Cusa was sent to dispense such graces in Germany. But, although he discharged this function with much success, it would seem that his own belief in their efficacy was not enthusiastic; for, on being asked whether a monk might go on pilgrimage without the leave of his abbot, he quoted pope Nicolas himself for the opinion that obedience is better than indulgences.[d]

The wealth which the pope received through the jubilee contributed largely to support the cost of his buildings and of his encouragement of learning and of the arts.[e] But at the very time when so vast a concourse was drawn towards Rome, a plague, which had raged with great violence in the north of Italy,[f] reached the capital; and with the growing heat of the weather its virulence increased. Soon after Midsummer, the pope withdrew, and with a party of scholars, in whose society he delighted, he shut himself up in one castle after another until the danger was over.[g]

In 1452, Rome witnessed for the last time the coronation of an emperor. Frederick, whose territory and wealth were ill equal to the support of his great dignity,[h] imagined that his authority might be enhanced by receiving the imperial crown according to the traditional usage, and, leaving disaffection and

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[c] This is the number given by Æn. Sylv. (De Europa, 459), Platina (312), and others. St. Autoninus says, "quadringenti et multo plures" (554); and the History of Brescia, in Murat. xx. 867, says that there were more than 500,—among them bishops, knights, gentlemen, and ladies. Another writer says that 120 were crushed, and some were drowned. (Annal. Bonincontr. ib. 155.) Matt. de Coussy makes the number only 97. (Monstrel. x. 288; cf. Infessura, in Eccard. ii. 1884; Manetti, 924; Gregorov. vii. 113.) A Liége chronicle mentions a *domicella* from the neighbourhood of Diest, who, not being able either to walk to Rome, or to bear the motion of a carriage, hired eight men to carry her in a litter. She died by the way, but bound her bearers, who were amply paid, to complete the pilgrimage. (Mart. Coll. Ampl. v. 1219.) Æneas Sylvius tells of Frederick, count of Cilley, a man deeply stained with vice and crime, that at the age of ninety he attended this jubilee for the sake of the indulgences: "reversus tamen nihilo melior visus, interrogatus quid sibi Roma profuisset in pristinos mores relapso, 'Et calceator meus,' inquit, 'ad consuendas ocreas post visam Romam rediit.'" (De Europa, c. 21.)

[d] Chron. Marienvord. in Leibn. ii. 463; Magn. Chron. Belg. in. Pistor. iii. 415.

[e] Manetti, 921-5; Gregorov. vii. 114; Vespas. 282, who says that during the jubilee there were at one time in the bank of the Medici more than 100,000 florins belonging to the church. (279.)

[f] It carried off 30,000 at Milan, and almost depopulated Piacenza. (Sism. vii. 131.)

[g] Manetti, 928; Vespas. 284; Stimmen aus Rom, 70; Reumont, III. i. 120; Gregorov. vii. 114.

[h] Schröckh, xxxii. 177.

conspiracy behind him, he crossed the Alps with a small force.[j] The cost of the expedition was in part supplied by the pope, in consideration of the advantage which he had gained by the Vienna concordat.[k] The days were past when the visit of an emperor was formidable to the Italians; "all before him," says a contemporary writer, "had made some attempt to recover power; he was the first who gave up the hope."[l] Everywhere he was received with honour, and was entertained at the expense of the cities through which he passed.[m] He did not disdain to ask for safe-conducts from the local authorities;[n] nor to gain some money by bestowing privileges of various kinds,—such as the dignities of count and knight, and even of doctor or notary.[o] From an unwillingness to acknowledge Sforza, by whom he had been baffled as to the duchy of Milan, he declined his invitation to that city, alleging as his excuse a plague which had lately raged.[p] The pope, who had been alarmed by prophecies and rumours, and by the remembrance of former troubles, had endeavoured to delay the emperor's visit, but his objections had been overcome by the skill of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who had just been promoted to the bishoprick of Siena;[q] and Nicolas contented himself with providing against any danger from the Germans by strengthening the fortifications and the garrison of the city.[r] At Florence two cardinals appeared, with the announcement that all was ready for the coronation,[s] and required that Frederick, before entering the papal territory, should take an oath to the pope, which they represented to be prescribed by the Clementines,[t] and by ancient custom. To this he truly replied that the oath had not been taken by Henry VII.,[u] that it was no older than the time of Charles IV., and that therefore the Clementine decree was of no force; yet he submitted to it at Siena, and bound himself

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[j] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frid. 195.

[k] Gregorov. vii. 114.

[l] Krantz, 'Wandalia,' 280; cf. 'Saxonia,' 307. St. Antoninus is very unfavourable to Frederick. (554.)

[m] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frid. 231. See, however, as to Siena, ib. 272-3; the writer takes this opportunity to denounce the Bolognese as democratic, unruly, treacherous, &c. (236–240).

[n] Hist. Frid. 320; Neri di Dino Capponi, in Murat. xviii. 1211.

[o] Gregorov. vii. 116-7. He knighted 300 on the bridge of St. Angelo on his coronation-day, and he again used this means of raising money on his later visit to Italy. (Murat. Ann. IX. ii. 255; Voigt, ii. 46, 51; Burckhardt, 14.)

[p] Æn. Sylv. Hist Frid. 234-5; Rayn. 1452. 2; Sism. x. 139.

[q] Gobell. 29. See the account of his reception (Voigt, ii. 17).

[r] Platina, 312; Voigt, ii. 35-6.

[s] Hist. Frid. 190-3, 251; J. A. Campanus, in Murat. III. ii. 971; Freher, ii. 21-5; Platina, 323; Coxe, i. 260.

[t] See Clement. l. ii. tit. 9, "De jurejurando."

[u] See p. 55.

by a second oath before entering the gates of Rome.[x] At Siena he was met by his intended bride, the princess Leonora of Portugal, who had been conducted from her landing in Italy by Piccolomini.[y] On their arrival at Rome, Frederick was lodged in the Lateran Palace, and thus had the opportunity for frequent confidential conversations with the pope by night.[z] On the 16th of March the nuptials took place, and Frederick was crowned as king of Italy, although not with the ancient Lombard crown, but with that of Germany, which had been brought from Aix-la-Chapelle.[a] And on the 18th, the anniversary of the pope's own coronation, the imperial coronation was solemnised with a ceremonial which is minutely described by the chroniclers of the time. The emperor swore once more to support and defend the Roman church, and, according to the traditional usage, he performed the "office of a groom" by leading the pope's horse a few steps.[b]

After a short visit to King Alfonso at Naples, where he was received with great magnificence,[c] the emperor again spent three days at Rome; but whereas he and the Germans had pressed for a general council, to be held in Germany, he now allowed

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[x] Hist. Frid. 257; Lenf. Conc. de Basle, ii. 231. At Viterbo Frederick had a strange specimen of the roughness which had become customary on some occasions in Italy. Some young men in a balcony tried to pull away with hooks the canopy which was held over his head, and some papal cavalry soldiers attempted to seize his horse and his hat. The emperor found it necessary to lay about him with a cudgel which he took from one of his attendants, and for an hour a general fray raged. The government wished to punish this, but Frederick interceded. (Hist. Frid. 274.) For similar scenes, see Burchard, in Eccard, ii. 2071; Gregorov. vii. 165, 172. The plundering of a cardinal's palace on his election to the papacy was a common instance of the same rude licence. On account of the manner in which the Romans scrambled for the pope's horse, his canopy, &c., some of the ceremonies of the coronation were omitted in the case of Innocent VIII. (Burch. ed. Gennarelli, 47-8.)

[y] Hist. Frid. 169; Gobell. 33. She had preferred Frederick to the dauphin, "majus enim apud exteros quam apud suos nomen imperatoris habetur." (Hist. Fr. l. c. cf. 251, 266; Freher, ii. 15-21; Plat. 312.) A column still commemorates the meeting. (Handb. for Central Italy, ed. 7. p. 214.)

[z] Hist. Frid. 295.

[a] Hist. Frid. 287; Infessura, in Eccard, ii. 1886. The rights of Milan as to coronation were reserved, in consequence of a protest by ambassadors. (Hist. Frid. 287; cf. Rayn. 1452. 2.)

[b] Hist. Frid. 292-3; Vespasian. in Murat. xxv. 285; Jan. Manetti, ib. 941; Gregorov. vii. 123. The crown and other imperial insignia, supposed to be Charlemagne's, had been brought from Nuremberg. But Piccolomini thought that the sword must be no older than Charles IV.'s time, because the Bohemian lion was engraved on it. (Hist. Frid. 292.) Until the imperial coronation, Frederick had taken his place, as king of the Romans, after the first cardinal, while the young Ladislaus, who accompanied him, was placed below all but two of the cardinals. (Ib. 290.) Valla, in his treatise on the Donation, had said that it was a contradiction to crown as emperor one who had renounced Rome; that the Romans ought to have the power of giving the crown. (Gregorov. vii. 120.)

[c] Hist. Frid. 298; Giorn. Napol. in Murat. xx. 1131; Vespas. in Mai, Spicil. i. 81.

himself to be drawn into asking, by means of a long and eloquent speech delivered by Piccolomini before the cardinals, that a crusade might be undertaken.[d] To this Nicolas, who well knew the emperor's unfitness for the command of such an expedition, replied that he strongly desired a crusade, but that the other powers of Christendom must be consulted before anything could be determined.[e]

Frederick, on his return to Germany, found that his coronation had not procured him any additional power.[f] The Hungarians and Bohemians urged him to give up to them the young Ladislaus, whom he had carried with him to Italy, where attempts had been made to rescue the prince from his guardianship;[g] and, although the pope threatened them with excommunication, they extorted the surrender of their sovereign by force of arms.[h]

A.D. 1452.

The attempt of Stephen Porcaro to effect a revolution at Rome after the death of Eugenius IV. has already been related. Nicolas, in accordance with his usual policy of conciliation, and in the hope of gaining this man, appointed him podestà of Anagni; but Porcaro's restless spirit led him back to Rome, where, at the celebration of a popular festival, he again endeavoured to excite the multitude to throw off the papal yoke. In consequence of this he was banished to Bologna, where a liberal allowance was provided for him, but with the condition that he should every day present himself before the cardinal-legate Bessarion.[i] By such restraint his republican zeal and his hatred of the hierarchical government were exasperated; he was in the habit of declaiming, with an application to himself, the famous verses in which Petrarch had been supposed to have stimulated the energies of Rienzi.[k] By correspondence with

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[d] Æn. Sylv, Ep. 399; Hist. Frid. 307; Rayn. 1452. 4 seqq.; Gregorov. vii. 115; Giesel. II. iv. 105; Voigt, ii. 53.

[e] Hist. Frid. 318; Schröckh, xxxii. 183.

[f] See Hist. Frid. 349.

[g] The discontented party wrote to the Roman court that his purpose was "ut quem ferro non audet extinguere, cœli mutatio perimat." (Hist. Frid. 264.) The emperor indignantly noticed this charge in a speech to the pope (ib. 265). Ladislaus was left at Rome while Frederick went to Naples, lest Alfonso's claim to Hungary should produce some collision; and in the meantime he was tempted to escape, but the scheme was betrayed. (Ib. 305.) Other attempts were made at Florence. (Ib. 322-6.) Æneas Sylvius says that much mischief was prompted by the university of Vienna, which was antipapal. (Ib. 351, 357; Gobell. 36-7.)

[h] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Boh. c. 60; Hist. Frid. 340-1, 394; Coxe, i. 206; Voigt, ii. 65-73.

[i] Platina, 314.

[k] See p. 117. Machiavelli, Ist. Fiorent. ii. 122; Gibbon, vi. 203; Sism. vii. 173; Gregorov. vii. 129.

his relations and friends at Rome, he organized a conspiracy,[l] which was to be carried out on the Epiphany, 1453, by forcing a way into the Vatican and setting it on fire, surprising the pope and cardinals while engaged in a solemn mass, and carrying off Nicolas, to be used as a hostage in order to obtain possession of the fortress of St. Angelo; after which a republic was to be established, with Porcaro at its head as tribune.[m]

A few days before the time appointed, Porcaro, having excused himself under the plea of sickness from waiting on the legate as usual, made his escape from Bologna and joined his accomplices in Rome.[n] But his absence was speedily discovered and reported to the papal government, while some of the conspirators also betrayed him; he was arrested, and, after having in vain begged that he might be allowed to address the people, whom he expected to rise for his deliverance, he was Jan. 9, 1453. hanged by night from a tower of the castle of St. Angelo.[o] Many of his kinsmen and confederates—some of them brought from distant cities, where they had sought a refuge—were also put to death; and in order to suppress utterly the spirit which had projected the late plot, cruelty, and even treachery, were employed.[p] Nicolas, deeply mortified by the ingratitude of the Romans, among whom much sympathy was displayed towards Porcaro and his associates, and perhaps affected by remorse for the late excesses of severity, became from this time reserved, melancholy, and distrustful. From having been accustomed to show himself familiarly in public,

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[l] From some words of Alberti (De Porc. Conjur. in Murat. xxv.):—"Video sane quo stent loco res Italiæ; intelligo qui sint, quibus hic perturbata esse omnia conducat,"—and from his speaking of "extrinsecos impulsores," Burckhardt infers that Porcaro was in an understanding with some Italian governments. (Cultur der Renaissance, 83.)

[m] It has been said by some later writers that the design was to murder the pope; but, although the conspirators would probably not have shrunk from this if pressed by circumstances, it would seem that their primary intention was only such as is described in the text. (See Æn. Sylv. de Europa, 460; Infessura, in Eccard, ii. 1888; Albert. in Murat. xxv. 312; Antonin. 556 (who says that the golden chains intended for the pope were found); Gregorov. vii. 131.

[n] Platina, 314.

[o] Plat. 314; Antonin. 556; Reumont, III. i. 124; Gregorov. vii. 132.

[p] Infess. 1887; Reumont, III. i. 125; Gregorov. vii. 134. It is said that Nicolas put a man to death after having promised to pardon him, forgetting in the morning the orders which he had given over-night, when under the influence of wine. (Infess. 1889.) But against the charge of drunkenness he is defended by Vespasian, who says that it arose from the fact of his having imported good wine, which, however, was really used only for presents. (Murat. xxv. 276.) This writer's assertion that no one but Stephen Porcaro suffered for the conspiracy (286) must be untrue. It is curious to find the Porcaro affair discussed a few weeks later in the Canterbury convocation, when it was proposed that the pope should be entreated to leave Rome for some safer place. (Wilkins, iii. 562.)

he rarely appeared; and was difficult of access; the gout, from which he had suffered since the time of his election, became more acute and was complicated by other disorders; and he sank into a rapid decay.[q] To those who were admitted into his confidence he deplored the insincerity of men, declared himself to be miserable in his great dignity, and expressed a vain wish that he could again become Master Thomas of Sarzana.[r]

Within a few months after the conspiracy of the Porcari, tidings of an overwhelming calamity were received from the east. The emperor John Palæologus, alarmed by the discontent of his subjects, and finding little benefit from the alliance with the Latins which had been purchased by the concessions of Florence, had in his last years renounced the union of the churches. But his son and successor, Constantine, under the presence of increased danger from the Turks, under Mahomet, the son of Amurath II., had again turned in supplication to the west, professing repentance, and offering to return to communion with the Roman church.[s] The pope, after reproving the Greeks for their breach of engagements, expressed his willingness to receive them once more,[t] and prepared to send some galleys to their assistance, while Cardinal Isidore, himself a Greek, and formerly metropolitan of Russia, was commissioned to carry out the reconciliation.[u] But although Isidore found some ecclesiastics and the higher laity ready to comply, the reunion was viewed with abhorrence by the great body of the clergy, and yet more strongly by the monks and female recluses; while the common people in the taverns uttered curses against it, and drank to the image of the Blessed Virgin, imploring her aid against the Turks, and rejecting that of the Latins.[x] And when, after the decrees of Florence had again been signed, a
Dec. 12, solemn thanksgiving was celebrated in St. Sophia's, the
1452. more rigid of the Greeks, disgusted by the introduction of Latin peculiarities into the service, avoided the great church as if it were contaminated, "like a Jewish synagogue."[y] It was in vain that the more courtly party pleaded that their compliances were insincere, and were intended to last only until

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[q] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frid. 138; Manetti, 913-6; Antonin. 550; Platina, 314; Vespas. 286-7.

[r] Vespas. 287-290.

[s] Ducas, 141; Rayn 1451. 1; Gibbon, vi. 291-6.

[t] Rayn. 1451. 1-2: or Migne, Patrol. Gr. clxi. 1201 seqq.

[u] Ducas, 142; Platina, 313; Rayn. 1453. 2.

[x] Ducas, 142-3.

[y] Ducas, 143, 148; Gibbon, vi. 296, 298; Finlay, Gr. and Byz. Empires, ii. 626.

their country should have been delivered by the help of the Latins. The Greeks in general abjured the pope and his communion; and during the following Lent the clergy in the confessionals excited their penitents to oppose the union, and to refuse the sacraments and other rites at the hands of any who favoured it.[z] So violent was the feeling against the Latins, that a great officer declared that he would rather see a Turkish turban than a cardinal's hat in Constantinople.[a]

Meanwhile Mahomet pressed more and more closely on the city,[b] and on the 6th of April, 1453, laid formal siege to it.[c] The emperor, in his extremity, was obliged to despoil churches of their treasures for the payment of his foreign auxiliaries, with the promise of fourfold restoration:[d] but the end was at hand. On the 29th of May—a day which had been determined by astrological calculations—the final assault was made, and the capital of Eastern Christendom became the prey of the victorious Turks.[e] The body of the emperor, who in his last days had displayed heroic qualities, was, after a long search, found beneath a heap of dead.[f] Isidore, who for a time was supposed to have perished, escaped in disguise,[g] and, after many adventures, was able to reach Italy in safety.[h] Spoliation, destruction, profanity, far exceeding the outrages which had disgraced the Latin conquest of Constantinople,[i] were committed, but might in the comparison have pleaded the excuse that the actors were not professedly Christians.[k] The treasures of Greek learning were destroyed or dispersed; St. Sophia's, after having been the scene of gross profanations, was turned into a mosque; monasteries were given over to dervishes, or to workmen of low occupations;[l] the patriarch, George Scholaris (or Gennadius), who had retired to a monastery but had continued to be the oracle of the party opposed to Rome, was chosen anew by some representatives of the Christian com-

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[z] Ducas, 146; Gibbon, vi. 296-7.

[a] *κρειττότερόν ἐστιν εἰδέναι ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει φακιόλιον βασιλεῦον Τούρκων ἢ καλύπτραν Λατινικήν.* (Ducas, 148.)

[b] See G. Phranz. l. iii.

[c] L. Chalcocond. 203; Gibbon, vi. 294; Hammer, i. 526; Finlay, ii. 633.

[d] Phranz. iii. 4; Gibbon, vi. 299, 305. He alleged the example of David, who ate the shew-bread in necessity.

[e] Hammer, i. 546.

[f] Ducas, 161; Phranz. iii. 8-9; Rayn. 1453. 5; Nauclerus, 1081; Hammer i. 548. There are differences as to the circumstances of his death.

[g] According to Æneas Sylvius he exchanged dresses with the corpse of a man who resembled him. (Gobell.)

[h] Antonin. 575; Dach. Spicil. iii. 793; Platina, 314; Ducas, 162-5, 176; L. Chalcocond. 211; Gibbon, vi. 311.

[i] See Vol. III. 334.

[k] Isid. in Antonin. 576; L. Chalcoc. 209-211; Phranz. iii 8; Naucler. 1081; Trithem. Chron. Spond. A.D. 1453; Krantz, Wandalia, 281; Chron. Belgic. in Pistor. iii. 412; Gibbon, vi. 314-5; Hammer, i. 549-582.

[l] Ducas, 168, 179; Phranz. iii. 8, 11.

munity, under an order of the sultan;[m] and the churches of the city were shared between the Christian and the Mussulman conquerors, until this countenance of the subject religion was ended sixty years later by Sultan Selim.[n]

Among the sovereigns of the west, divided as they were by their own differences, and little interested in the Greeks, the loss of Constantinople failed to produce such a feeling as had been aroused by similar calamities in earlier days.[o] The emperor Frederick wept, and again expressed his wish for a crusade; but he took no active measures.[p] Philip, duke of Burgundy, who in power, wealth, and splendour was among the foremost princes of Europe,[q] alone manifested a greater zeal. Feb. 1454. At a great festival, held at Lille, a lady representing the church appeared before his court, seated on an elephant led by a giant, and in a versified speech entreated assistance. The herald of the Golden Fleece then brought in a live pheasant, richly adorned with jewels. The duke delivered to him a paper containing a vow "to God, the Blessed Virgin, the ladies, and the pheasant," that he would succour the church in her distress; and he was followed by his son, Charles, count of Charolois, by the duke of Cleves, and a multitude of nobles and knights, who all in like form pledged themselves to the holy enterprise.[r] But, instead of carrying out this vow as he had intended, the duke found himself obliged, in consequence of the enormous cost of the Lille festivities, to break up his household for a time and to travel in Germany and Switzerland, where he still endeavoured to promote the cause of the crusade.[s]

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[m] Gibbon, vi. 297, 319, 320; Hammer, ii. 1–3. Allatius resolves him into two persons (De Eccl. Or. et Occid. Perp. Consens. 959); but Fabricius maintains the contrary view (xi. 349–360). See Bayle, art. *Mahomet II.* n. G.; Finlay, 'Greece under Ottoman and Venetian Dominion,' 161–3. G. Phranzes says that the patriarch had died, and that the sultan ordered a new election, whereupon G. Scholaris, *a layman*, was chosen by the bishop and a few other clergy and laity, and thereupon called himself Gennadius. This writer's account of the honours paid by Mahomet to the patriarch is curious. (iii. 61.) See Gibbon, l. c.

[n] Phranz. iii. 11; Gibbon, vi. 320; Hammer, ii. 510. Phranzes says that Mahomet's conciliatory measures were intended only to attract Christians to the city. (l. iii. fin.)

[o] St. Antoninus says that the Greeks had deserved the ruin of their empire, by having twelve times withdrawn from the communion of Rome (557), and that they might have saved themselves if they had chosen to spend their money for the public good, instead of hoarding it privately. (575.) Phranzes combats the assertion of the Latins that the fall of the empire was to be regarded as a punishment of religious error. (iv. 1.)

[p] Æn. Sylv. Ep. 163; Schröckh, xxxii. 189.

[q] Comines, in Petitot, xi. 345; Martin, vii. 17.

[r] Oliv. de la Marche, in Petitot, xi. 177, seqq.; Matt. de Coussy, in Monstrelet ed. Buchon, xi. 109, seqq.; Barante, 'Hist. des Ducs de Bourgogne,' ed. iii. t. viii. 9 seqq.

[s] Sism. Hist. Fr. xiii. 578.

To Nicolas the loss of Constantinople appeared in all its importance. Not only had the Byzantine empire fallen, but its ruin drew after it that of many lesser Christian principalities in the east; and the insatiable ambition of Mahomet seemed to design nothing less than a conquest of all Christendom.[t] In the end of September, 1453, the pope sent forth a bull, in which he declared the founder of Islam to be the great red dragon of the Apocalypse, and, after dwelling on the conquest of Constantinople by Mahomet II. and his designs against western Christendom, he exhorts all princes, by the remembrance of their baptismal and coronation vows, to take arms in behalf of the faith. Indulgences are promised, both for personal service and to those who should furnish soldiers. The pope promises to devote to the cause all the payments which he should receive for institution to sees and other benefices; he requires a tenth from the clergy, and he charges the Christian world to maintain peace within itself.[u] But the popes could not now rouse all Europe for a war against the infidels as at an earlier time.

Sept. 30.

Piccolomini was employed to stir up the princes of Germany, while John of Capistrano, an Observant friar, whose eloquence was unequalled among his contemporaries in its sway over the popular heart, was sent into the same country as a preacher of the new crusade.[x] But although Æneas Sylvius employed his powers of persuasion in diets at Ratisbon (where Philip of Burgundy appeared),[y] at Frankfort, and at Neustadt,[z] he found that the Germans were animated by a feeling of distrust, which arose out of the late sacrifice of their ecclesiastical liberties.[a] It was supposed that the pope intended,

Apr. 1454–April 1455.

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[t] Krantz, Wand. 281; Gibbon, vi. 322.

[u] Rayn. 1453. 9.

[x] John was born in 1386, at Capistrano, near Aquila, and before becoming a friar had been a lawyer and a married man. (Acta SS., Oct. 23, 272–6.) He preached in Latin, while one of his brethren took notes of the discourse, and interpreted it at a later hour; but it would seem that this interpretation was hardly needed, as John's looks and gestures are said to have conveyed his meaning to those who did not understand his words. (Krantz, Saxonia, 308; Chron. Magn. Belg. in Pistorius, iii. 416; Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frid. 176–180.) Krantz seems to think his miracles doubtful. (l. c.) He had been a disciple of Bernardine of Siena, for whose canonization he did much. (Acta SS. 318, 462, 509.) In his preaching he used to display a cap which had belonged to the saint, for which he claimed miraculous powers; and, like him, he persuaded women to burn their vanities of dress, and even their instruments of gaming, &c., in a great bonfire. (Krantz, l. c.; Ist. Bresciana. in Murat. xx. 867, where there is a remarkable account of his labours at Brescia. See also the Acta SS., Oct. 23, pp. 272–6.)

[y] Æn. Sylv. Ep. 127, p. 655; and p. 517, below; Comment. 39–40; M. de Coussy, 190. See, too, the letter of Frederick to Charles VII. of France, in Dach. Spicil. iii. 795.

[z] Comment. 40–2.

[a] Comment. 41; Giesel. II. iv. 107; Voigt, ii. 101, seqq.

under pretext of the crusade, to get money for himself; and reproaches were cast on Nicolas for having spent large sums on needless fortifications, while he allowed the capital of the East to fall into the hands of the infidels.[b] But Piccolomini represents himself as so far successful, that the diet of Frankfort, in October, 1454, promised to raise 10,000 horse and 32,000 foot for a crusade in Hungary.[c]

The death of Nicolas, which took place on the 24th of March, 1455,[d] for a time checked these attempts. In his last hours he called around him the cardinals, and took leave of them in a long address, recounting the chief events of his papacy, his acts, and his designs. He dwelt on the authority of the Roman see, he exhorted them to love and to maintain the church, and, after bestowing his blessing on them, he expired.[e]

Fifteen out of the twenty cardinals met for the election of a successor. It seemed as if Bessarion were about to be pope; but some members of the college, who felt his strictness of character as a reproach of their own laxity,[f] objected that it would be a reflection on the Latin church if they should elect a Greek neophyte, who had not yet shaved off his beard; and the choice fell, by way of access, on Alfonso Borja or Borgia, a native of Valencia, who took the name of Calixtus III.[g]

April 8, 1455.

Borgia had been a student and a professor in the Spanish university of Lerida, and was esteemed the greatest jurist of his time. Even when pope, he retained in his mind all the details of ecclesiastical and civil law, and took pleasure in answering legal questions.[h] He had received preferment from his countryman Benedict XIII., and was afterwards employed by Alfonso of Aragon in negotiating for the extinction of the schism which Benedict had attempted to perpetuate.[i] For this

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[b] Æn. Sylv Comment. 41.

[c] "Oravit ille duabus ferme horis, ita intentis animis auditus, ut nemo unquam exspuerit (!), nemo ab orantis vultu oculos suos averterit, nemo non brevem ejus orationem existimaverit, nemo non invitus finem acceperit." (Comment. 41.) See his speech, Ep. 131; Rayn. 1454. 4; Schröckh, xxxii. 192, 253. Gieseler says that his oratorical vanity exaggerated the effect. (II. iv. 107; cf. Voigt, ii. 124.)

[d] Mansi in Rayn. t. x. 23.

[e] Manetti, 947, seqq. See Milm. vi. 185-6; Gregorov. vii. 141.

[f] Æn. Sylv. Comment. 42. "Leves et voluptuosi." (Platina, Panegyr. in Bessar. 80.)

[g] Schröckh, xxxii. 197; Æn. Sylv. Comment. 43; Mariana, ii. 414.

[h] Æn. Sylv. de Europa, 460; Comment. 43; Platina, 317. Pius II. said to the French ambassadors, at the congress of Mantua, "Fuit enim doctrina singulari præditus, et suo tempore civilis sapientiæ facile princeps, et maximarum rerum experientia callens, et qui multorum mores vidit et urbes." (Hard. ix. 1425.)

[i] Platina, 317. See above, p. 376.

service Martin V. rewarded him with the bishoprick of his native city.[k] He became Alfonso's most trusted counsellor; and, having been sent by him to Eugenius IV., while resident at Florence, he was induced by Eugenius to attach himself to the papal court, and was raised by him to the dignity of cardinal.[l] Perhaps his advanced age—seventy-seven—may have contributed to promote his elevation to the papacy.[m]

Calixtus despised the elegant and costly tastes of his predecessor, whom he openly blamed for having spent on manuscripts and ornamental things the money which might have been employed in a war against the Turks. Buildings which Nicolas had begun were suspended, and the materials which had been collected for them were dispersed.[n] To the holy war Calixtus devoted himself with a zeal which was second only to his regard for the interest of his family. Immediately on his election he recorded a solemn vow to employ all possible weapons, spiritual and temporal, against the Turks.[o] He sent forth a bull, summoning the nations of the west to serve for half a year, from the 1st of March, 1456.[p] Every day at noon the bells of all churches were to be rung, and all Christians were at the sound to pray for the success of the crusade.[q] He freely spent the treasures which Nicolas, notwithstanding his munificent expenditure, had left in the papal coffers. He even alienated jewels and other church property for the purpose of aiding the crusade.[r] He entered into correspondence with the Oriental enemies of the Turks, in order to secure their co-operation.[s] He equipped a fleet against the enemy,[t] and sent aid to Scanderbeg, the chief who for a quarter of a cen-

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[k] Gregorov. vii. 147.

[l] Plat. 317; Schröckh, xxxii. 198-9.

[m] Vespas. in Mai, i. 190.

[n] Plat. 320; Gregorov. vii. 147, 635. Von Reumont says that his indifference to literature has been exaggerated. (III. i. 333.)

[o] Dach. Spicil. iii. 797. Platina says that he showed a book in which the vow was entered, "Ego Callistus pontifex," &c., and that all who saw it "admirati sunt quod pontificatus nomen sibi assumpsisset ante adeptam dignitatem." (318; see Giesel. II. iv. 108.) But there is nothing marvellous in the more probable statement of the cardinals to the French king—"Qua in re ita fervens . . . extitit, ut, cum primum electus fuerit, electionem suam in Deum referens, votum solemnissimum emiserit pro ejus civitatis liberatione; cujus voti copiam præsentibus includi fecimus." (Dach. Spicil. iii. 798.)

[p] Rayn. 1455. 20.

[q] Antonin. 578. A comet appeared, and was supposed to portend calamity. The pope directed that prayers should be made for turning its effects against the Turks. (Platina, 318.)

[r] Rayn. 1456. 49.

[s] Platina, 320; Rayn. 1456. 45; 1457. 66, seqq.

[t] Gregorov. vii. 150. The famous Jacques Cœur, whose name is especially connected with the city of Bourges, after having been disgraced and ruined by the French king, was admiral of the papal fleet. (Bassin, i. 316.)

tury kept up an incessant warfare against the Turks among the mountains of Albania.[u] Legates were sent into all countries to appease the quarrels of Christian princes, and to animate them for the holy war, while hosts of friars were commissioned to carry out a like work among the people.[x]

In this John of Capistrano especially distinguished himself. The Turks, under Mahomet, laid siege to Belgrade; but there they encountered the valour and conduct of John Huniades, and John of Capistrano, by his eloquence, collected a force of 40,000 for the defence.[y] These were, indeed, an undisciplined and rudely-armed multitude, as the nobles, with very few exceptions, held aloof from the enterprise;[z] but the generalship of Huniades, and the exhortations and prayers of the friar, controlled and animated them; and after a siege of forty-six days the Turks were driven off with great loss.[a] But the nations of the west, instead of taking from this success a warning to unite for the common cause of Christendom, were encouraged by it to think themselves secure from danger, and were confirmed in their apathy.[b]

July–Aug. 1456.

Charles of France forbade the publication of the pope's bulls

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[u] Rayn. 1457. 20–8; 1458. 14; Chalcocond. 229. seqq.; Schröckh, xxxii. 200; Gibbon, vi. 274; Hammer, i. 480. There is a life of Scanderbeg (George Castriot) by Barletti in Lonicerus.

[x] Antonin. 578; Plat. 318. See the pope's letter to Ladislaus of Hungary in Bekynton's Correspondence, No. 249; the commission to the archbishop of Armagh for a collection, from which even the mendicant orders were not to be exempt, in Theiner, Monum. 402 seqq.; and Mariana's account of the preaching of the crusade in Spain. (ii. 419.)

[y] Nic. de Fara, in Act. SS. Oct. 23, p. 479. Æn. Sylv. Comment. 600. Yet Æneas says of him, "Quem populi velut prophetam putabant, *quamvis in bello contra Turcas suadendo parum proficeret.*" (Ib. 41.)

[z] "Citizens, peasants, students, and friars, armed with sticks, clubs, slings, and staves." (Hammer, ii. 23.)

[a] Callistus, in Rayn. 1456. 24; Bekynton, Corresp. 260-1; Chalcocond. 221–4; Æn. Sylv. Hist. Bohem. c. 65; Rayn. 1456. 14-37; Gibbon, vi. 273; V. Hammer, ii. 21-5; Nauel. 1083; Palacky, IV. i. 393–8. Within about two months after the repulse, both Huniades and John of Capistrano were dead. Each had written an account of the affair, in which he made no mention of the other. "Ingens dulcedo gloriæ," says Piccolomini, "facilius contemnenda dicitur quam contemnitur. Spreverat Capistranus sæculi pompas, fugerat delicias, calcaverat avaritiam, libidinem subegerat; contemnere gloriam non potuit . . . Nemo est tam sanctus qui dulcedine gloriæ non capiatur." (Hist. Boh. c. 65; Hist. Frider. 463; see Bayle, art. *Capistran*, n. C.) Rinaldi is very angry as to the charge of vain-glory against Capistrano (1456. 34); and Father Van Hecke also combats this accusation. (Acta SS., Oct. 23, pp. 381–4.) Capistrano, when too feeble to walk without a staff, comforted Huniades by daily and nightly visits. (Rayn. 56.) Attempts were made at the time to procure the honour of canonization for the friar: but it was not bestowed until 1690 (Voigt, iii. 600–6; V. Hecke, 402.) In commemoration of the victory, Calixtus revived the festival of the Transfiguration. Aug. 6. (V. Hecke, 385; Hammer, ii. 25.)

[b] Platina, 319; Rayn. 1456. 41; Coxe, i. 211. See Æn. Sylv. Ep. 139

within his dominions, lest the crusade should deprive him of strength which he needed against the English; but he allowed the collection of a tenth for the expedition.[c] By some universities, and by a portion of the clergy, an appeal was made to a general council against the new impost; but the university of Paris, which had taken the lead in this movement, afterwards submitted to pay, with the understanding that the money should be regarded as a pious aid, and that it was given for once only.[d] Alfonso of Aragon and Sicily promised to assist, but, after having got the crusading tithe into his hands, he turned it against the Genoese, whom he described as the Turks of Europe;[e] and other princes limited their assistance to words.[f] But in Germany, where Carvajal was legate, a vehement spirit of opposition was manifested. The Germans not only thought that they had been defrauded by the concordat of Vienna, but complained that the terms of that agreement had been violated.[g] They talked of insisting on a Pragmatic Sanction; they cried out that they had been sufficiently drained of money under the pretext of crusading tenths, in order to feed the pope's rapacity.[h] Some of them ventured to question whether the papacy had been founded by the Saviour;[i] and there were threats of setting up a king of the Romans in opposition to the emperor, whose neglect of the duties of his station was loudly censured.[k] Piccolomini, whose services to the papacy had been rewarded successively by the bishopricks of Trieste and Siena, and whose views became more and more papal as he rose higher in ecclesiastical dignity, exerted himself indefatigably for the crusade. He wrote letters, attended diets, and made speeches in a tone which contrasts remarkably with that of his earlier acts at Basel.[l] In 1456 he was sent to convey the assurance of the emperor's obedience to the new pope, when he took the opportunity to deliver an eloquent oration in favour of the holy war,[m] and his late exertions were acknowledged by his promotion to the

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[c] Giesel. II. iv. 113. The pope remonstrated, and endeavoured to gain him by a gift of the golden rose. (Rayn. 1456. 3 seqq.; 1457. 52-4.

[d] Rayn. 1457. 55-7; Schröckh, xxxii. 227; Giesel. II. iv. 113.

[e] Æn. Sylv. Ep. 129; Rayn. 1455. 34-5; 1456. 12, seqq.; 1457. 1, 63; Gregorov. vii. 151; Giesel. II. iv. 113.

[f] Schröckh, xxxii. 201.

[g] See Martin Mayer's letter prefixed to Æn. Sylv. 'Germania;' Planck, v. 488-491; Giesel. II. iv. 109.

[h] Schröckh, xxxii. 208; Giesel. II. iv. 110; Gregorov. vii. 151.

[i] Æn. Sylv. Ep. 301; Platina, 321.

[k] Schmidt, iv. 251; Giesel. II. iv. 110. See as to the indisposition to the crusade, Æn. Sylv. Ep. 127. July 5, 1451.

[l] Plat. 323; Giesel. II. iv. 116-9. In some cases he appealed to the meanest motives of interest (Giesel. II. iv. 115.)

[m] Ep. 398

cardinalate.[n] In answer to the mutterings of Germany, Calixtus Dec. 18. himself wrote to the emperor that all the money which had been collected was spent on the war, and that more was needed; he did not hesitate to say that the observance of concordats depended wholly on the pope's grace, although he condescended to add that for his own part he would observe them.[o] And Piccolomini, who was probably the author of the pontifical letter, told the archbishop of Mentz, in his own name, that there could properly be no pact between a lord (such as the pope) and his subjects.[p] In order to set forth his views of the relations between the papacy and the Germans, the cardinal wrote his book on Germany. In this he defends the conduct of the pope in the various questions which had arisen. He meets the charge of drawing money from the poverty of Germany by dilating on its wealth, as displayed in the principal cities.[q] He contrasts the free cities of Germany, which owned subjection to the emperor alone, and enjoyed the greatest liberty anywhere known, with the Italian republics, such as Venice, Florence and Siena, where all but the dominant few were alike slaves.[r]

With the sovereign whose confidant he had formerly been, Calixtus was involved in serious difficulties.[s] Alfonso, being without lawful issue, had procured from pope Eugenius a document, by which his son Ferdinand was legitimatised, and was declared capable of holding the highest offices.[t] And this privilege had been confirmed by Nicolas, so as distinctly to make Ferdinand capable of succeeding to the Neapolitan crown, which Alfonso, regarding it as his own acquisition, intended to bestow on his son, while the hereditary kingdom of Aragon was to fall his own brother John.[u] Calixtus, however, although he had been himself Alfonso's agent in the negotiations with Eugenius, refused

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[n] Æn. Sylv. Epp. 178-9; Plat. 324; Gregorov. vii. 162. Frederick at his coronation as emperor had got a promise of this from Nicolas V. (Comment. 36, 49; Voigt, ii. 148).

[o] "Quamvis liberrima sit apostolicæ sedis auctoritas, nullisque debeat pactionum vinculis exerceri, ex mera tamen liberalitate nostra . . . concordatis ipsis locum esse voluimus, nec patiemur ea violari dum Romanæ sedis gubernaculum retinebimus." (Æn. Sylv. Ep. 381, p. 841, Aug. 31, 1457; Rayn. 1457. 40.)

[p] Ep. 338.

[q] Thus he says of Nuremberg, "Quot ibi civium ædes invenias regibus dignas! Cuperent tam egregie Scotorum reges quam mediocres Nurimbergæ cives habitare." (1055.)

[r] "Cum nec rebus suis uti ut libet, vel fari aut [licet?] quæ velint, et gravissimis opprimantur pecuniarum exactionibus." (Compare with the 'Germania,' Ep. 369, to Martin Mayer.)

[s] See Giannone, iv. 318.

[t] "Ut quæcumque munera in regno Neapolitano obire posset." (Rayn 1444. 20; see Sism. vii. 222.)

[u] Mariana, ii. 420; Sism. vii. 215

to confirm this—declaring that Ferdinand was not only illegitimate but supposititious, and that the consent of Eugenius had been got by surprise and under false pretences.[x] On Alfonso's death, in 1458, he claimed the kingdom as a fief which had lapsed to the Roman see, forbidding the people to swear to any claimant, and absolving them from any oaths already taken.[y] July 12. It was believed that he intended to bestow the kingdom on his nephew Peter; while Charles, count of Viana, and John, a son of the old claimant René of Provence, on various grounds asserted pretensions to it.[z] The Neapolitans themselves, who desired to preserve the independence of their kingdom, were in favour of Ferdinand, who protested against the papal bull, and claimed to be king by the gift of God and by the consent of the Neapolitan estates.[a]

The pope, old and gouty, spent much of his time in his sickroom, surrounded by friars, and by his three nephews, the children of his sisters. During the pontificates of Eugenius and of Nicolas, there had been no ground for complaint of undue family influence; but it was now found that the pope's kindred, with their party, which was invidiously styled the Catalans, engrossed all power, and an enormous share of office.[b] The first cardinal made by Calixtus was his nephew Lewis John Milano, whom he appointed legate of Bologna.[c] But his favours were yet more remarkably shown to his other nephews, Peter and Roderick Lançol or Lenzuol, whose father, in honour of his marriage into a family more distinguished than his own, took the name of Borgia, and thus unwittingly gave occasion for the proverbial blackness of infamy which has become attached to that name.[d] Among the offices heaped on Peter Borgia (who remained a layman) were those of vicar of Benevento and Terracina, captain of St. Angelo, prefect of Rome, and standard-bearer of the church; together with the dukedom of Spoleto, to which (as we have seen) it was supposed that the kingdom

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[x] Giorn. Napol. in Murat. xx. 1132; Giann. IV. 317. He had also differences with Alfonso as to the appointment of bishops. (Plat. 321.)

[y] Rayn. 1458. 31; Plat. 320; Giann. iv. 316; Sism. vii 224.

[z] Giann. l. xxvii. c. 1; Sism. vii. 228; Mariana, ii. 421.

[a] Schröckh, xxxii. 230; Sism. vii. 221 seqq.

[b] Gregorov. vii. 154-5. There is a story that as Cardinal Capranica (who had himself seemed likely to be pope) was going home after the election of Calixtus, a beggar asked alms of him on the ground of having escaped from the Catalans (who were notorious as pirates). "Give *me* something," answered the Cardinal, "for I am worse off. Thou art out of their hands, and I am in them." (B. Poggius, Vita Capran. in Baluz. i. 348; Vespas. in Mai, i. 191.)

[c] Ciacon. ii. 989.

[d] Mariana, ii. 414; Gregorov. vii. 152.

of Naples was to be added.[e] The younger brother, Roderick, 1456. at the age of twenty-two, was raised to the college of cardinals,[f] in disregard of the remonstrances of its most eminent members; he was appointed chancellor of the Roman church, legate of the Marches, and was loaded with ecclesiastical benefices.[g] Under the administration of these nephews Rome fell into a frightful state of disorder; justice was corrupted, robbery and murder were unpunished.[h]

Before the quarrel as to Naples had time to come to a height, Calixtus died, on the 6th of August, 1458. Immediately the Roman populace, instigated by the Orsini, broke out into insurrection against the Colonnas and the Catalan party, of whom some were killed, and some were committed to prison.[i] The prefect, Peter Borgia, was driven to take flight, and, after having with difficulty escaped down the Tiber, made his way to Cività Vecchia. But in the course of his escape he was seized with a fever, of which he died in the harbour, leaving his wealth to swell the treasures of his brother Roderick.[k]

On the 16th of August, eighteen cardinals met in conclave.[l] Capranica, whom his experience and his merits had appeared to mark out as worthiest of the papacy, had died during the solemnities of the late pope's funeral.[m] Barbo, Estouteville, and Calandrino were brought forward, but after several scrutinies it appeared that no one had the necessary proportion of votes, and recourse was had to the method of *access.*[n] Roderick Borgia, chancellor of the church, then stood forward, declaring himself for the cardinal of Siena; and on him—Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini—the choice of the electors fell.[o] Bessarion, in the name of those who had voted for the French cardinal, expressed their high sense of the new pope's worthiness, and

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[e] Mariana, ii. 421; Murat. Annal. IX. ii. 105; Gregorov. vii. 153-4, 156.

[f] See Rayn. 1456. 71; 1458. 41.

[g] B. Poggius, in Baluz. i. 348; Gregorov. vii. 153. The adroit Piccolomini, writing under Calixtus, says: "Quorum etsi fuit ætas aliquanto minor quam tanta dignitas videretur exposcere, doctrina tamen et circumspectio et morum suavitas id honoris haud injuriose consecuta censeretur." (De Europa, 461.) "Officium Cancellariæ obtinet Rodericus Borgia . . . quamvis juvenili ætate, moribus tamen et prudentia senilibus, et qui patritii doctrinam redoliturus videatur." (De Germania, 1079.) The nepotism of Calixtus was in contrast with his own earlier practice, when, as bishop of Valencia, he had refused all pluralities. (Plat. 320.)

[h] Gregorov. vii. 156.

[i] M. Cannesius, Vita Pauli II. in Murat. III. ii. 1003; Plat. 320.

[k] Gregorov. vii. 156.

[l] Gobell. Comment. 52.

[m] B. Pogg. in Baluz. Misc. i. 351; Plat. 321; Gobell. Comment. 52; Rayn. 1458. 42-4.

[n] Comment. 53; Rayn. 1458. 1. See above, p. 469.

[o] Comment. 53-4; Voigt, iii. 9.

said that the weakness of his health was the only reason why they had refrained from voting for him at a time when bodily energy seemed to be necessary for the office.[p] With an allusion, as it would seem, to the favourite Virgilian epithet of Æneas, Piccolomini took the name of Pius, which had before been borne by only a single pope, and at a date so remote as the second century.[q]

Of all the cardinals Piccolomini was the most widely known. He had served many masters, had been engaged in opposite interests, and had been trained by a vast experience of affairs. His character was not saintly, or in any way elevated; he represented the literary culture of his time, but, above all things, he was a politician. Political dexterity, variety of accomplishments, eloquence, tact, personal fascination, were the gifts by which he had risen, and on which he relied.[r] Six years before, as he was descending the Ciminean range, near Viterbo, in attendance on Frederick, who was then on his way to the Roman coronation,[s] the emperor had foretold to him the dignity which he had now attained.[t] The election was popular among the Romans, who were weary of the Catalan domination;[u] and the report of it was received with satisfaction by princes and others in foreign countries, to whom the new pope was known.[x]

At the election, the cardinals had entered into a capitulation in which there were some new features: the future pope was bound to carry on the war against the Turks, to reform the curia, to secure a provision for the cardinals, to act by their advice, to choose them according to the decrees of Constance,[y] without regard to the importunities of princes. Once a year the cardinals were to meet, in order to inquire as to his performance of his engagements; and they were authorised to admonish him in case of failure.[z]

Pius was much attached to his native place, Corsignano, and to Siena, the home of his ancestors; and he showed to the Sienese a favour which excited jealousy and animadversion. To this favour some cardinals owed their places in the college; even St. Catharine was indebted to it for her canonization.[a] He raised

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[p] Comment. 54.

[q] Voigt, iii. 11; Gregorov. vii. 164.

[r] Comment. 35.

[s] See p. 480.

[t] Gregorov. vii. 156-60.

[u] Comment. 55; Leod. Cribelli in Mur. xxiii. 65; Gregorov. 165; Reumont, III. i. 135.

[x] Comment. 56-7.

[y] See pp. 297-8.

[z] Rayn. 1458. 5, seqq.

[a] Comment. 246–296; Rayn. 1461. 123–7; Voigt, iii. 35; Gregorov. vii. 193. Erasmus has a fling at Pius's motives for canonizing St. Catharine, "in gratiam ordinis et urbis." (Apotheosis Capnionis, Opp. i. 692.)

the see of Siena to metropolitical dignity and enriched the church with relics and other gifts;[b] he made Corsignano a bishoprick, under the new name of Pienza, and adorned it with a cathedral, a palace and other buildings, which to our own day stand in remarkable contrast with its small size and scanty population.[c] But although he admired and sympathized with the tastes of Nicholas V., he did not venture to build at Rome, with the exception of some small restorations and improvements;[d] and the hopes with which the literary class may naturally have looked to a pope who might be regarded as one of themselves, were disappointed in so far as concerned the direct encouragement of literature, although he bestowed many court-offices and benefices on men of learning.[e] The war against the Turks engrossed his care, and left him no funds to spare for the patronage of arts or of letters. His personal tastes and habits were simple; he delighted in the pure air of the country and intensely enjoyed the beauties of nature;[f] and the rapidity of his movements disgusted the formal officers of the court, although they did not really interfere with his attention to the details of business.[g]

Pius wisely abandoned his predecessor's policy as to Naples. He acknowledged Ferdinand, on certain conditions, and sent a cardinal to officiate at his coronation; and the reconciliation was cemented by the marriage of a nephew of the pope with an illegitimate daughter of the king.[h]

If the character of Pius was incapable of religious enthusiasm, he had yet many motives for continuing, in his new position, his endeavours to promote a crusade. The advance of the Mussulmans threatened Christendom and its civilization, and an ener-

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[b] Comment. 83; Oldoin. in Ciacon. ii. 1018–21; Gregorov. vii. 174.

[c] Comment. 79, 377-8, 425, seqq.; Platina, 328; Ughelli, i. 1174–7; Handb. for Central Italy; Reumont, III. i. 393. Gregory Heimburg reflects on his care for Pienza and for his own family—"Qui Piccolominibus Pientiaeque thesaurizat." (Apol. c. Epist. Feltr., in Goldast, ii. 1608, 1617; cf. Voigt, iii. 28.) Some cardinals also built at Pienza. (Comment. 433.) As to the cathedral of Pienza, the pope made a remarkable decree. There were to be no burials in it, "exceptis tumulis qui sacerdotibus et episcopis assignati sunt." "Nemo candorem parietum atque columnarum violato; nemo picturas facito; nemo tabulas appendito; nemo capellas plures quam sint, aut altaria, erigito; nemo formam ipsius templi mutato. Si quis contra fecerit, anathema esto, solius Romani pontificis, excepto mortis articulo, auctoritate absolvendus." (Comment. 432.)

[d] Campanus in Murat. III. ii. 985; Gregorov. vii. 635.

[e] Plat. 328; Gregorov. vii. 167. See Voigt, iii. 608.

[f] This taste is strongly displayed in many passages of the Commentaries, *e.g.* 183-4, 250–2, 305-9, 380, 388, 396, seqq.; 483–5, 551, 562, &c. See Burckhardt, 237.

[g] Plat. 329; Comment. 181.

[h] Antonin. 593; Plat. 329; Rayn. 1458. 20–49; 1461. 3, seqq.; Sism. vii. 238-242; Voigt, iii. 27.

getic effort was required to oppose and to repel them; perhaps, too, Pius may have thought to restore the greatness of the papacy by the same means which had enabled former popes to place themselves at the head of the European nations.[i] Within two months after his election, he sent forth an invitation to an assembly which was to be held at Mantua—a Oct. 13. place selected as being convenient on the one hand to the pope, and on the other to the princes beyond the Alps.[k] The meeting was not to be an ecclesiastical council, but a diet or congress of princes;[l] and so greatly was the imperial authority sunk, that no one questioned the pope's right to convoke such an assembly, or to assume to himself the presidency of it.[m] He instituted an order of knighthood, named after "the Blessed Virgin Mary of Bethlehem" for the intended enterprise;[n] and on the 22nd of January he set out from Rome amidst the general lamentation (as he tells us) of his people.[o] In order to assure the Romans, whose misgivings were aroused by the remembrance of the long sojourn of the popes at Avignon, he had decreed that, if he should not return, the election of his successor should take place nowhere but at Rome.[p] When apprehensions were expressed that his enemies might take advantage of his absence to invade his territory, he answered that the temporal possessions of the papacy had often been lost and regained, but that if the spirituality should be lost, it could hardly be recovered.[q] Although only fifty-three years of age, Pius was prematurely broken in health;[r] and he suffered severely from illness as he made his way over the frozen Apennines.[s]

On arriving at Mantua, he found himself almost alone with his cardinals. A war was raging between the emperor May 1459. and the son of Huniades, Matthias Corvinus, who had lately been chosen king of Hungary; and it is probable that Frederick may have gladly availed himself of this as an excuse from paying homage to a pope whom he had long known as his servant.[t] He therefore did not appear in person, and the

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[i] Giesel. II. iv. 121; Gregorov. vii. 168.

[k] Comment. 60; Antonin. 593; Rayn. 1458. 14–6; Leod. Cribell. in Murat. xxiii. 65–76.

[l] "Diæta."

[m] Gregorov. vii. 177.

[n] Rayn. 1459. 2, seqq.

[o] "Desperavere omnes de reditu; ejulare per urbem fœminæ, ac pueri blasphemare, ac viri maledicere," &c. (Comment. 61.)

[p] Rayn. 1459. 1.

[q] Comment. 69.

[r] Voigt, iii. 14.

[s] Campan. in Murat. VII. ii. 987; Plat. 328; Schröckh, xxxii. 238. The journey is particularly described in the Commentaries.

[t] Schröckh, xxxii. 243, 245-6.

ambassadors whom he sent were so wanting in ability and in dignity[u] that the pope sharply reproved him by letter for the deficiencies of his representatives, as well as for his absence.[x] The French king, offended by the pope's policy as to Naples, declined the summons, and would not commit himself to the crusade.[y] England was too deeply engaged in the wars of York and Lancaster to spare any force for the general cause of Christendom.[z]

On the 1st of June, the pope opened the assembly. He expressed his disappointment at the scantiness of the attendance, which he contrasted on the one hand with the zeal which he himself had shown in despising the sufferings and the perils of the journey to Mantua, notwithstanding age, sickness, and the troubles which beset the Roman see, and on the other hand with the enthusiasm of the Turks in favour of their "most damned sect." And he dwelt on the ambition of the infidels, who had already made their way through Greece and Illyria into Hungary, and, unless checked, might be expected to overwhelm all Europe, to the ruin of the Christian religion.[a] Disregarding the remonstrances which were pressed on him, and the reports which were studiously circulated, that the assembly was a hopeless failure,[b] he endeavoured to increase its numbers by addressing letters to the princes of Europe, in which he again earnestly urged them to appear at Mantua, or to send representatives.[c] In consequence of these letters the congress gradually increased, but not to any great degree.

The duke of Burgundy, although he had been persuaded by his councillors to remain at home, sent a splendid embassy, with the duke of Cleves at its head, to express by means of envoys his willingness to fulfil his vow to the pheasant, if other princes could be induced to settle their mutual quarrels, and to unite in the cause of Christendom.[d] The duke of Milan, and some of the smaller Italian princes, appeared in person;[e] and at length, on the 16th of November, arrived a

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[u] "Licet viri præstabiles essent." (Comment. 117.)

[x] Ib.; Voigt, iii. 49. The emperor afterwards sent others. (Comment. 158.) Pius was also dissatisfied with the representatives of Castile and of England. (161.)

[y] See Æn. Sylv. Epp. 385-6.

[z] Platina, 325; Rayn. 1459. 70; see J. Whethamstede, i. 336. (Chron. and Mem.)

[a] Comment. 108; Hard. ix. 1389; Hist. Mantuan. in Murat. xx. 859.

[b] Comment. 109-110.

[c] Hard. ix. 1390.

[d] Comment. 114, 118-9, 123; Matt de Coussy in Monstrel. xi. 328, seqq.; Chastellain, in Buchon, xlii. 68.

[e] Comment. 131. See Æn. Sylv. Ep 392.

French legation, headed by the archbishop of Tours and the bishop of Paris.[f]

On the 26th of September, the pope delivered a speech which lasted three hours; but, although it was much admired for its eloquence,[g] it failed to raise any such enthusiasm as that which had vented itself in the *Diex el volt* of Clermont.[h] Of the cardinals who had accompanied him, Bessarion alone showed any zeal for the crusade.[i]

Much time was wasted by the ambassadors of princes in discussing their mutual differences.[k] The French, when asked what help might be expected from them, said that it was useless to speak of the subject while France was at war with England. To this the pope replied that the Hungarians would be destroyed by the common enemy before the French and the English were reconciled; and he suggested that both nations should contribute to the crusade in proportion to their numbers, so that the forces which remained at home might bear the same relations to each other as before. But this ingenious proposal failed to draw forth any promise of help.[l] Of the Italian powers some were persuaded to promise aid in money for three years;[m] but the Venetians would promise nothing, and the Florentines afterwards disavowed the engagements which their envoys had made for them.[n] The duke of Burgundy undertook to supply 6000 men.[o] The Germans, after many difficulties had been raised by Gregory Heimburg, who represented the emperor's brother, Albert of Austria,[p] and is described by the pope as having laboured to sow dissensions, were brought to renew the

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[f] Comment. 155-6; N. Petit, in Dach. Spicil. iii. 801 (or in Latin, in Hard. ix. 1406).

[g] One who was present writes: "Il a gardé le style Libri Elegantiarum super hoc vocabulo *Pronontiatio* car en matiere et termes de douceur il tenoit doulce prolation, en accentuant et faisant les pauses de Gramaire sans riens oblier. En matiere de grande acerbité il eslevoit sa voix, son ton, et en si bon organe, que tous les assistans prenoient moult grand playsir et delectation à l'ouyr." (Dacher. Spicil. iii. 806.)

[h] Æn. Sylv. Ep. 397; or Hard. ix. 1392. (See Vol. II. p. 679.) He himself says in the end of his speech, "O si adessent nunc Godfridus, Baldeuinus, &c., non sinerent profecto tot nos verba facere, sed assurgentes, ut olim coram Urbano secundo, prædecessore nostro, *Deus vult, Deus vult*, alacri voce clamarent. Vos taciti finem orationis exspectatis, nec hortamentis nostris moveri videmini." There are several other speeches of the pope at Mantua. (Hard. ix. 1409, 1414, 1437, &c.) Platina says that, although he spoke often on the same subjects, his speeches always seemed to be different, "tanta erat in homine elegantia et copia." (325.)

[i] Comment. 150; Platina, Paneg. in Bessar. 80.

[k] Comment. 158-9; Mariana, ii. 427.

[l] Comment. 160.

[m] Hard. ix. 1442; Rayn. 1460. 8.

[n] Schröckh, xxxii. 254.

[o] Hard. ix. 1412.

[p] Comment. 161. See Schröckh, xxxii. 252-3.

promise which they had made to pope Nicolas, that they would furnish 10,000 cavalry and 32,000 foot.[q] But in order to carry out this, the sanction of two diets was necessary; and those diets the pope took it on himself to summon, while, in order to compensate for this invasion of the imperial rights, he declared the emperor leader and captain-general of the crusade,[r]—a position for which Frederick was notoriously and even ridiculously, unfit.[s]

On the 19th of January, 1460, the pope dissolved the congress by a speech in which he reckoned the promises which he had received as amounting to 88,000 men, besides the assurance of co-operation from Scanderbeg and others in Greece, and the confident expectation of assistance from the enemies of the Turks on the east.[t]

Jan. 18.

Before leaving Mantua, Pius sent forth a bull which from its first word is known by the title of *Execrabilis*, declaring an appeal from a pope to a general council to be punishable with excommunication, and, in the case of an university or of a college, with interdict.[u] Although he tells us that he had consulted the fathers who were at Mantua, and had obtained their unanimous consent, this was nothing less than an assumption that he was entitled to overrule by his own authority the contrary decrees of Constance and Basel.[x]

In the end of January he set out homewards, and, after some stay at Bologna and at Florence, and having suffered more severely than before on the frozen mountains,[y] he reached Siena, where he was received with great rejoicings.[z] The congress of Mantua had undeceived him in a great degree as to the prospects of a crusade; for instead of uniting the princes of Europe for the holy cause, it had served chiefly to bring to light their lukewarmness and their discords.[a]

September.

Pius was recalled to Rome by tidings of some disorders which had grown out of the remains of the Porcaro conspiracy and were suppressed with the capital punishment of the leaders.[b] He arrived on the 7th of October, when he was received with a joyful welcome; and he soon after vindicated himself in a speech of two hours, before the popular

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[q] Comment. 164; Hard. ix. 1442. See above, p. 488.

[r] Comment. 164.

[s] Comment. 164; Rayn. 1459. 70-2; 1460. 20; Gregorov. vii. 179.

[t] Comment. 168; Hard. ix. 1443; Rayn. 1460. 1-6. For letters written to obtain co-operation, see Rayn. ib. 71-6.

[u] Hard. ix. 1441.

[v] Comment. 166.

[x] Gregorov. vii. 179.

[y] Comment. 173-5.

[z] Ib. 175-6.

[a] Giesel. II. iv. 122.

[b] Comment. 192-5, 197-8, 213-7

council against the charge of preferring the interests of Siena to those of the papal city.[c]

With a view of stirring up the Germans for the crusade, and of effecting a reconciliation between the emperor and the king of Hungary,[d] Bessarion was sent into Germany. But he was met by complaints that the imposition of a tenth by the pope's sole authority was contrary to a decree of the council of Constance;[e] and the cardinal was so much irritated and disgusted by the turbulence of the Germans and by the backwardness of the clergy, that at leaving Vienna he gave his blessing with the left hand instead of the right.[f]

At this time the German church was distracted by a contest for the primacy. Diether, count of Isenburg, had in 1459 been elected to the see of Mentz—not without bribery, according to his enemies,[g] although this is strongly denied. Before confirming the election, Pius wished to bind him by engagements that he would not urge the assembling of a general council, and that he would not convoke the princes of the empire without the consent of the emperor, to whom such meetings were almost as unwelcome as general councils were to popes. Diether, with some difficulty, was excused from appearing in person at Mantua;[h] but his representatives at the congress submitted to a demand of 20,500 florins by way of first-fruits on his appointment, and, as they were not provided with the money, they borrowed it of some Roman bankers.[i] On these terms, and on their pledging him to appear at the papal court within a year, the pope's confirmation was obtained.[k] But the archbishop, on hearing of the affair, protested against the payment, as being more than double the amount required of his predecessors, and as a violation of the late concordat, which Pius himself had negotiated; and, as he did not repay the loan, he was excommunicated at the instance of the creditors. Although this was according to the usual process of some inferior court at Rome, and although the pope disavowed all knowledge of the act, and justified the increase of the payment on the ground that it was destined for the crusade, Diether maintained that the curia was

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[c] Comment. 219, seqq.; Rayn. 1460. 69–71; Plat. 325; Gregorov. vii. 182–7; see Voigt, iii. 151. In this speech he declared that his family was originally Roman. (Comment. 225.)

[d] Rayn. 1460. 17-8.

[e] Giesel. II. iv. 125 (from Senckenberg, 'Selecta Juris et Historiarum').

[f] Comment. 229; Platina, Panegyr. in Bess. 80-1; L. Chalcocond. 229; Schröckh, xxxii. 256; Voigt, iii. 233.

[g] Comment. 116; Rayn. 1461. 23. The pope professed to have been ignorant of the bribery until later.

[h] Comment. 116.

[i] Ib. 260-1.

[k] Ib. 117; Naucler. 1091.

in collusion with the money-lenders; and, in defiance of the late bull *Execrabilis,* he appealed to a general council.[l] In conse- Aug. 21, 1461. quence of this appeal, a sentence of deposition was issued against him; and count Adolphus of Nassau, a canon of Mentz, was nominated by the pope to the see.[m] The rivals fought, according to the usual German fashion, by their A.D. 1461-2. families, their dependants, and their allies, desolating the country which was the scene of their warfare, and utterly disregarding the common interest of the crusade.[n] But Oct. 28, 1463. at length Diether was brought to give up his pretensions to the archbishoprick on condition that he should enjoy for life certain towns, castles, and tolls, and that Adolphus should, at his own expense, procure his restoration to the church.[o]

About the same time with the question of the German A.D. 1460. primacy, a violent quarrel as to jurisdiction, the collection of annates, and other subjects, arose between Sigismund of Austria, duke of the Tyrol, and Cardinal Nicolas of Cusa, who ten years before had been appointed by pope Nicolas to the bishoprick of Brixen, in preference to a candidate elected by the chapter.[p] The duke ventured so far as to im- Aug. 1460. prison the cardinal; whereupon the pope denounced him and his abettors by sentences of anathema and of other penalties, from which Sigismund appealed to a general council.[q] A fierce controversy followed, in which the most conspicuous of Sigismund's partisans was the indefatigable enemy of the Roman court, Gregory Heimburg. Gregory was excommunicated in October, 1460,[r] but continued to employ against the papacy all the resources of his learning, acuteness,

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[l] Comment. 260; Rayn. 1461. 15, seqq.; Schmidt, iv. 276; Schröckh, xxxii. 259–261; Giesel. II. iv. 133.

[m] Comment. 266-7; Rayn. 1461. 21–5; Giesel. II. iv. 131.

[n] Comment. 269, 404-5; Naucler. 1091-2; Trithem. Chron. Sponh. 373–6; Schmidt, iv. 280.

[o] Comment. 267-8, 604, 635; Trithem. Chron. Sponh. 376-7; Schmidt, iv. 281; Schröckh, xxxii. 274–6. The pope's satisfaction at this arrangement appears from a letter in which he styles Diether "dilectum filium," and overwhelms him with praises. (Giesel. II. iv. 133.) On the death of Adolphus, in 1475, Diether got peaceable possession of the archbishoprick, which he held till his death, in 1482. John of Trittenheim eulogises him. (Chron. Sponh. A.D. 1482.) Cf. Krantz, Saxonia, 311.

[p] Comment. 188; Naucler. 1090. Jäger, 'Der Streit des Cardinals N. von Cusa mit Sigmund von Oesterreich,' Innsbruck, 1861, vol. i. 27, &c.; Voigt, iii. 305-6. See documents in Goldast de Monarchia, ii. 1576, seqq.; Freher, ii. 121, seqq.; and Brown's Fasciculus, ii. 114, seqq. Sigismund had been a pupil of Æneas Sylvius, but, according to him, fell away from his early promise. (Comment. 165)

[q] Goldast, ii. 1585, 1589-90; Comment. 372; Rayn. 1460. 33–5.

[r] Æn. Sylv. Ep. 408; Rayn. 1460. 34–7. For the pope's account of him in earlier days, see above, p. 463. For Gregory's notes on the sentence, and his appeal against it, Goldast, ii. 1592.

and unsparing sarcasm.[s] Sigismund was absolved in 1564, through the mediation of the emperor, who is said, in his anxiety for the honour of his family, to have even thrown himself at a legate's feet.[t] But Gregory Heimburg remained under excommunication, and during the following years he is found wherever there was an opposition to the papacy—with Diether at Mentz, with Albert of Austria, when he besieged his brother Frederick in Vienna,[u] with king George Podibrad in Bohemia.[x] At length, in 1471, feeling the approach of death, he submitted to the church, and entreated absolution; and thus the sturdy adversary of Rome died in outward peace with the papacy.[y]

The frequent appeals to general councils forced on the pope's notice the inconsistency which was observed between his earlier and his later policy; and, in order to vindicate himself, he put forth, in April, 1463, his "Bull of Retractation," addressed to the university of Cologne.[z] In this he admits that he had said, written, and done many things which might be condemned; but he professes a wish, like St. Augustine, to retract the errors of his earlier years, rather than obstinately to adhere to them. He lays down strong principles as to the authority of the papacy, and desires that anything inconsistent with these in his writings may be rejected. "Believe an old man," he says, "rather than a young one, and do not make a private person of more account than a pontiff. Reject Æneas; receive Pius: the former gentile name our parents imposed on us at our birth; the latter Christian name we took with our apostolic office."[a] In order to show that this change of opinions had not been caused by his elevation, he enters into an account of his earlier career. At Basel his inexperience had been misled by the misrepresentations of cardinals and others, hostile to Eugenius, and by the authority of the Parisian and other academics, to fall in with the general disparagement of the papacy. Thus, when he came to take an independent part in the council, it was in accordance with the

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[s] His tract 'De Primatu Papæ' is an exposure of the encroachments of papal on imperial power. He seems, however, to believe in the Donation of Constantine (Fascic. ii. 121). Lælius, bishop of Feltre, wrote against him (Goldast, ii. 1595), and Gregory rejoined (ib. 1604). He is very outspoken as to Peter's connexion with Rome (1620).

[t] Jac. Papiens. in Rayn. 1464. 35.

[u] As to this incident, see Comment. 445.

[x] Schröckh, xxxii. 265.

[y] Schröckh, xxxii. 266.

[z] It is printed at the beginning of his works; and in Hard. ix. 1449, seqq.

[a] These words he had before used in a letter expressing regret for his 'Eurialus and Lucretia' (see above, p. 460). The manner in which he speaks of his baptismal name is remarkable.

spirit which prevailed there, and supposing the defections of Julian Cesarini and others to the council of Ferrara to have been prompted by a fear of losing their preferments, he remained at Basel and took part with the antipope. The emperor's refusal to acknowledge Felix staggered him; he passed into the service of Frederick, who, like the Germans generally, was neutral in the question of the papacy; and among the neutral party he learnt the falsehood of many of the charges against Eugenius. Still more he learnt, by frequent conversations with Cesarini, who was then on his Hungarian legation, to see many things in a new light. He goes on to relate the course of his submission to Eugenius, and points out that until then he had been merely a clerk, without having proceeded even to the minor orders. Having thus explained his own career, he proceeds to dwell on the unity of the church, under the pope as its head; and he professes reverence for councils approved by the pope, whose sanction he considers necessary to their validity. Skilful as this apology is, perhaps its effect is rather to bring out than to justify the contrast between the writer's earlier and his later opinions.[b]

With France the relations of Pius were not very cordial. He strongly desired the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, which he spoke of to the French ambassadors at Mantua as a spot and a wrinkle deforming the national church, and a token of Antichrist's approach.[c] And his bull *Execrabilis*, in censuring appeals to a general council, implied a condemnation of the Pragmatic Sanction.[d] But so little were the French convinced by this vehemence, that in the following year the king's procurator-general, John Dauvet, put forth an answer to the pope's speech, and appealed to the judgment of the universal church.[e]

July 22, 1461. The death of Charles VII., however, produced a change in this respect. Louis XI., who had been on bad terms with his father, was inclined, out of hatred to the memory of Charles, to reverse his policy in this and in other matters.[f] It is said that he looked on calmly when, at the late king's funeral, the bishop of Terni, the papal legate, insulted the memory of Charles and the reputation of the Gallican church

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[b] See Giesel. II. iv. 133; Gregorov. vii. 167.

[c] Hard. ix. 1432-3; cf. Comment. 290-2; Basin, i. 319.

[d] Schröckh. xxxii. 280. He strongly denounces it in Ep. 375, p. 847.

[e] Libertez de l'Eglise Gall., Preuves, 289-295.

[f] Hallam, ii. 53.

by pronouncing an absolution over him for his concern in the Pragmatic Sanction;[g] and he was persuaded by John Godefroy, bishop of Arras, a crafty politician, who conveyed to him the pope's blessing on his accession,[h] that, by abolishing the sanction, he would do away with the influence which the great feudatories exercised in ecclesiastical promotion, and might reckon on getting the real patronage into his own hands.[i] In the following year, he sent Godefroy (for whom he and the duke of Burgundy had procured the dignity of cardinal[k]) to announce at Rome the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction.[l] The tidings were received with great rejoicing. All work was suspended for three days; the city was illuminated, bells were rung, the streets were animated by singing and dancing, the sound of trumpets, and the blazing of bonfires; and copies of the obnoxious document were ignominiously dragged through the mud.[m] The pope rewarded Louis with a gift of a consecrated sword, which bore an inscription in verse, exhorting him to destroy the power of the Turks.[n] But the hopes which the bishop of Arras had deceitfully held out, that the pope would declare for the Angevine interest as to Naples, were utterly disappointed. Pius offered no more than to arbitrate between the claimants;[o] and he at once began to exercise his new privileges in the patronage of French dignities.[p] Louis in his anger was disposed to recall his late concession; and he found that it had produced an indignation which he had not expected in the parliaments and in the universities of France, among the nobles and among the citizens, who regarded it as a sacrifice of the national honour. In 1467, under the pontificate of Paul II., when the king's confidant, Cardinal Balue, produced before the parliament the royal letter by which the sanction was repealed, John de St. Romain, the king's procurator-general, opposed the registration of it, which was necessary to give it the force of law; and, on being threatened by the cardinal with the king's displeasure, he replied that he would rather lose his office than

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[g] Basin, ii. 13-4; Voigt. iii. 191. The bishop was afterwards deposed for misconduct as legate in England. Comment. 510-1.

[h] Comment. 300.

[i] Schröckh, xxxii. 285; Sism. Hist. Fr. xiv. 91; Martin, vi 534. See the pope's letter in Hard. ix. 1449 (Nov. 11, 1461).

[k] Dec. 18, 1461. Ciacon. ii. 1052.

[l] See Rayn. 1461. 118; Bul. v. 649-50; Voigt, iii. 191, seqq. Pius speaks of Godefroy as "aperta mendacia pro vèris affirmans." (Comment. 313.)

[m] Comment. 342–4; Rayn. 1462. 8-9; Dach. Spicil. iii. 823. See Bul. iv. 29.

[n] Comment. 338; Rayn. 1461. 115.

[o] Comment. 380-1, 405; Schröckh, xxxii. 288; Giesel. II. iv. 139; Voigt, iii. 196.

[p] Martin, vi. 515-6.

do anything which might endanger his soul, his sovereign, and his country.[q] The parliament cried out that within three years 3,000,000 of gold crowns had been drawn from France by the papal court. Louis expelled the pope's collectors, and seized the temporalities of those cardinals who held sees or abbacies in France.[r] Without formally retracting his late act, he proceeded as if the Pragmatic Sanction were still in force; and this state of things continued throughout the reign.[s]

Notwithstanding the discouragement which Pius had received as to the crusade, he was still bent on that enterprise. After the gradual extinction of the smaller Greek principalities,[t] the work of resisting the Turks was chiefly left to the king of Hungary on the lower Danube, and to the indomitable Scanderbeg in Albania. But frequent communications were brought to Rome, as if from eastern princes, who offered to co-operate in vast force, if the Christians of Europe would attack the Turks on the west.[u] And in 1461 a great sensation was produced at Rome by the arrival of Thomas Palæologus, brother of the last Byzantine emperor, and formerly lord of the Morea, who had been driven from Greece, and brought with him from Patras, the traditional place of St. Andrew's martyrdom, a head which was said to be that of the apostle.[x] The pope had eagerly entered into treaty for this venerable relic, and succeeded in obtaining it against the competition of many princes.[y] It was brought with much ceremony from Ancona, where Palæologus had left it,[z] was met at Narni by Bessarion and two other cardinals, and on its arrival at Rome was received with extraordinary reverence.[a] Invitations had been sent to the cities of Italy, with a promise of the same indulgence as at a jubilee for those who should be present; and the crowd was as great as at the jubilee under Pope Nicolas.[b] The head was carried to St.

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[q] Preuves des Lib. de l'Egl. Gall. 295-7. As to the independence of the parliament, see Hallam, i. 196.

[r] Martin, vii. 346; Sism. xiv. 98.

[s] Comment. 595; Giesel. II. iv. 141-3. See Bulæus, v. 698, as to Sixtus IV., A.D. 1471; and the account of an assembly at Orleans, 1478, for the purpose of restoring the Pragmatic Sanction in Jean de Troyes, ed. Petitot, xiv. 78-9.

[t] See Sism. R. I. vii. 282-6; Reumont, III. 143-4; Gregorov. vii. 195.

[u] Gregorov. vii. 198. The professed envoys were maintained at the public expense, and some are said to have eaten at the rate of 20 pounds of meat a day (Comment. 231-2). They visited various western countries, but with little effect (233). One adventurer got himself consecrated as a patriarch, at Venice, by bishops whom he had imposed on (ib.).

[x] Comment. 236, 352; Rayn. 1461. 43. The body of St. Andrew was supposed to be at Amalfi. (Comment. 352.)

[y] Comment. 353.

[z] Ib. 236, 354.

[a] A small chapel stands on the spot where the head was received, near the Ponte Molle.

[b] Comment. 354-5, 361.

Peter's in procession, attended by 30,000 torches, while the palaces and other houses along the way were hung with tapestry, and numerous altars adorned the streets.[c] The hours occupied by the procession from the Flaminian gate were the only interval of fair weather in a whole month, and the solemnity of the Holy Week, which had just begun, combined with the other influences of the scene.[d] The Vatican basilica was splendidly illuminated; the pope addressed the holy relic in an eloquent and affecting speech, while the vast multitude showed their sympathy by weeping, sobbing, and beating their breasts;[e] and, after other ceremonies, to which the strains of music from instruments and voices added effect, the head of St. Andrew was deposited beside that of St. Peter.[f]

A.D. 1461.

Soon after the loss of Sinope and of Trebizond had been reported in the west, Pius ventured on the extraordinary measure of addressing a letter to Mahomet, for the purpose of urging him to embrace the Christian faith.[g] He begins by warning the sultan not to trust in his fortune, but to seek for power and fame rather through being baptized; and in this part of the letter he partly appeals to motives of temporal interest. He then goes on to statements of Christian doctrine, with many reflections on the errors of Mahometanism, and on the laxity of its morality. He argues against the assertion that the Scriptures had been corrupted, ridicules the legends of the Koran, and celebrates the great writers of the Christian church; and he concludes by again exhorting Mahomet to enter into the church by baptism. Although this letter displays much learning and ingenuity, it is difficult to conceive how a man so shrewd and so experienced as the writer could have expected it to produce conviction in the mind of the Turkish prince, even if (as was most unlikely) he were ever to listen to the reading of it.[h]

A discovery of alum-mines near La Tolfa, in 1462, added considerably to the papal revenue, and at the same time deprived the Turks of the money which the western nations had been

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[c] Comment. 355, 365.

[d] Comment. 356, 372.

[e] Ib. 357-8.

[f] Ib. 367, seqq.; Infessura, in Eccard, ii. 1892; Gregorov. vii. 198–201; Reumont, iii. 148. The head of St. Andrew was carried off during the Roman revolution of 1848, and a statue of the Apostle now marks the spot where it was again found, near the gate of St. Pancras. (See Reumont, III. i. 148.) For the extinction of the Palæologi, by the death of Thomas in the hospital of Santo Spirito, May 12, 1465, see Jac. Volater. 157; Gregorov. vii. 199.

[g] Ep. 396; Opera, 872–894; or Rayn. 1461. 44–112.

[h] See Bayle, art. *Mahomet II.*, N. Q.; Schröckh, xxxii. 291–5; Hallam, M. A., i. 498; Giesel. II. iv. 142; Milman, vi. 179 (who is far more favourable than Hallam); Voigt, iii. 658-9.

accustomed to pay for the alum of Asia Minor; and Pius did not hesitate to give the name of miracle to an event which thus doubly tended to advance his hopes of a crusade.[i]

Pius invited all princes to send representatives to a congress at Rome,[k] and he addressed the cardinals in an eloquent and pathetic speech, proposing a crusade, with a truce for five years among Christians. He declared his intention of joining the expedition, not for the purpose of fighting, but that, while God's people fought, he might, like Moses, from a hill or from the elevated deck of a ship, pray for them and pour curses on the enemy.[l] Of the cardinals, to whom he spoke in a second address,[m] all but those of Spoleto and Arras were in favour of a crusade.[n] But when he issued a bull for the purpose,[o] no Christian states, except Venice and Hungary, were found to respond. In Germany the cry was rather for a reform of the church than for a war against the infidels. In England, when the pope asked the clergy for a tenth for the crusade, a sixtieth was proposed by some, and only a fortieth was voted.[p] Louis of France, irritated by his disappointment as to Naples and by the consequences of his concession as to the Pragmatic Sanction, not only held aloof, but urged Duke Philip of Burgundy to leave unfulfilled his vow to the pheasant.[q] A few of the Italian powers, however, agreed to pay the same amounts which had formerly been promised at Mantua.[r]

On the 19th of June, 1464, the pope, although suffering from gout and fever,[s] set out for Ancona, where he expected to find the Venetian fleet.[t] Turning round to look on the city from

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[i] Comment. 339-341; Annal. Foroliv. in Murat. xxii. 226; Gaspar Veronensis (who had much to do with these mines, especially under Paul II.), ib. III. ii. 1043, 1047; Reumont, III. i. 281 and n.; Gregorov. vii. 202.

[k] Platina, 321.

[l] Comment. 347, seqq; Rayn. 1462. 33.

[m] Comment. 618-24.

[n] Schröckh, xxxii. 294; Sism. vii. 307.

[o] Ep. 398 (misnumbered 412), also in Wilkins, iii. 587.

[p] Wilk. iii. 594-8.

[q] J. du Clercq, in Monstrel. xiv. 337; Platina, 326. For letters to the Duke of Burgundy, see Æn. Sylv. Epp. 376-82; Rayn. 1464. 4-9. Pius in his bull, had spoken of him as certain to join the crusade, and as an example for others (pp. 917-9). The duke, being unable to fulfil his vow at the time, asked for a year's delay, and in the meanwhile sent two illegitimate sons. These, after having delivered Ceuta from the Saracens, proceeded to Italy, with the intention of joining the pope; but finding him already dead, returned to Marseilles, having suffered great losses from sickness. (J. du Clercq, 336-41, 380-1; Chastellain. in Buchon, xlii. 48-52, 54, seqq., 69-71; Oliv. de la Marche, in Petitot, x. 253-5.) Philip had recruited his finances well before his death in 1465. (Sism. H. des Franç. xiv. 221)

[r] Comment. 630; Rayn. 1462.

[s] For a formidable account of his ailments eleven years earlier, see Ep. 146. But his activity was never intermitted on this account. (Plat. 326)

[t] See his letter to the doge of Venice, Rayn. 1463. 41.

the Quintian meadows, he burst out into the words "Farewell Rome! thou wilt never again see me alive!"[u] On account of his weak condition, he took advantage of the Tiber as far as possible, proceeding up the stream from the Ponte Molle, and after a slow land-journey by way of Loreto, he reached Ancona on the 18th of July.[x] In the course of this journey he repeatedly fell in with parties of volunteers who had flocked into Italy for the crusade; but they were in general utterly unfit for the work—unarmed, undisciplined, without any leaders, many of them worn out and impotent, beggarly, ragged, and hungry. The pope, distressed and disgusted by the sight of such allies, gave them his blessing, and desired them to return to their homes;[y] whereupon the better of them sold such things as they had, and obeyed his charge, while others, after having vainly waited for the beginning of the expedition, betook themselves to robbery for support.[z]

At Ancona Pius found that the expected naval allies had not yet arrived; and in the meanwhile his illness was growing on him. On the 12th of August he had the gratification of seeing, from the bishop's palace, where he was lodged, the entry of twelve Venetian galleys into the harbour, under the command of the doge, Christopher Moro; but he was too weak to receive the doge, as he had intended, on the following day. On the 14th he called to his bedside the cardinals who had accompanied him, and recommended to their care the prosecution of the war, the ecclesiastical state, and his own nephews. He asked for the last sacraments, and had a discussion with the bishop of Ferrara on the question whether he should receive extreme unction, as he had already received it when dangerously sick at Basel. He repeated the Athanasian Creed, which he declared to be "most true and holy." Bessarion endeavoured to comfort him by the assurance that he had governed well; and on the following day the pope expired.[a] However we may judge of the versatile

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[u] Campanus, in Murat. III. ii. 988.

[x] Ib. 989-90; Jac. Papiens. in Rayn. 1464. 36-7; Gregorov. vii. 207.

[y] Platina, 326; Naucler. 1094; Krantz, Saxonia, 311; Simoneta, in Murat. xx. 763. It is said that the number of those who set out for the crusade in this fashion was not less than 300,000. (J. du Clercq, in Monstrel. xiv. 341-2; cf. Chastellain, in Buchon, xlii. 51.) Krantz gives a curious account of the fanaticism and imposture with which the crusade was got up in Germany: "Sacrilegium ducebant, si quis verbo interposito conaretur quenquam avertere minus expeditioni profuturum" (Wandalia, 288).

[z] Schröckh, xxxii. 300; Reumont, III. i. 151.

[a] Jac. Papiens. ap. Rayn. 1464. 41; Campanus, 990; Plat. 326-7. J. du Clercq (in Monstrel. xiv. 352) says that at the hour of his death the vines, trees, &c., around Rome were blasted

character and of the strangely varied career of this remarkable man, the circumstances of his last days entitle him to respect, as having sacrificed his life for Christendom, even if it may be supposed that other motives mingled with those of religion.[b]

The crusade ended with the death of the pope who had projected it. Of the money which he had collected for the expedition, a part was given to the Venetians and a part to the king of Hungary; and these powers continued to carry on war against the Turks by sea and by land.[c]

The cardinals returned to Rome, for the purpose of electing a pope; and on the 31st of August, at the first scrutiny, it was found that their choice had fallen on Peter Barbo, a Venetian, whose family pretended to descent from the old Roman Ahenobarbi.[d] The new pope, who was forty-six years of age, took the name of Paul II.; he was a nephew of Eugenius IV., on whose elevation he had exchanged a mercantile life for the profession of an ecclesiastic.[e] He had been created cardinal of St. Mark at the age of twenty-two by his uncle, and while holding that dignity had rebuilt the church from which he took his title, and had begun the vast Venetian palace, for which the materials were chiefly derived from the plunder of the Coliseum.[f] After the death of Eugenius, he was able to secure the favour of Nicolas and Calixtus; and he obtained from Pius a pension charged on the Cluniac priory of Paisley,[g] although this pope was in the habit of speaking of him as *Maria pientissima*, on account of his affectedly soft and tender manner, which he carried so far as to make use of tears for any purpose which could not otherwise be gained.[h] So vain was Barbo of his handsome person, that he wished as pope to take the name of Formosus, and was with difficulty dissuaded by the cardinals.[i] This love of display and show led him to spend large sums on

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by lightning: "et mourut icellui pape, comme on disoit, de mort diverse, et en grand dangier pour son ame, et en parloit-on de mauvaise manière," on account of the corruptions practised in the church.

[b] Some of his books have been condemned by his successors, since 1559, either absolutely or "donec corrigantur." In the index of forbidden books, we still read as to his commentaries on the council of Basel, "corrigantur ea quæ ipse in Bulla Retractationis damnavit." (Migne, Dict. des Hérésies, ii. 1148.)

[c] Plat. 327; Sismondi, vii. 313; Daru, ii. 456-7; Palacky, IV. ii. 321.

[d] Cannesius, in Murat. III. iii. 993.

[e] It is said that he was about to sail for the Levant, in order to settle there, and had already shipped his luggage, when the news of the election changed his plans. (Plat. 331.)

[f] Plat. 343; Gaspar. Veron. in Murat. III. ii. 1041; Gregorov. vii. 21, 637-8; Reumont, III. i. 396–8.

[g] Theiner, 418.

[h] Plat. 332.

[i] Gregorov. vii. 213.

jewels, precious stones, and other ornaments;[k] and in order to provide the means of this expenditure, he was accustomed to keep in his own hands the income of vacant bishopricks and other offices, instead of filling them up.[l] He was fond of exhibiting himself in splendid attire at great religious functions, and on some occasions endeavoured to heighten the effect of his appearance by painting his face.[m] Among his other peculiarities, it is mentioned that he was accustomed to transact all business by night.[n] It is from Paul's institution, rather than from any unbroken traditions of paganism, that the festivities of the Roman carnival derive their character; and he used to look on from the Venetian palace at the races run by old men and young men, by Jews, horses, asses, and buffaloes, along the Via Lata, which from these sports acquired the new name of Corso.[o]

In other respects there is a conflict of testimony as to his character; for while Platina (who had special reasons for disliking him)[p] represents him as heartless, cruel, and difficult of approach,[q] other writers dilate on his tenderness, his universal benevolence, and his bountiful charity.[r] Among the objects of this bounty were even the poorer cardinals and bishops, as Platina himself tells us; and he agrees with the eulogists of Paul in describing him as merciful to those who offended against the law.[s]

Before proceeding to an election, the cardinals had been exhorted in a discourse by the bishop of Torcello, who represented the danger that all authority might pass from the college to the pope, so as to be exercised at his mere will, and advised them to choose such a pope as might remedy this evil.[t] They had bound themselves by capitulations, slightly altered from those which had been framed at the last papal election. The future pope was to carry on the crusade which had been begun against the Turks; to call a general council within three years; to observe certain rules as to the nomination of cardinals; to appoint no more than one cardinal from among his own kindred, and to

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[k] Plat. 341; Cannes. in Mur. III. ii. 1009-10; Gasp. Veron. ib. 1014. These afterwards went to pay the debts of the popes from Eugenius IV. downwards. (Vita Sixti IV. in Mur. III. ii. 1057.)

[l] Cron. di Bologna, Mur. xviii. 788.

[m] Plat. 341.

[n] Ib. 333.

[o] Plat. 337; Infessura, 1893; Cannes. 1012; Gregorov. vii. 218, 639. James of Volterra says that "*Bacchanalium* die qui Carnisprivium nuncupatur," the history of Constantine was acted before Pope Sixtus, in 1484, in a court of the Vatican. (Murat. xxiii. 185.)

[p] See below, p. 514.

[q] Plat. 343.

[r] Plat. 342; Cannes. 993, 1017, 1019; Gasp. Veron. 1028, 1040, 1044, 1048. Rinaldi quotes Giles of Viterbo, Filelfo, &c., in his commendation. (1471. 635.)

[s] Plat. 343. (Cf. Raph. Volaterr. 817.)

[t] Gregorov. vii. 212.

refrain from bestowing certain important offices on these; and there were special provisions for securing to the cardinals a real influence as counsellors of the pope in the administration of his office. His promises were to be read over to him in the consistory every month, and twice a year the cardinals were to inquire as to his performance of them, and, in case of his failure, were to admonish him with filial deference.[u]

Yet Paul, although he had not only agreed to these stipulations, but had again sworn to them after his election, threw off their obligation. He declared that such engagements were unlawful; and, chiefly by wheedling, partly by other means, he induced the cardinals to subscribe, instead of the capitulations, an altered form, which he then locked up, so that it was never seen again. Bessarion was forcibly compelled to sign; the aged Carvajal alone persisted in refusing.[x]

Paul showed little of his predecessor's zeal for the holy war, although the Turks were pressing onwards in their career of conquest, so that Italy itself seemed to be in danger.[y] He gave, however, the produce of the alum mines for the crusade, as he had engaged to do by the capitulations.[z] He spent large sums, with but little effect, in subsidising the king of Hungary, Scanderbeg, and other opponents of the Turks;[a] and he endeavoured to seek for alliances and money in Germany, where his representatives found the princes and the people generally indifferent to the cause.[b]

In the end of 1468, the emperor suddenly revisited Rome, with a small train of attendants. The proposed object of his journey was to fulfil a vow of pilgrimage which he had made on his deliverance, by George Podibrad, from being besieged in his palace at Vienna, and to concert an expedition against the Turks; but it has been suspected that its real motive was different,—that he perhaps even intended to contrive the ruin of the neighbour to whom he had been so greatly indebted.[c] He

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[u] Jac. Papiens. in Rayn. 1464. 55.

[x] Schröckh, xxxii. 339; Gregorov. vii. 214-5; see Bayle, art. *Paul II.*, n. E. It is said that by way of consolation Paul bestowed on the cardinals red hats, purple cloaks, and red horse-trappings. (Plat. 341; Greg. l. c.)

[y] Sism. vii. 397, 405.

[z] Schröckh, xxxii. 311. This was continued by his successor, who wrote to the duke of Burgundy, asking that alum might be allowed to pass free through his territories, as the profits were intended for the crusade. (Mart. Coll. Ampl. ii. 1520.)

[a] Rayn. 1465. 18-9; 1466. 3; Gasp. Veron. 1047; Schröckh, xxxii. 313. Scanderbeg died in 1466. (Rayn. 1466-7.)

[b] *E. g.* Rayn. 1471. 4, seqq.; Schmidt, iv. 294-6, 299-300. Bessarion also wrote to stir up the Italian princes. (Rayn. 1470. 20-35.)

[c] See cardinal James of Pavia, in Freher, ii. 140, seqq.; Augustin. Patricius, in Murat. xxiii. 203, seqq.; Palacky, IV. ii. 554; Gregorov. vii. 227.

arrived on Christmas eve, was conducted by torchlight from the Flaminian gate to the Vatican, and, on the morning of the great festival, edified the congregation assembled in St. Peter's by the skill with which he chanted the Gospel of the decree which went out from Cæsar Augustus[d] The emperor communicated with the pope; but, whereas it was usual for persons admitted to that honour to receive in both kinds, the chalice was on this occasion received by the pope alone, lest encouragement should be given to the Hussite belief of its necessity.[e] The visit lasted seventeen days, during which Frederick visited the remains of antiquity, and Paul had the gratification of entertaining the emperor by a display of his precious jewels.[f] But even as to etiquette there were some differences; and when Frederick proposed a congress like that of Mantua, the pope replied that such meetings produced discord rather than union. Whether for avowed or for secret reasons, the two were mutually dissatisfied, and Frederick returned to Germany in displeasure.[g]

Paul professed himself desirous of reforming the curia; but, notwithstanding these professions, offices as well as benefices continued to be offered for sale.[h] In one instance, however, he made an attempt at reform, which, by provoking the enmity of the biographer Platina, has seriously affected his reputation with posterity. The college of abbreviators, which took its origin from the days of the Avignon papacy, had been reconstituted by Pius II., who fixed its number at seventy. These for the most part had bought their offices, with the assurance that it was permanent, and among them were many men of the literary class, including the biographer of the popes.[i] When, therefore, Paul charged the abbreviators with simony and other corruption, and proceeded to dissolve the college,[k] he raised against himself a host of peculiarly dangerous enemies; and the narrative of Platina, who had suffered especial hardship and persecution, has left imputations on the pope's character and conduct

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[d] Aug. Patric. 210. "Non injucunde cantavit." (Jac. Papiens. 141.) In proof of the decay of the imperial dignity, it is noted that the cardinal supposes the pope to have condescended in treating Frederick as an equal, "numquam cum processerunt passus est nisi ex æquo esse." (143.) In like manner Aug. Patrizi, who was master of the ceremonies, speaks of the decline of the emperor, and of the pope's rise in dignity, so that, contrary to the usage of earlier times, "parvulum quodque humanitatis officium pro maximo reparandum est." (215-6.)

[e] Aug. Patr. 212.

[f] Aug. Patr. 212; Infess. 1894.

[g] Schröckh, xxxii. 317-8; Palacky, iv. ii. 555 6; Gregorov. vii. 228

[h] Plat. 342; Naucler. 1058.

[i] Plat. 332-3.

[k] Ægid. Viterb. ap. Rayn. 1466. 21.

which, although we may not fully trust the writer,[l] are not met by any evidence on the more favourable side.[m] In the course of this affair, the pope attempted to connect Platina with a party which he accused of paganism. The members of this party had formed themselves into an academy, of which Pomponius Leti, an illegitimate offspring of the counts of San Severino, was president.[n] They are said to have disdained their baptismal names, and to have taken up instead of them fantastical substitutes, such as Callimachus and Asclepiades;[o] but while at Florence the revival of classical learning was animated by a passion for the literature of Greece, the spirit of this party was so exclusively Roman that Leti refused even to become acquainted with the Greek language.[p] To Paul such an association was naturally obnoxious, although we need not trace this dislike, with Platina, to his own want of literary culture alone,[q] but may refer it with more probability to a dread of heathen and republican tendencies.[r] He therefore proceeded against them with much rigour; some of them were severely

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[l] See Rayn. 1471. 62, with Mansi's note; Murat. Ann. IX. ii. 246.

[m] Bartholomew Sacchi, who is usually known by the Latin name of his birthplace, Piadena, in the Cremonese, was born in 1421. He was appointed an abbreviator by Pius II., but was deprived of his office by Paul, who also imprisoned him in chains, in a lofty tower, without fire, and exposed to the blasts of winter. (Plat. 333.) He was afterwards charged with a share in a conspiracy of one Callimachus, and, with about twenty others, was tortured but could not be brought to any confession. (338-9.) The pope then accused them of heresy—of questioning the immortality of the soul, and denying the existence of God—charges which Platina explains by saying that such questions were argued in the schools of disputation, with a view to finding out the truth. (310.) After he had been acquitted, the pope for two years promised him promotion, but died without having done anything for him. (341.) There is a speech of his addressed to Paul, "De pace Italiæ componenda, atque de bello Turcis indicendo." (Append. ad Vitas Paparum, 34–8.) By Sixtus IV. he was made librarian of the Vatican, and was induced to undertake his 'Lives of the Popes.' He died in 1481. (Rayn. 1478. 48-9; Tirab. vi. i. 276; Gregorov vii. 596.) James of Volterra gives an account of a festival on his anniversary in 1482, when Pomponius Leti, "princeps sodalitatis litterariæ, vir doctissimus," delivered an eulogium from the pulpit, and was followed by one Astræus, who recited some verses which, although elegant, were "a nostra Catholica professione alieni, et loco illo sacratissimo valde indigni." The writer was shocked at such an invasion of the pulpit by a layman. A banquet was given by Demetrius of Lucca, an old pupil of Platina; verses were recited in vast profusion, and they were collected into a volume. (Murat. xxiii. 171.) Philip Buonaccorsi, who called himself Callimachus, afterwards rose to eminence in Poland, and wrote the account of Cesarini's crusade quoted at p. 453. (Tirab. vi. ii. 108-110.)

[n] See Tirab. vi. ii. 11-5; Murat. Ann. IX. ii. 161; Gregorov. vii. 575; Roscoe's 'Leo,' i. 336, 438; Burckhardt, 219.

[o] Plat. 340; Murat. Ann. IX. i. 160; Gregorovius, vii. 218; Reumont, III. i. 342-3; Burckhardt, 194. Many of their names have been found written in the Catacombs, and De Rossi infers their paganism. (Roma Sotterr. Cristiana, i 3 8.)

[p] Gregorov. vii. 577.

[q] Plat. 313. This charge is considered by Von Reumont to be much exaggerated. (III. i. 315.)

[r] Gregorov. vii. 377.

tortured in his own presence, and were banished; one even died in consequence of the torture.[s]

Among the events of this pontificate may be mentioned the introduction of the new art of printing into Rome[t] by Ulric Hahn, a German, and by his more famous countrymen Schweynheim and Pannartz, who had before practised it in the monastery of Subiaco.[u]

Paul was found dead in his bed on the 26th of July, 1471. His death is attributed by Platina to indigestion;[x] but, as he had not received the last sacraments, it was popularly believed that he had been killed by a devil, whom he was supposed to carry in his signet-ring.[y] Although he had advanced three of his relations to the cardinalate, it is recorded to his credit that he did not give himself over to the influence of any favourite, but kept his family and servants in due subordination;[z] and his pontificate, however little we may find in it to respect, came afterwards to be regarded as an era of purity and virtue in comparison with the deep degradation which followed.[a]

We may now revert to the religious history of Bohemia.

In 1444, on the death of Ptaczek,[b] George Boczek, of Podibrad, was chosen by the Calixtines to act as regent during the minority of Ladislaus, in conjunction with Meinhard of Neuhaus. But the co-regents disagreed, as Meinhard became more decidedly favourable to the Roman usage in the administration of the eucharist; and he died not long after the capital had been wrested from him by Podibrad in September, 1448.[c] In April, 1451, Podibrad was chosen sole regent,[d] and he honestly attempted to deal fairly with all parties. On gaining possession of Prague he had brought back Rokyezana, who exercised

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[s] Sism. vii. 387; Gregorov. vii. 579.

[t] Gaspar Veron. 1046. Schröckh says that Paul's patronage of the art has been exaggerated. (xxxii. 337.) There is a remarkable passage in honour of the new invention in Nauclerus. (1071.)

[u] Tirab. vi. i. 140–2. The earliest of the Subiaco books (which do not mention the names of the printers) appears to be 1465; of those printed at Rome, 1467. (Dibdin, Bibliotheca Spenceriana, i. 201–10; Hallam, Hist. Lit. i. 220; Gregorov. vii. 524. 6.) Hahn was successful in business; but the others were obliged, in 1472, to petition Sixtus IV. on account of poverty brought on by the want of sale for their books. (Hallam, i. 311; Gregorov. 528.)

[x] "Nam duos lepores, et quidem prægrandes, comederat." (313.) Cf. Fr. Philelf. ap. Rayn. 1471. 65; R. Volaterr. 818.

[y] Gregorov. vii. 230. Cardinal J. Piccolomini thinks it a judgment for his breach of promise as to a general council, but Rinaldi considers this supposition needless. (1471. 62.)

[z] "Quod domi monstra non aluerit." (Plat. 343; Gregorov. vii. 218.)

[a] Gregorov. vii. 230.

[b] See p. 458.

[c] Cochl. 358; Schröckh, xxxiv. 722; Palacky, IV. i. 108, 190, 197.

[d] Palacky, 202, 289.

almost all the rights of an archbishop, and bore hardly on the Roman party.[e] Negotiations were carried on with Rome—the Utraquists asking that Rokyczana might be consecrated, and that the *compactata* might be extended in their favour, while the Roman party required full restoration of ecclesiastical and monastic property, and wished the liberty of receiving the chalice to be withdrawn.[f] The *compactata* laboured under the difficulty that the Bohemians had concluded them with the council of Basel alone, at a time when it was in hostility to pope Eugenius; and that, when terms were afterwards made between the council and Nicolas V., the *compactata* had not been included.[g] Hence the curia now astonished the Bohemians by treating the agreement as if it did not exist; and Cardinal Carvajal, on a mission in 1448, provoked them so much in this and in other respects, that his departure from Prague became the signal for a popular outbreak, in which he was assailed with curses and with stones.[h]

In 1451, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, then bishop of Siena and secretary to the emperor, was sent by Frederick to explain to the Bohemians his reasons for retaining the guardianship of their young king.[i] He had interviews with Podibrad, who set forth the national grievances; to which the envoy replied by complaining that the Utraquists did not observe their part of the Basel agreement.[k] And when the regent dwelt on the pope's refusal to consecrate an archbishop, Piccolomini answered that the Bohemians did wrong in insisting that Rokyczana should be the man.[l]

But the most remarkable part of his narrative is the account of his visits to Tabor. He found the people rude, although they wished to appear civilised. They were roughly hospitable; their clothing was scanty; their houses, built of wood or clay,

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[e] Schröckh, xxxiv. 722; Lenf. Conc. de Basle, ii. 139. It is said that when a pestilence raged at Prague, in 1151, the sick could not obtain the eucharist except in both kinds, and that those who refused the cup were excluded from Christian burial. (Cochl. 363; cf. 426.) Piccolomini speaks strongly against Rokyczana, in a letter to Pope Nicolas, from Neustadt, Nov. 25, 1448. (Archiv für österr. Geschichstq. xvi. 391.)

[f] Giesel. II. iv. 449; Palacky, IV. i. 124-130, 164 seqq.; 185-7, 200.

[g] Palacky, IV. i. 257.

[h] Lenf. ii. 133-6: Palacky, IV. i. 190.

[i] See p. 482. Piccolomini had written, in 1444, to a friend at Neustadt, begging him to buy a bible for him, as there were many "presbytereuli" in Bohemia who had books to sell, and, being now in years, the writer intended to turn from secular literature, "ad Evangelia profunda." (Voigt in Archiv für österreich. Gesch. xvi. 358.)

[k] This was a constant complaint of the Roman party, *e.g.* Cusanus, in Cochl. 395-6.

[l] Æn. Sylv. Ep. 130; Palacky, IV. i. 269. After reporting a long discussion on the question of the chalice, Æneas Sylvius says of Podibrad, "Magis deceptum quam pertinacem invenimus." (Hist. Frid. 181.)

were arranged like the tents out of which the town had grown, and within them was displayed a profusion of spoil brought home from marauding expeditions. As such resources were no longer available, the Taborites had betaken themselves to commerce: the principle of a community of goods, which had formerly been established, was now abandoned. On attempting to convert his host, Piccolomini found him a very questionable Taborite, who kept images for his secret worship. In his return, the envoy again visited the place, but would neither eat nor drink there, and held a discussion with Nicolas Biscupek and others on the eucharistic usage and other points of difference. Their opinions he found to be far worse than he had expected; and he concludes his account by saying that among barbarians, anthropophagi, and the monstrous natives of India and Libya, there were none more monstrous than the Taborites.[m] In the following year, Rokyczana was able, by the aid of the regent Podibrad, to reduce the Taborites to conformity. Nicolas and another leader were imprisoned in fortresses until they should acknowledge Rokyczana, and ended their days in confinement; and in the month of December, 1452, mass was for the first time celebrated at Tabor with the vestments and rites of the Calixtines.[n]

In 1451, John of Capistrano, the eloquent Franciscan who afterwards animated the defenders of Belgrade,[o] was sent by Nicolas V. into Bohemia and the neighbouring countries for the purpose of opposing Hussitism, with authority to absolve all who should submit to the church.[p] His preaching is said to have been enforced by miracles,[q] and its effects are described as prodigious. At Breslau, the people were at once subdued into repentance for their sins, and excited to enthusiastic fury against the Bohemian heretics; and they brought together playing-cards, dice, chess-boards, and other instruments of gaming or of vanity, for a great bonfire in the market-place.[r] At Olmütz, he tells us that he had 100,000 hearers at once; and he made upwards of 3000 converts, partly by the confident

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[m] Ep. 130.

[n] Palacky, IV. i. 306–9. Peter Payne, who, as a pure Wyclifite, did not entirely agree with any Bohemian section, is mentioned for the last time as one of six arbitrators between Rokyczana and the extreme opposite party. (Ib. 453-4.)

[o] See p. 487.

[p] Cochl. 365–7; Giesel. II. iv. 450; Palacky, IV. i. 203. L. Chalcocondylas says that he was sent to the people of Prague, *ἐς τὴν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τετραμμένους θρησκείαν*, and elsewhere he describes the Bohemians as worshippers of fire! (222, 225.)

[q] See Palacky, IV. i. 203.

[r] Ib. 360.

assurance that all who had received the eucharist in both kinds were lost.[s] But his excess of zeal led him into extravagances, which were blamed even by his associate Nicolas of Cusa;[t] and as the regent threw obstacles in the way of his entering Bohemia, the challenges which passed between the friar and Rokyczana did not result in the disputation which both professed to desire.[u] Although the Greeks, at the time of the council of Basel, had greatly resented an incautious phrase which classed them with the Hussites,[x] the increasing distress of the empire had reduced them to seek for aid in any quarter from which it might possibly be hoped for; and thus, in 1452, the highest personages of the Byzantine church made overtures to the Bohemians, in which they expressed themselves as willing to tolerate any rites which might be found edifying and at the same time not contrary to the laws of the church. But this negotiation was ended by the fall of Constantinople in the spring of the following year.[y]

Jan. 18, 1452.

The emperor had at length been compelled to give up Ladislaus to his Bohemian subjects; and, as the king was only thirteen years old, Podibrad became his tutor, and continued to act as regent. Ladislaus, under the instructions of Piccolomini, had been strongly prepossessed against the Utraquists: "If the Bohemians wish to have me for their king," he said, "they must be Christians, and confess the same faith with me."[z] But by the regent's prudent management, he was brought to confirm all that had been promised by his predecessors Sigismund and Albert, including the maintenance of the *compactata*, and an engagement to take measures for the confirmation and consecration of Rokyczana as archbishop. Thus Podibrad succeeded in

A.D. 1452.

May 1, 1453.

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[s] Cochl. 377; Palacky, IV. i. 284. In the letter given by Cochlæus, John complains of the circulation of a forged letter, by which he was made to claim the spirit of prophecy. (376.) The vanity which Piccolomini notes in him (see above, p. 490) appears very strongly here. (376-7.)

[t] Palacky, IV. i. 287.

[u] See Acta SS., Oct. 23, p. 335; Cochl. 370–3; Lenf. ii. 205–9; Palacky, IV. i. 360. Rokyczana called Capistrano, "profugum, seductorem, sortilegum, anti-Christum;" and he in his turn apostrophizes Rokyczana—"O bellua et lingua viperea!" &c. (Cochl. 377; Schröckh, xxxiv. 726-7). Podibrad tells him that he had written like a buffoon (*histrio*). (Cochl. l. c.)

[x] See p. 438.

[y] Flac. Illyric., Catalog. Testium Veritatis, 1834–6; Lenf. ii. 164-5; Palacky, IV. i. 261, 298. See above, p. 456. There was no patriarch at the time, but George Scholaris, afterwards patriarch, was among the subscribers of the Greek letter.

[z] Æn. Sylv. de Germania, p. 1057; Hist. Boh., 62, 69; Ep. 162, p. 714; Cochl. 393; Palacky, IV. i. 318; cf. Naucler., 1079.

preserving peace between Ladislaus and his subjects;[a] but a renewed application to Rome in favour of Rokyczana was ineffectual.[b]

March 2, 1458.

May 7.

Ladislaus died after a short illness in December, 1457.[c] There were several candidates for the vacant throne; but the election fell on the regent Podibrad, as being the fittest to enjoy in his own name the power which he had successfully administered in the name of the late sovereign. For this he was partly indebted to the support of Rokyczana, who eloquently advocated the expediency of choosing a native Bohemian; "rather than elect a foreigner for king," he said, "Bohemia ought to become a republic, like Israel in the time of the Judges."[d] The coronation was performed by two Hungarian bishops, as no Bohemian prelates could be found to officiate;[e] and the new king bound himself by an oath, as to the interpretation of which there was afterwards much question, that he would be obedient to the Roman church, to pope Calixtus and his successors; that he would hold to the unity of the orthodox faith, and would protect it with all his might; that he would labour to recall his people from "all errors, sects, and heresies, and from other articles contrary to the holy Roman church and the Catholic faith, and to bring them to obedience, conformity, and union, and to the rite[f] and worship of the holy Roman church."[g]

To this time is referred the origin of a community which

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[a] Palacky, IV. i. 317.

[b] Ib. 338-410. There is a letter from Calixtus III. to the regent, desiring that Rokyczana might be sent to Rome, as his fame had made the pope desirous to see him. (Rayn. 1456. 69.)

[c] Piccolomini says that the German physicians, after having left Bohemia, stated openly that the young king was poisoned, and that those who believe this suppose Podibrad and Rokyczana the authors of the crime; but that for himself he will not decide, although Podibrad's elevation to the throne "necati regis suspicionem maxime auget." (Hist. Boh. 70; cf. Comment. 602; Hist. Frid. 473-4.) Comines says that Ladislaus was poisoned by a paramour of good family (whose brother the historian had seen), out of jealousy, on account of his engagement to marry a daughter of Charles VII. of France (Mém. in Petitot, xii. 415). But the death was really caused by a plague which had been raging in Hungary, and of which the symptoms could not be produced by poison. (Palacky, IV. i. 422-4. See Chalcocond. 226; Cochl. 405-6; Oswald, 36-7.)

[d] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Boh. c. 72; Cochl. 409-10; Palacky, IV. ii. 17, 27.

[e] Rayn. 1458. 22; Palacky, IV. ii. 33-4, 40. The coronation was delayed an hour for astrological reasons. (ib. 42.)

[f] The words *et ritum* are wanting in the German copy, and may perhaps have been inserted afterwards. (Giesel. II. iv. 451.)

[g] Rayn. 1458. 24. This oath, taken before certain witnesses, was distinct from the public coronation oath, in which George swore to maintain all rights and privileges of the kingdom, among which the *compactata* were included (Palacky, IV. ii. 41). But Rokyczana is said to have reproached him at the time, and to have preached against him for giving up the chalice. (Schröckh, xxxiv. 731-2.)

has lasted to our own day, and has been greatly distinguished in missionary and other religious labours—the *Unitas Fratrum*, or Moravian brethren.[h] The peculiar ideas out of which it grew are traced to Peter of Cheleick, a layman, who was born about 1390, and lived on his own estate near Wodnian. Peter produced many writings, which are said to show an earnestness rather for the moral part of religion than for doctrines; in some points—such as the condemnation of secular dignity in the clergy and of the alliance between temporal and ecclesiastical power, of oaths, war, and capital punishment—his principles resemble those of the Waldenses, with whom he and his followers formed a connexion.[i] One Gregory, who, although of noble family, was a tailor by occupation, on applying to Rokyczana for the satisfaction of some perplexities, was referred by him to the writings of Peter, in which he found his own thoughts anticipated;[k] and in consequence of this he sought the author's acquaintance. After a time, Gregory, considering himself to have acquired a higher degree of spiritual insight, attempted to make a convert of Rokyczana, and to place him at the head of a new communion; but Rokyczana was not to be so gained,[l] although he treated the party with kindness, and procured for them from king George permission to settle at a lonely place called Kunwald.[m] The new society attracted members from all ranks; all called each other *brethren;* and, having convinced themselves that the church was hopelessly corrupt, they separated from it in 1457. Ten years later, they set up a ministry of their own, independent of any theory of succession, and resting its claims on the personal piety of the ministers, who at first were chosen by lot.[n] Rokyczana, notwithstanding his kindly feeling towards the brethren,[o] found himself obliged to carry on an inquisition into their doctrines and practices. The settlement at Kunwald was broken up, and, in fulfilment of the oath taken by the king at his coronation, they were persecuted with great severity, so that they

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[h] Their first appearance at Prague was about 1450. (Giesel. II. iv. 460.)

[i] Palacky, IV. i. 463–9, 472–9, 490–5. Peter's extant writings date from 1433 to 1443 (ib. 470). That his historical knowledge cannot have been very exact, appears from his placing Peter Waldo earlier than Constantine. (Ib. 476.)

[k] Prima Ep. Fratrum ad Rokycz. in Giesel. II. iv. 461.

[l] Gregory says that Rokyczana (who is said by some to have been his uncle), allowed the truth of their opinions, but declined to incur obloquy on account of them. (Giesel. l. c.)

[m] Palacky, IV. i. 481, 485.

[n] Ib. 486–8, 497; Giesel. II. ii. 462-3.

[o] Crantz's Hist. of the United Brethren, Lond. 1780, p. 27.

were driven to perform their services in the woods; while, unlike the Taborites, they professed and acted on a principle of patient endurance and submission.[p] But notwithstanding persecution, the party continued to increase.

The fairness with which the new king endeavoured to deal between the two great parties among his subjects has been acknowledged even by hostile writers, who also admit his great merit as a sovereign in other respects;[q] and in the position to which he had been raised, his prudence, courage, and skill were severely tried. From the Silesians and the Moravians he met with much opposition, of which Breslau was the centre. The excitement lately produced in that city by John of Capistrano has been already mentioned;[r] and the people were continually stirred to disaffection by the lower clergy and friars, who persuaded them that George was a Nero, a Decius, and a murderer—that he was the great dragon of the Apocalypse, and that he prayed not to God, but to Rokyczana.[s] The Roman party in Bohemia divided its allegiance between the king and the papacy; and the emperor Frederick, who had himself been a candidate for the crown of Bohemia, regarded his successful rival with jealousy and ill-will.[t]

At Rome, George was acknowledged as king by Calixtus;[u] and Pius, in his eagerness to enlist so important an ally for the crusade, invited him to the congress of Mantua, although, from uncertainty as to addressing him by the royal title, he sent the letter through the emperor.[x] George took occasion from this letter to claim the allegiance of those who had held aloof from him as a Hussite;[y] but he was unable to appear in person at Mantua,[z] and fresh questions soon arose between him and the papacy. Pius, in disregard at once of the *compactata* and of Rokyczana's claims, nominated the dean of Prague as archbishop,[a] and when the king, in 1462, sent an embassy to Rome, for the purpose of asking that Rokyczana's title might be acknowledged, and that the authority of the *compactata* might be clearly established, as John of Capistrano had disowned them, the pope

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[p] Schröckh, xxxiv. 748-9; Giesel. II. iv. 463; Palacky, IV. i. 489, 495–8; ii. 185 seqq. For their confession of 1504, see Lydii Waldensia, ii. 1 seqq.

[q] Cochl. 411.

[r] P. 577; Palacky, IV. i. 362.

[s] Giesel. II. iv. 452; Palacky, IV. ii. 106–9. Pius denies that he abetted the Silesians. (Rayn. 1459. 21.)

[t] Schröckh, xxxiv. 731.

[u] Rayn. 1458. 27; Palacky, IV. ii. 43.

[x] Ib. 123-4; Comment. 85; Cochl. 416.

[y] Rayn. 1458. 18; Schröckh, xxxii. 238.

[z] Palacky, IV. ii. 82.

[a] Schröckh, xxxiv. 723.

himself declared that they had never been admitted by the papacy, which, he said, knew nothing of such compromises.[b] Moreover (he added), the generation to which this indulgence had been granted by the council of Basel, was now almost extinct; the Bohemians, by failing to observe their own side of the *compactata*, had forfeited all right to claim the benefit of them; and, in any case, the pope might do away with the arrangement, and might substitute something better.[c]

Fantino della Valle, a doctor of laws, was sent with the ambassadors on their return, and was commissioned to persuade the Bohemians to give up the chalice and the *compactata*. But he behaved with such insolence to the king, by publicly taxing him with breach of his coronation-oath, and threatening him with deposition and anathema as a heretic, that George was with difficulty restrained from personal violence, and committed him for a time to prison; although he declared that Fantino was thus punished, not as papal legate, but for having acted unfaithfully as the king's procurator at Rome.[d] George indignantly disavowed the sense which the Roman party attempted to put on his oath. Was it possible, he asked, that he could have supposed his own religious opinions—founded, as they were, on the Gospel and on the primitive faith—to be included among the heresies which he had bound himself to extirpate? If he had supposed the *compactata* to be heretical, was it possible that he should have asked the pope to confirm them? Rather would he sacrifice his crown than be false to his oath. And in proof of his sincerity as to the fulfilment of it, he was able to point to the severities which he had exercised against the more extreme sections of the Utraquists,—the remnant of the Taborites and the new party of United May 16, 1463. Brethren.[e] The pope, instead of answering a letter from George,[f] denounced him to the emperor as a heathen man and a publican, who had separated himself from the church; and it was in vain that the emperor attempted to intercede for him.[g]

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[b] Relatio Anonymi, quoted by Giesel. II. iv. 453; Rayn. 1462. 14; Palacky, IV. ii. 215–9.

[c] Comment. 346-7; Jac. Papiens. in Rayn. 1462. 16; Palacky, IV. ii. 220–32.

[d] G. Podibr. in Dach. Spicil. iii. 833; Æn. Sylv. Comment. 435–440, 442; Rayn. 1462. 17–20; Cochl. 429; Palacky, IV. ii. 235, 249, 251, 257.

[e] Cochl. 427; Palacky, IV. ii. 11, 185, 242-3. Cf. Æn. Sylv. Comment. 435. By these severities he had incurred much suspicion among the Bohemians, so that he had even been required to confirm the *compactata*, and it is said that Rokyczana had preached against him. (Pal. 186-7.)

[f] See Cochl. 434.

[g] Mart. Coll. Ampl. iii. 1598; Cochl. 436; Palacky, IV. ii. 269-70.

When about finally to leave Rome, Pius cited the Bohemian king to answer within a hundred and eighty days; and in the mean time George was labouring to form a league of princes against the Turks, which should be independent of the papacy.[h]

The policy of Pius as to Bohemia had been dictated by his personal experience of that country and its parties: and it was continued by Paul, chiefly under the influence of cardinal Carvajal, whose mission to Bohemia had resulted in an inflexible hostility to the Hussites, and who for many years had been labouring to undo the work of Constance and of Basel.[i] July 22, 1465. The process against George was resumed, and was committed by the pope to Carvajal, Bessarion, and another cardinal; and "George of Podibrad, who styles himself king of Bohemia," was again cited to answer at Rome within a hundred and eighty days, for heresy, relapse, perjury, sacrilege, and blasphemy.[k] In the following year, an alliance of Bohemian and other nobles was formed against George. They presented a list of twelve grievances; they demanded that the king should perform his coronation oath, and should expel Rokyczana with the Utraquist clergy; and they asked the pope to give them another king, declaring a preference in favour of Casimir of Poland.[l]

At a diet which was held at Nuremberg, at Martinmas, 1466, for the purpose of raising Germany against the Turks, Fantino della Valle appeared as papal legate, and insisted that the Bohemian ambassadors should be excluded, on the ground that their king was a heretic. This insult deeply provoked George; and at Christmas, while the tidings of a sentence of deposition passed on him at Rome two days before were on their way to him, he sent a defiance to the emperor, from whom he had met with much underhand enmity, instead of the gratitude which he had justly earned by delivering Frederick when besieged by his brother Albert.[m] The letter of defiance was composed by Gregory Heimburg, with all the vigour of his style, and with a hearty expression of the dislike and contempt with which he regarded the emperor.[n]

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[h] Rayn. 1464. 33; Palacky, IV. ii. 239, 270, 290, 305, 311, 313.

[i] Palacky, IV. ii. 327, 355, 372-3,

[k] G. Podibr. ad Matth. Corvinum, in D'Achery Spicil. iii. 831-2; Palacky, IV. ii. 355.

[l] Rayn. 1466. 28; Schröckh, xxxiv. 738; Palacky, IV. ii. 343, 351.

[m] See p. 512, Nauel. 1094; Schmidt, iv. 290-1, 296; Palacky, IV. ii. 416, 422.

[n] Palacky, IV. ii. 422, 502. Pius II. says that Gregory had been taken by robbers, and had been obliged to pay

The king had endeavoured by ceasing to insist on the other points of the *compactata*, to gain the papal sanction for the administration of the chalice to the laity, and for the consecration of an archbishop, who might ordain clergy both for the Utraquists and for the adherents of the Roman system; but such proposals met with no attention.[o] The pope, without observing the usual forms of process, condemned George by repeated bulls, as guilty of heresy, perjury, sacrilege, and other offences; pronounced him to be deposed, and released his subjects from their engagements to him.[p] On Maundy Thursday following, George was denounced as foremost of those who had incurred the anathema of the church; and when the sentence was afterwards repeated, it was extended to his wife and children, to Rokyezana, and to Gregory Heimburg, who gladly brought the power of his learning and of his sarcastic pen to combat the papal assumptions in this new quarrel.[q]

A crusade was proclaimed against George, with the usual privileges for those who should take part in it. Casimir of Poland was disinclined to accept the overtures of the discontented Bohemians;[r] but Matthias of Hungary, a prince bold, April–May, 1469. able, ambitious, and unscrupulous,[s] eagerly responded to an invitation from the pope and to a party election,[t] which called him to wrest a kingdom from his father-in-law, and hardly needed the papal exhortation to disregard the ties of gratitude and of blood.[u] Paul had allowed Matthias to enter into a truce with the Turks, that he might be at liberty to turn his arms against the Bohemians; and a war of devastation began.[x] George, on the other hand, had appealed to a general council and to a future pope;[y] and he endeavoured to give his cause a

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6000 pieces of gold as a ransom. In consequence of this "quæcunque sibi acciderant, ab imperatore prodiisse arbitrabatur, eamque ob causam singulari cum odio persequebatur." (Comment. 164.)

[o] Palacky, IV. ii. 357-8. On one occasion, when an envoy from king George presented a memorial to the pope as he was returning from mass, Paul threw it down, and screamed out, "How canst thou, beast, dare in our presence to call a heretic who has been condemned by the church *king?* To the gallows with thee, and thy fellow of a heretic!" (Ib. 373). There is much about disputes with Rokyczana in Rayn. 1465. 26, seqq.

[p] G. Podibr. in Dach. Spicil. iii. 834; Rayn. 1466. 26; Palacky, IV. ii. 356, 364, 419-20. The Breslauers had been absolved from their allegiance by Pius II. in 1463. (Ep. 401.)

[q] Rayn. 1467. 1; 1468-6; Palacky, IV. ii. 365 seqq., 370, 391-4.

[r] Palacky, IV. ii. 363, 466-7.

[s] Ib. i. 73.

[t] Palacky, IV. i. 578-83.

[u] Rayn. 1468. 10; 1470. 3; Coxe, i. 281; Palacky, IV. ii. 360-7. See the letter of George to Matthias against the injustice of the pope's proceedings, (Dach. Spicil. iii. 830-4.)

[x] Schröckh, xxxii. 316; Palacky, IV. ii. 438.

[y] Ib. 433.

national rather than a sectarian character, so that he still retained in office many persons whom he knew to be zealous for the Roman side in matters of religion.[z] The Germans in general were little inclined to move. Some of the princes and prelates had consulted universities on the question whether it were right for Christians to make war on heretics, and especially to attack the Utraquists of Bohemia; and the answer had been in the negative.[a] But when the formal condemnation came from Rome, many students of Leipzig and Erfurt, excited at once by the ill-repute of Bohemia as a nest of heresy, and by a youthful love of adventure, sold their books, and even their clothes, to fit themselves out for the new crusade.[b]

Although opposed to Matthias, to the Catholic league of nobles, and to hosts of crusaders from foreign countries, George was for the most part successful in the war; and he was able to drive Matthias out of Bohemia.[c] But at length the weight of years and weariness of conflict induced him to seek a compromise with Rome.[d] Before the effect of this application could be known, the king died on the 22nd of March, 1471,[e] having survived exactly a month after the death of Rokyczana.[f]

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[z] Coch. 411. It is noted as remarkable that all the Bohemian monasteries, except some which consisted of mendicants, were with the king. (Palacky, IV. ii. 451.)

[a] Giesel. II. iv. 455-6; Schröckh, xxxiv. 710; Palacky, IV. ii. 470-2.

[b] Palacky, IV. ii. 422.

[c] Palacky, IV. ii. 521.

[d] Rayn. 1471. 15 seqq; Cochl. 439; Palacky, IV. ii. 657–9.

[e] Cochl. 439. For some very unfavourable terms with which the pope intended to try him, see Rayn. 1471. 17 seqq.

[f] Oswald, 44; Palacky, IV. ii. 662. George once said to Rokyczana, "Master, thou wouldest ever that all men should obey thee, but thou obeyest no man." (Ib. 253.)

CHAPTER IV.

SIXTUS IV. AND INNOCENT VIII.

A.D. 1471—1492.

While the popes were endeavouring, with but little success, to rouse the nations of Europe for the recovery of the East from the Mussulmans, important changes were in progress, which tended to strengthen the power of the crown in various western kingdoms. In England, this was the effect of Henry VII.'s policy, following on the destruction which had been wrought among the ancient nobility by the long and bloody wars of the Roses. In France, Louis XI. was able to curb the nobles and the princes of the blood, and acquired the direct sovereignty over provinces which, under the forms of feudal tenure, had before been practically independent; and his son, Charles VIII., completed this work by marrying Anne, the heiress of Brittany (A.D. 1491).[a] In Spain the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile were united by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella; and the conquest of Granada by the "Catholic sovereigns," extirpated the last remnant of the Moorish dominion. By these changes Spain rose for the first time to a place among the chief powers of Europe.[b]

The empire, indeed, was still under the impotent rule of Frederick III., who had even the mortification of seeing that his neighbours, George Podibrad of Bohemia, and Matthias Corvinus of Hungary—men raised from a lower rank to the sovereignty of countries to which he supposed himself to have a better title—were more powerful than he.[c] Yet during this time the A.D. 1477. foundation of the greatness of Austria was laid by the marriage of his son Maximilian with Mary, the only daughter and heiress of Charles "the Bold," duke of Burgundy.[d]

After the death of Paul II. the cardinals assembled on the

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[a] Hallam, i. 81, 83, 94; Martin, vii. 154, 219.

[b] Hallam, i. 425–7.

[c] Rayn. 1483. 52; Schmidt, iv. 323; Coxe, i. 278.

[d] Comines, i. 336-7; Basin, iii. 19, 38; Krantz, Saxonia, 323; Hallam, M. A. i. 89.

6th of August, 1471. Again it seemed as if Bessarion were likely to be elected; but the younger members of the college dreaded the severity of his character, and Aug. 9. the election fell on Francis della Rovere, cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula, who took the name of Sixtus IV.[e] The voters who had contributed to this result were liberally rewarded for their support with offices and ecclesiastical benefices.[f]

The new pope was born near Savona, in 1414. His descent was afterwards traced to a noble Piedmontese family of the same name, and when he had risen to greatness, these were willing to admit the connexion; but it seems to be certain that his origin was really very humble.[g] He had taught theology and philosophy in several universities, had become minister-general of the Franciscan order, and through the friendly influence of Bessarion had been promoted to the cardinalate in 1467.[h] He had published several works by means of the new art of printing[i]—among them, one treating of a question which had raised violent quarrels between his own order and the Dominicans—whether the Saviour's blood, which had been A.D. 1470. shed in his last sufferings, remained in union with the Godhead during the interval between His death and resurrection.[j]

Like other popes of the age, Sixtus at entering on his office, professed a great zeal for the war against the Turks, declaring that he

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[e] Vita Sixti IV. (supposed to be by Platina) in Murat. III. ii. 1053; Schröckh, xxxii. 310; Reumont, III. i. 163.

[f] Infess. 1895; Panvin. 346.

[g] Machiavelli styles him, "uomo di bassissima e vile condizione." (Ist. di Firenze, ii. 180.) The strong assertions of some partisans of the papacy to the contrary, and the significant silence of others, are remarkabla. See the Life at the end of Platina, 348; Murat. III. ii. 1053; Rayn. 1471. 66; Ciac. iii. 3, and Oldoin. ib. 17; Sism. viii. 412-3; Reumont, II. ii. 161; Gregorov. vii. 233.

[h] Vita in Murat. III. ii. 1051; Panvin. 346; Ciac. iii. 4; Gregorov. vii. 233. Sixtus is much extolled by John of Trittenheim. (De Script. Eccl. 376.)

[i] Panv. 346.

[j] Vita in Murat. III. ii. 1055. "Instabant Prædicatores affirmantes illud quidem impossibile esse, sanguinem Christi in terris reperiri sine Deitate sibi unita. Hoc autem diluentes minores ipsi affirmabant, fieri quidem potuisse ut aliquid de sanguine in terris remanserit, licet Deitas non esset illi unita; quod ex ipsa circumcisione, et clavis sanguine delibutis, ostendi posset." (Ib.) "An sanguis Domini pro redimendo humano genere fusus triduo illo, quo anima sanctissima a corpore segregata erat hypostatice Verbo Divino conjunctus fuisset, dignusque esset latriæ cultu." (Rayn. 1462. 45; cf. D'Argentré, i. 251; Æn. Sylv. Comment. 511 seqq.) Della Rovere's book, 'De Sanguine Christi,' is said to have first appeared in 1470. (Schröckh, xxxii. 343.) A Nuremberg edition of 1473 is in the British Museum. Pius II. (who, although he, with most of the cardinals, inclined to the Dominican side, needed the help of the Franciscans in order to the crusade) ordered (Aug. 1, 1464) that with regard to these questions neither party should call the other heretic. (Comment. 537; Murat. 1055; Rayn. 1463. 104.) Sixtus caused this controversy to be commemorated by a picture in the church of Santo Spirito, at Rome, which he rebuilt. (Vita. 1066.)

was willing to spend not only his money, but his blood in the cause of Christendom.[k] It was proposed that a general council of Christian powers should be held with a view to a crusade, but, as the pope and the emperor were unable to agree as to the place of meeting, Sixtus sent cardinal legates into the chief European kingdoms, for the purpose of conferring with the sovereigns on the design, and of establishing peace among them.[l] For the legation to France, Bessarion was chosen, at the desire of Louis XI. himself, who was acquainted with the Greek cardinal's fame.[m] But Louis took offence, either at his having visited the court of Burgundy before that of the suzerain,[n] or at his having desired the release of cardinal Balue, who, from having been the king's most trusted counsellor, had suddenly fallen into disgrace, and for years had been confined in an iron cage within the castle of Loches.[o] The legate had to wait two months for an audience; and when he was at length admitted into the royal presence, Louis turned the scene into a farce by laying hold of his long beard, and quoting a verse of the Latin Grammar:—

> "Barbara Græca genus retinent quod habere solebant."[p]

It is said that vexation at the failure of this mission was the cause of Bessarion's death,[q] which took place at Ravenna, as he was on his way back to Rome.[r] The legates who were sent into Germany and other countries met with no considerable success;[s] and although some ships were sent into the east by the pope and the Venetian Republic, the results were unimportant.[t]

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[k] Infess. 1896; Rayn. 1471. 71, seqq.; Schröckh, xxxii. 344.

[l] Panvin. 347; Vita in Murat. III. ii. 1056-7; Jac. Volaterr. ib. xxiii. 91. See the bull for a crusade in Rayn. 1472. 2, April, 1472.

[m] Rayn. 1472. 6–8. Vespasian of Florence says that Bessarion, having been disappointed in Della Rovere, after having helped him to the cardinalate, did not vote for him in the conclave; and that Sixtus, being unwilling to have near him a man of great influence, and to whom he was greatly indebted, sent Bessarion into France. (Mai, Spicileg. i. 195.)

[n] Brantome, ii. 348-9, ed. Lalanne. (Soc. de l'Histoire de France.) The biographer of Sixtus in Muratori says that Bessarion provoked Louis by refusing to excommunicate the dukes of Brittany and Burgundy for insubordination. (1060.)

[o] Basin, ii. 210, 212. His imprisonment lasted eleven years. Paul II. had tried to effect his deliverance. (Rayn. 1471. 54.)

[p] Brantome, l. c. This story, although resting on Brantome's authority alone, agrees well with Basin's account of the king's manner. (iii. 177–180.)

[q] Brant. ii. 349. R. Volaterr. 774.

[r] Vespas. in Mai, i. 196; Vita Sixti. in Murat. III. ii. 1060.

[s] Rayn. 1472. [illegible]; Schmidt, vi. [illegible], 308-9; Schröckh, xxxii. 346; Freher, ii. 143, seqq.

[t] Jac. Volaterr. in Murat. xxiii. 90. Gregorov. vii. 235.

But the objects in which Sixtus felt the greatest interest lay nearer home. With his pontificate the papacy enters on a new phase, in which it appears chiefly as a great secular power, to which the spiritual character was merely attached as an accident.[u] The system of providing for the pope's near kindred by high ecclesiastical dignities, or by the lucrative offices of the Court, is no longer found sufficient, but the "nepotism" (as it was called) of the popes now aims at the establishment of their relations as sovereign princes; and even where such schemes of territorial aggrandisement are not carried out, the "nephews" become founders of great and wealthy families, which are decorated with high titles of dignity, and rank as a new power in the Roman system, counterbalancing that of the cardinals.[x] The excessive devotion of Sixtus to the interests of his family was shown as early as the first consistory of his pontificate, when, in defiance of the capitulations which he had subscribed at his election,[y] he bestowed the cardinalate on two of his nephews, Julian della Rovere and Peter Riario,[z] young men of humble origin, who had been educated as Franciscans, but speedily threw off the restraints of their monastic profession. Julian, indeed, although his habits of life were by no means strict, maintained the dignity of his office, and continued to be prominent under the succeeding popes, until he himself at length attained the papacy.[a] But Peter Riario, on whom his uncle heaped a prodigious accumulation of dignities and wealth (including the archbishoprick of Florence and the titular patriarchate of Constantinople), plunged into excesses of prodigality and debauchery, which absorbed much more than the vast income of his preferments, and within two years brought his life to an end, at the age of twenty-eight.[b]

Dec. 15, 1471.

Jan. 5, 1474.

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[u] Machiavelli, ii. 180-1; Gregorov. vii. 235.

[x] Gregorov. vii. 235-6.

[y] Gregorov. vii. 237.

[z] Infess. 1898; Ciac. iii. 42.

[a] He restored his titular church of St. Peter *ad vincula* (with which his memory has since become especially connected by the erection of part of the monument designed for him by Michael Angelo). (Vita Sixti, in Murat. III. ii. 1058, where he is styled, "vir quidem singularis modestiæ et religionis.") According to some, he had been a boatman in early life. (Bayle, art. *Jules II.* n. A.)

[b] See Infess. 1895-6; Murat. Ann. IX. ii. 167, 170; Vita Sixti, in Murat. III. ii. 1058; Rayn. 1474. 22; Gregorov. vii. 237-8, 242. Infessura says that he was poisoned, and Machiavelli mentions the belief (Ist. Fiorent. l. vii. p. 299, ed. Milan, 1804; see Trollope, ii. 311); but this was suspected as to the death of almost every one in that age. "Ita splendidus erat," says Panvini, "ut pecuniæ perdendæ natus esse videretur . . . obiit voluptatibus confectus" (347). "Decessit tabidus voluptate." (Raph. Volaterr.) Chacon (iii. 43) gives an audaciously flattering epitaph on this young debauchee:—

"Ante annos scivisse nocet; nam maxima virtus
Persuasit morti ut crederet esse senem."

Other relations of the pope were brought forward, and by means of some of them he endeavoured to connect himself with royal or princely families.[c] One nephew married a daughter of the Count of Urbino, and was provided with an endowment by the pope, while the count was rewarded with the title of Duke.[d] Another, who is described as "a very little man, and of intellect corresponding to his person,"[e] married an illegitimate daughter of king Ferdinand of Naples; and in consideration of this alliance, Sixtus commuted for a white horse the tribute by which Naples was held under the apostolic see.[f] But the most conspicuous of the lay nephews was Jerome Riario, who, like his brother cardinal Peter, was supposed to have been really the pope's son.[g] Jerome, who according to some writers, had been a cobbler in early life,[h] but appears rather to have been a clerk in the tax-office at Savona,[i] was summoned to Rome on the death of his brother, and succeeded to the favour which the cardinal had enjoyed. The pope endowed him out of the possessions of the church with Imola, Forlì and other territories, and procured for him the hand of Catharine Sforza, an illegitimate daughter of Galeazzo of Milan, whose consent to the marriage was rewarded by the promotion of his son Ascanius to the cardinalate.[k] With a view to the aggrandisement of his relations, the pope plunged deeply into the intricacies of Italian politics; and for the same purpose he had recourse to all manner of disgraceful arts for raising money. Preferments, even to the highest ranks in the hierarchy, were openly sold, without regard to the qualifications of the purchaser;[l] promises of preferment were often broken, and those who had paid for them were cheated out of their money.[m] New offices of Court employment—some of them bearing oriental titles, such as Janissaries, Stradiots, Mamelukes,—were instituted for the purpose of sale.[n] The college of abbreviators was revived, and the appointments to it were sold.[o] The administration of

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[c] Panvin. 317; Ciacon. iii. 63-4.

[d] Sixtus, in Mart. Coll. Ampl. ii. 1470, 1472; Rayn. 1474. 19–21.

[e] Infess. 1895.

[f] Ferdinand had asked that he might be excused a portion of the tribute, as he possessed only the continental territory, while Sicily belonged to the crown of Aragon; but the pope remitted the whole. (Vita in Mur. III. ii. 1058-9; Rayn. 1472. 52 seqq.; Sism. viii. 12; Gregorov. vii. 238.)

[g] Machiav. ii. 180. "Figlio, nipote, o attinente di Papa Sisto." (Infess. 1898; cf. 1939; Schröckh, xxxii. 366.)

[h] This was said by the Florentine synod mentioned at p. 535 below.

[i] Gregorov. vii. 243.

[k] Panvin. 347; Rayn. 1472. 59.

[l] Infess. 1939.

[m] Ib. 1941; Panvin. 316 (346).

[n] Panvin. 349; Infess. 1940. The Mamelukes were abolished by Innocent VIII. (Panv. 451.)

[o] Panvin. l. c.

justice was vitiated by the sale of pardons, even for capital offences.[p] The pope's taxation was oppressive; and the arts which he practised as to the market prices of provisions are said to have produced in some cases a famine among his subjects.[q]

The jubilee, which Paul II. had appointed to take place in 1475—twenty-five years from the last celebration[r]—was eagerly caught at by Sixtus as a means of gathering money.[s] But the number of pilgrims and the amount of their offerings fell greatly short of the former jubilees—partly, it is said, because a pestilence was raging at the time, and partly because the pope's evil repute had made its way even into distant countries.[t] The personal character of Sixtus is painted by Stephen of Infessura in the darkest colours.[u] He is charged with unnatural vices, and with abuse of his patronage in favour of those who ministered to his depravity;[x] he is described as vainglorious, avaricious, pitiless, delighting in cruel spectacles.[y] Under him, merit was discouraged, as it was no longer a help to preferment; he is said to have hated men of letters,[z] and to have checked the cultivation of learning by withdrawing the salaries of professorships. But on the other hand he is said to have done much for the increase of the Vatican library, which he placed under the care of the biographer Platina.[a]

In one instance the eagerness of Sixtus to promote the interests of his family led him to become an accomplice in a great and atrocious crime.

The government of Florence, although its constitution was still republican, had passed chiefly into the hands of Cosmo de' Medici, whose munificent employment of his wealth on public objects, and in the encouragement of literature and the arts, procured for him great influence in his own time, both at home and abroad, and a high reputation with posterity.[b] At his

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[p] Infess, 1940.

[q] Ib. 1940, 1912; Panvin. 319.

[r] Rayn. 1470. 55–73. Extrav. Commun. l. v. de Pœnit., &c., c. 4.

[s] Rayn. 1472–60. Theiner prints a document in which indulgences are offered for Scotland, on condition of going to Glasgow Cathedral, performing certain devotions, and contributing according to each pilgrim's means to the crusade; while, for a further payment, the journey to Glasgow might be commuted. (474–6.)

[t] Rayn. 1475. 1; Reumont, III. i. 169; Gregorov. vii. 241-5.

[u] This writer says that the archbishop of Gran, ambassador from the emperor, in consequence of having spoken against the pope's manner of life, was deprived, imprisoned, and "curantibus his male finivit dies suos." (1907.)

[x] Infess. 1939, who refers to this his fondness for Peter and Jerome Riario; on the other hand, see Filelfo in Baluz. Miscell. i. 515.

[y] Ib. 1941-2.

[z] Ib. 1941.

[a] Panvin. 351; Rayn. 1484, 23-6; Tirab. VI. i. 123.

[b] Machiav. ii. 148, seqq; Murat. Ann. IX. ii. 138.

death, in 1464, Cosmo was succeeded in the headship of the family by his son Peter, who died in December 1469, leaving two sons, Lorenzo and Julian.[c] Cosmo, while he possessed the reality of power, had always studiously preserved the character of a citizen;[d] but his descendants had come to regard themselves as princes, and to disregard the republican constitution.[e] As they still kept up the mercantile establishment by which the greatness of their family had been founded, their agents in various countries assumed the pretensions of ministers; their commercial affairs suffered from negligence and wasteful mismanagement; and Lorenzo unscrupulously used the public funds to cover the deficiencies which naturally followed.[f] At the same time he was careful to remove from his path, by procuring their banishment or otherwise, all who could have stood in the way of the ascendancy of his family.[g] Among these the most prominent were the Pazzi, a family of nobles who, like the Medici, were engaged in trade, and whom Cosmo had endeavoured to conciliate by means of matrimonial connexions.[h] Francis Pazzi, in disgust at the exclusion of his kindred from the magistracy, and at other wrongs which he traced to the influence of the Medici, removed from Florence to Rome, where he undertook the management of a bank established by the family;[i] and to him Sixtus transferred the care of the papal accounts, which from the time of Nicolas V. had been in the hands of the Medici. The pope's nephew, count Jerome Riario, who had found the Medici an obstacle in the way of his ambition, was allied with the Pazzi by a common hatred; and a plot was concerted for the assassination of Lorenzo and Julian, with the design of effecting a revolution in favour of their enemies.[k] The pope was privy to the conspiracy, and, although he professed to desire no bloodshed, he plainly signified that, if murder should be perpetrated in the execution of it, the crime would meet with his indulgence.[l]

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[c] Sismondi, viii. 2, who, like later writers in general, blames Roscoe for extravagant partiality to the Medici (4-5).

[d] Vespas. in Mai, i. 330; Machiav. ii. 150; Roscoe's Lorenzo, 55, 70-7; Sism. vii. 279.

[e] Sism. viii. 54; Hallam, i. 363.

[f] Sism. viii. 54, 236; Hallam, i. 363-4; Trollope, ii. 453. Roscoe endeavours to palliate this (278). It would seem that Cosmo had helped himself to his prosperity by the use of public money. Trollope, ii. 232.

[g] Sism. viii. 56.

[h] Machiav. ii. 207; Sism. viii. 57-8; Trollope, ii. 323.

[i] Machiav. ii. 208; Raph. Volaterr 177; Sism. viii. 60, 288; Trollope, ii. 325-7. Nicolas had made Cosmo de' Medici his banker, in gratitude for favours received in earlier life. (Vespas. in Murat. xxv. 279; or Mai, i. 318-9.

[k] Machiav. ii. 210; Gregorov. vii 219.

[l] This appears from the confession of

John Baptist of Montesecco, a condottiere in the papal service, was sent by Jerome to Florence, ostensibly on a mission to Lorenzo, but really in order that he might take part in the intended assassination.[m] The assistance of all the pope's forces was promised; and Raphael Riario, the pope's great-nephew, who had just been made cardinal at the age of eighteen, was transferred from the university of Pisa to Florence, with the character of legate, chiefly in order that his palace might serve to harbour such of the conspirators as were strangers to the city.[n] The young cardinal was charged to be guided by the directions of Bartholomew Salviati, who had been consecrated by the pope as archbishop of Pisa, but had been excluded from his see through the influence of his hereditary enemies, the Medici.[o] When, however, after some other plans had been disconcerted by various accidents, it was resolved that the assassination should be perpetrated in the cathedral, the conscience of the condottiere Montesecco took alarm; he declared that he would not add sacrilege to treachery; and it became necessary to transfer the task of despatching Lorenzo to two priests, whose reverence for sacred things had been blunted by familiarity.[p]

A.D. 1478.

On Sunday, the 26th of April, at the moment of the elevation of the host at high mass in the cathedral of Florence, the assassins fell on the brothers. Julian was slain on the spot; but Lorenzo, although slightly wounded, was able to escape into the sacristy, and was saved from his pursuers.[q] The conspirators rushed into the streets, and raised shouts of "Liberty! the People!" but instead of responding to these cries, the citizens, whom the Medici had gained by their profuse libe-

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John Baptist of Montesecco in Roscoe, 445–8. Panvini says that Sixtus tried to keep his share in the plot secret by means of Count Jerome and Montesecco (347). Cf. Infess. 1899, 1907; Filelf. in Baluz. Miscell. i. 513; Roscoe, 141; Gregorov. vii. 219; Milman, Essays, 14.

[m] See his confession, in Roscoe, 441 seqq.; Machiav. ii. 210. Jerome was supposed to have instigated another plot for the murder of Lorenzo, in 1481. (Diar. Parm. 375.)

[n] Machiav. ii. 212-3; Panvin. 347; Sism. 65.

[o] Infess. 1901; Panvin. 347; Filelf. in Baluz. Misc. i. 513; Machiav. ii. 207; Trollope, ii. 322, 328.

[p] Machiav. ii. 213-4; Sism. ix. 65-6. Giovio says that Montesecco was moved by Lorenzo's promising him a favour as to the recovery of some property. (Vita Leon. x. 6.)

[q] Diar. Parmense, in Murat. xxii. 277; Baluz. i. 504; Comines, 351; Sism. ix. 67. Julian left an illegitimate son, a few months old, who afterwards became Pope Clement VII. (Gregorov. vii. 250; Machiav. ii. 221.) Raphael of Volterra says that his brother Antony was the person who stabbed Lorenzo, "odio ductus veteris in Volateranos injuriæ." Antony was put to death for his crime; yet Lorenzo showed kindness to Raphael (177–9).

rality and their magnificent displays, rose in their defence.[r] Some of the Pazzi and their accomplices were torn to pieces by the multitude; the archbishop of Pisa and Francis de' Pazzi, who had endeavoured to seize the public palace and to overcome the magistrates, were hung from the palace-windows by order of the gonfaloniere; the members of the Pazzi family were sought out everywhere, and many of them and of their adherents were executed.[s] Montesecco, on being put to the torture, made disclosures which showed how deeply the pope had been concerned in the plot.

Sixtus did not hesitate to show his partisanship by declaring Lorenzo de' Medici and the magistrates of Florence to June 1. be guilty of treason and sacrilege, to be excommunicate, anathematized, infamous, outlawed, and incapable of making a testament. He ordered their houses to be demolished, their property to be confiscated; and Florence was to be placed under interdict, unless they were forthwith made over to the ecclesiastical tribunals, for having laid hands on the archbishop of Pisa and other ecclesiastics.[t] In execution of the pope's threat, the money of Florentine bankers was seized both at Rome and at Naples; and Sixtus, in concert with king Ferdinand, threw troops into the Florentine territory.[u] The Florentines attempted to appease his wrath, and were willing to acknowledge their fault; but finding him implacable, they resolved to stand on their defence. They wrote to the pope, strongly denouncing his July 21. conduct, and plainly charging him with having employed assassins.[w] They put forth a vindication, in which Montesecco's confession was embodied; and by the circulation of this document, with other letters, they endeavoured to Aug. 11. bespeak the sympathy of foreign potentates and prelates.[x] After having consulted eminent canonists, they compelled the priests within their territories to say mass, in defiance of the

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[r] Comines, 352; Machiav. ii. 219, 272; Hallam, ii. 363; Sism. ix. 66.

[s] Infess. 1899; Raph. Volaterr. 178; P. Jovius, Vita Leonis X. p. 6; Machiav. ii. 214-6, 219–20; Comines, 352; Trollope, ii. 354–7. One of the murderers, having taken refuge at Constantinople, was given up by Sultan Mahomet, out of respect for Lorenzo. (Annal. Bonon. in Murat. xxiii. 902; Hammer, ii. 179.)

[t] Rayn. 1478. 5, seqq.; Baluz. i. 503; Giesel. II. iv. 151; Roscoe, app. xiv.

[u] Diar. Parm. in Murat. xxii. 279; Machiav. ii. 221; Murat. Ann. IX. ii. 186.

[w] Gieseler (II. iv. 155) gives extracts from this letter, which was first published by Lord Bridgewater at Paris, 1814.

[x] See Roscoe, Append. xv.; Infess. 1907; Panvin. 317. Montesecco's evidence is wanting in the copy given by Baluze. (Misc. i. 503–5.) See also a letter to the emperor, bitterly complaining of Sixtus, in Bal. 505–8.

papal sentence;[y] and a synod of ecclesiastics, under the presidency of Gentile, bishop of Arezzo, repelled the excommunication, declared the pope himself to be excommunicate for having unjustly uttered it, and appealed against him to a general council.[z]

The general feeling of Europe was against Sixtus. The emperor and other princes threatened to withdraw from his obedience if he persisted in an unjust war.[a] Louis of France, who had special connexions with the Medici, spoke of assembling a general council by the authority of princes, if the pope's consent were not to be obtained; he threatened to revive the pragmatic sanction in all its force, and to stop the payment of annates from his dominions, on the ground that the funds which were levied for war against the infidels were employed against Christians, or went to enrich the pope's nephew Jerome.[b]

Meanwhile the Florentines were hard pressed by the combined forces of the pope and of king Ferdinand, under the command of the king's son Alfonso, duke of Calabria.[c] They requested Ferdinand to state his terms of peace, but found them too humiliating; whereupon Lorenzo, in his distress, ventured on the bold expedient of going in person to Naples, where, by the power of his discourse, and by his representations as to the true interest of the kingdom, he was able to convert Ferdinand from an enemy into an ally. On the 6th of March, 1480, an alliance was concluded between Naples and the Florentine republic, to the great indignation of the Venetians and of the pope.[d]

Dec. 1479.

While Italy was thus distracted, the Turks advanced in their career of conquest. They took Otranto, where 12,000 out of 22,000 inhabitants were put to the sword, and revolting acts of cruelty, outrage, and profanity were committed;[e] and they laid siege to Rhodes, which was defended by the knights of St. John.[f] It was evident that they aimed at Rome, and terrible stories were told of vows which Mahomet had made for the ruin of Christendom.[g] Sixtus was so greatly

Aug. 21, 1480.

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[y] Diar. Parm., in Murat. xxii. 285; Machiav. ii. 226.

[z] Machiav. ii. 227; Roscoe, 156; Giesel. II. iv. 152. Döllinger faintly throws doubt on this synod, ii. 354.

[a] Raph. Volaterr. l. xxii. col. 819; Sism. ix. 75; Schröckh, xxxii. 354; Martin, vii. 141.

[b] Preuves des Lib. de l'Eglise Gall., 298, 461? 516; Diar. Parm. 284; Jac. Papiens. in Rayn. 1478. 16, 19; Sism. R. I. ix. 75; Hist. Fr. xiv. 518.

[c] Machiav. ii. 234; Raph. Volaterr. 178.

[d] Machiav. ii. 237–41; Diar. Parm. 335; Panvin. 348; P. Jovius, Vita Leonis, 5; Rayn. 1479. 19; Roscoe, 162–6.

[e] Jac. Volaterr. in Murat. xxiii. 110; Hammer, ii. 181.

[f] Rayn. 1480. 2–16; Hammer, ii. 205–6.

[g] Marin. Sanut. in Murat. xxii. 1213; See Rayn. with Mansi's note, t. x. 482; Bayle, art. *Mahomet II.* n. II.

alarmed that he spoke of retiring to Avignon; he issued urgent bulls for the crusade;[h] he declared that he would even give his golden crown and the ornaments of his palace towards the expenses of the holy war,[i] and the fear of the infidels prevailed with him to grant peace and absolution to the Florentines.[k] This was not, however, to be done without formalities suitable to the greatness of his pretensions; and the Florentines were not in a condition to dispute about such matters. Twelve of the most eminent citizens, with the bishop of Volterra at their head, appeared at Rome as representatives of the republic.[l] They were admitted within the gates in the dark, and without any of the marks of honour which were usually bestowed on ambassadors; and, having expressed their penitence and their desire of reconciliation, they were on Advent Dec. 3. Sunday brought into the presence of the pope, who was seated on a lofty throne in the portico of St. Peter's. He addressed to them a rebuke "full of pride and anger"[m] for the disobedience of which their countrymen had been guilty; and, as they knelt before him, he lightly applied a rod[n] to the shoulders of each, and chanted the verses of the *Miserere* alternately with the cardinals. The envoys were then admitted to kiss his feet and received his blessing; the doors of the church were thrown open, and the pope was carried into it in state, and seated on the high altar.[o]

The Florentines bound themselves to contribute a certain number of galleys for the Turkish war;[p] and a force of papal and Neapolitan troops was sent to attempt the recovery of May 3, 1481. Otranto. The death of Mahomet "the Conqueror" (as his people styled him),[q] and the contest which followed between his sons, prevented the reinforcement of the

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[h] Rayn. 1480. 20–4, 26–9.

[i] Diar. Parm. in Murat. xxii. 315; Rayn. 1480. 17; 1481. 34. In the Canterbury convocation of 1480, a papal collector appeared and asked for help against the Turks, saying that Mahomet intended an assault on Rome, and the utter destruction of the Christian name, and that the pope "omnia vasa et pocula sua argentea in pecuniam convertit," with a view to defence. But although the matter was discussed at the time, and after an adjournment of three months, nothing was concluded respecting it. (Wilkins, iii. 613.)

[k] Pauvin. 316.

[l] Jac. Volaterr. in Murat. xxiii. 113.

[m] Machiav. ii. 244.

[n] "Virgula quæ de more gestari omnibus a pœnitentiariis solet." (Jac. Volat. 114.)

[o] Jac. Volaterr. 113-5; Raph. Volaterr. 179; Machiav. ii. 243–5; Raynald. 1480. 39–41.

[p] Diar. Parm. 352; J. Volat. 115; Machiav. ii. 245; Trollope, ii. 300.

[q] G. Phranzes, i. 32; Hammer, ii. 207. The event was celebrated by a festival at Rome, and generally throughout western Christendom. (Notaio del Nantiporto [a name which the editor cannot explain] in Murat. III. ii. 1071; Diar. Parm. 374; Infess. 1901.)

garrison, and the Turks, after having held the place for somewhat less than a year, were forced to capitulate to the duke of Calabria.[r] Aug. 10, 1481.

By this success the pope was extravagantly elated, and he plunged afresh into war, chiefly for the purpose of gaining Ferrara for his nephew Jerome. In conjunction with the Venetians, his troops contended with those of Naples, which, under the duke of Calabria, advanced to the very gates of Rome,[s] until king Ferdinand contrived by large offers to gain Jerome to his side, and Sixtus, under his nephew's influence, was led to enter into a Neapolitan alliance in exchange for that of Venice.[t] Nov. 28. He now invited the Venetians to join the league with a view to the pacification of Italy; and on their refusal he sent forth bulls denouncing the heaviest punishments against them. May 25, 1483. Venice was placed under interdict; the chiefs of the republic were excommunicated; all monks were charged to quit its territory; the offices of religion were to cease, without even the exception of communion on the bed of death; and there were the usual disabilities as to intercourse with faithful Christians, and other secular penalties by which the popes attempted to increase the spiritual terrors of their sentences.[u] But the Venetians, whose subjection to the papacy was never very absolute,[x] after having consulted learned jurists of Padua,[y] took vigorous measures in opposition to the pope. The Council of Ten ordered that a strict watch should be kept to prevent the introduction of missives from Rome. They required the patriarch to deliver to them any such document if it should reach him; and, through his compliance, they got possession of the bulls, and were able to prevent the publication of them within the territory of the republic.[z] They ordered the clergy to perform their functions as usual, and banished some Franciscans who resisted the command.[a] They

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[r] Jac. Volat. 134-5, 147; Infess. 1961; Rayn. 1481. 28-30; Sism. ix. 140-1.

[s] Machiav. ii. 218-9.

[t] Marin. Sanut. in Murat. xxii. 1211; Rayn. 1482; Sism. ix. 154.

[u] Mar. Sanut. 1227-8; Rayn. 1482. 17; 1483. 12, seqq.; Schröckh, xxxii. 360; Daru, ii. 520, seqq.; Sism. ix. 159. There was a second bull on July 15. (Rayn. 1493. 18-21.)

[x] They had lately had differences with the pope as to ecclesiastical patronage. (Daru, ii. 528-531.) Yet Philip de Comines says that Venice is the place "ou le service de Dieu est le plus solennellement faict; et encores qu'il y peut bien avoir d'autres fautes, si croy-je que Dieu les a en aide, pour la reverence qu'ils portent au service de l'Eglise." (Petitot, xiii. 83.) There is an undated letter of the Venetians to the pope, full of calm scorn and defiance, Baluz. i. 512.

[y] Marin. Sanut. 1228.

[z] Sism. ix. 159.

[a] Marin. Sanut. 1228.

assembled all the bishops within their boundaries, and in their presence appealed to a future general council; whereupon this assembly accepted the appeal, and suspended the interdict. The titular patriarch of Constantinople, who presided, ventured to cite the pope before the future council, and means were found to post up the summons on the bridge of St. Angelo, and even on the doors of the Vatican.[b] And in addition to the ecclesiastical appeal, the Venetians entreated the princes of Christendom to give them an opportunity of stating their grievances before a general congress.[c]

The war was continued,[d] and in addition to it the old feuds between the anti-papal Colonna and Savelli families on the one side, and the Orsini, who were favoured by the pope, on the other side, raged with a fury which desolated the country around Rome.[e]

A peace was at length concluded between Naples and Venice

Aug. 7, 1484.

at Bagnolo.[f] In this agreement there was no reservation for the benefit of Jerome Riario; and the pope, who was already ill when the tidings of it reached him, was so deeply mortified by its terms that his vexation is supposed to

Aug. 12.

have caused his death, which took place on the fifth day after the date of the treaty.[g]

In the city of Rome the pontificate of Sixtus was marked by much building and rebuilding, in the course of which, however, it is to be lamented that there was great destruction, not only of classical remains, but of venerable churches which had come down from the early centuries of Christianity.[h] His name is still preserved by the Janiculan bridge, which he rebuilt,[i] and by the chapel in the Vatican which derives its chief fame from the grandeur of the decorations afterwards added by Michael Angelo.[k]

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[b] Mar. Sanut. 1228; Murat. Ann. IX. ii. 208; Schröckh, xxxii. 360-1.

[c] Giesel. II. iv. 159.

[d] See the Notaio del Nantip. in Murat. III. ii.; Rayn. 1483-4.

[e] Infess. 1929; Not. del Nantip.; Panvin. 351; Machiav. ii. 255; Reumont, III. i. 174-5; Gregorov. vii. 258, 267.

[f] Jac. Volaterr. 198-200; Mar. Sanut. 1232.

[g] Infess. 1939; Panvin. 351; Machiav. ii. 256; Raph. Volat. l. xxii. col. 820; Mar. Sanut. 1231; Rayn. 1484. 20.

[h] "Ut vere urbem ex lutea lateritiam se reliquisse dicere jure posset, quemadmodum Augustum olim dixisse accepimus se ex lateritia marmoream." (Panv. 351.) "Adeo enim ubique per urbem ædificatur, ut brevi novam formam omnino sit habitura, si Sixto vivere contigerit." (Vita, in Murat. III. ii. 1064; see Reumont, III. i. 405-8; Raph. Volat. col. 820.)

[i] Vita, l. c., where it is suggested that he wished to prevent accidents at the time of jubilee, such as that which occurred under Nicolas V. (See above, p. 479; Infess. 1896; Mar. Sanut. 1234.)

[k] Gregorov. vii. 612-3; Reumont, III. i. 407. Sixtus also built and restored much at Assisi. (Vita, 1065.) See for his other buildings, Panvin. 350.

But perhaps more important than any individual buildings were his labours to render the city more habitable by paving and widening the streets, and by removing the porticoes and other projections which Ferdinand of Naples, at the Jubilee of 1475, pointed out to him as hindrances which prevented the popes from being fully masters of Rome.[l] The hostile Stephen of Infessura tells us that Sixtus was followed to the tomb by the undisguised hatred and execrations of his people.[m]

Aug. 30, 1483.

The death of Louis XI. of France preceded that of Sixtus by about a year. At the instance of cardinal Julian della Rovere, he had consented to release cardinal Balue, after an imprisonment of fourteen years.[n] In his last illness, when acute bodily sufferings awoke within him remorse for his long life of sin and crime, and rendered more intense the superstition which had always been a part of his character,[o] he gathered around him all the most famous relics which could be obtained,—among them the holy phial, which had never before been removed from Reims since the time (as was believed) of Clovis.[p] He entreated the pope to send him any relics which might relieve his agonies; and Sixtus complied with the request so liberally that the Romans in alarm remonstrated lest their city should suffer by being stripped of such treasures.[q] He sent for hermits and other devotees of noted sanctity, in the hope that their intercessions might prolong his life.[r] Of these the most renowned was one Francis, a native of Paola, in Calabria.[s] Francis, it is said, was born with only one eye; but his mother vowed that, if the other eye might be granted to him, he should wear the habit of St. Francis for a year at least, and her wish was fulfilled.[t] He became a Minorite friar, but, like Peter of Murrone in an earlier time,[u] he withdrew to live in a cave, and, although utterly illiterate, was held in veneration for the austerity of his life and

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[l] Infess. 1897, 1900; Reumont, III. i. 170, 403; Gregorov. vii. 611.

[m] His funeral was shabby. "Erat quidem niger, deformis, et guttur ejus inflatum, visu similis diabolo; anima ejus ab omnibus qui eum viderunt maledicta et diabolo mandata fuit palam et aperte." (1943.)

[n] Comines in Petitot, xii. 369; Jac. Volat. 120; Not. del Nantiporto, 1071.

[o] Hallam, i. 91.

[p] Comines, 391; Jean de Troyes, 116.

[q] The pope pacified them by saying that he had given away but little, and that the French king had deserved greatly of the church. (Jac. Volat. 187.)

[r] "Y fist aussi venir grand nombre de bigots, bigottes et gens de devotion, comme hermites et sainctes creatures, pour sans cesser prier à Dieu qu'il permist qu'il ne mourust point, et qu'il le laissast encores vivre." (Jean de Troyes, in Petitot, xiv. 108.)

[s] See the Acta Sanctorum, April 2; Guill. de Villeneuve, in Petitot, xiv. 289.

[t] Acta SS. 107.

[u] See Vol. III. p. 500.

for his reputation of miraculous power.[w] Louis, having heard his fame, entreated the king of Naples and the pope that this holy man might be sent to him. The hermit, after having refused a request from his sovereign, was compelled by the pope's authority to set out;[x] and as he passed through Rome his appearance produced a vast excitement. Sixtus granted him leave to found a society of "Hermits of St. Francis," and, with a view to the influence which he might be able through such an agent to exercise on the mind of Louis, admitted him to long conferences. On reaching the French court, Francis was received with as much honour "as if he had been the pope himself."[y] While others were disposed to ridicule him, Louis could not endure to be long without his company; he knelt before him in abject superstition, hung on his words, and entreated him to spare him yet a little, as if his life were at the hermit's disposal; he bestowed rich rewards on him, and, in order to propitiate him, founded convents at Plessis and at Amboise for the new religious society, the members of which, not content with the name of Minorites, desired to signify their utter insignificance by styling themselves Minims.[z]

Although Charles VIII., the son and successor of Louis, had attained his legal majority, the administration was for some years in the hands of his sister Anne, a young princess of clear and firm mind, and of her husband the Lord of Beaujeu.[a] The beginning of the reign was marked by a manifestation of national spirit in opposition to the papacy. At the first meeting of the estates there was much complaint as to Roman exactions,[b] and when memoirs for the redress of grievances were presented, the first subject in that which related to ecclesiastical affairs was the restoration of the Pragmatic

Jan. 15. to March 14, 1484.

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[w] Comines, 377; Acta SS. 110-4.

[x] Acta SS. 114.

[y] Comines, 377; Rayn. 1483. 22.

[z] Comines, 377, 397; Rayn. 1483. 30, seqq. Comines seems to have been much perplexed as to Francis of Paola: "Ne pense jamais avoir veu homme vivant de si saincte vie, ne ou il semblat mieux que le Sainct Esprit parlat de sa bouche; car il n'estoit clerc ne lettré, et n'apprit jamais rien; vray est que sa langue Italienne luy aidoit bien à se faire émerveiller." He spoke like one brought up in a court; his wisdom seemed to come of inspiration. "Il est encore vif, parquoy se pourroit bien changer ou en mieux ou en pis, et pour ce m'en tay" (377-8). Charles VIII. continued to favour the Minims, and on his Italian expedition founded the well-known convent of the Trinità del Monte, at Rome, which remained in the possession of French Minims until the first Revolution. Francis of Paola died at Plessis, April 2, 1507. (Reumont, III. i. 181; Rayn. 1507. 25), and was canonized by Leo X. in 1519.

[a] Sism. Hist. d. Fr. xv. 2. There is a monstrous eulogium on Louis in a letter from the pope to Charles (Rayn. 1483. 35). At his death, Anne was 23 years of age, and Charles was 14.

[b] Martin, vii. 182.

Sanction. Some of the bishops, who were indebted to Rome for their promotion,[c] protested against the interference of the lay estates in such a matter; but, although the Pragmatic Sanction was not mentioned in the royal answer to the memorials, the parliaments of France continued to proceed as if it were still in force.[d]

The fury of the Roman factions burst forth with increased violence on the death of Sixtus, and the feelings of the populace towards the late pope were displayed in outrages against his favourites, his connexions, and his countrymen in general. The palace of Jerome Riario was sacked; its gardens and ornaments laid waste; and the stores of the Genoese merchants were plundered.[e]

On the 26th of August, the cardinals proceeded to the election of a successor.[f] Intrigue was busy among them; and, according to the custom which had grown up, and which Innocent VI. had in vain attempted to suppress,[g] they endeavoured to secure advantages for themselves, and to prevent a recurrence of some late abuses, by entering into capitulations. The future pope was pledged to give one hundred gold florins monthly to every cardinal whose yearly income was under four thousand, to refrain from making more than one cardinal of his own family, and from entrusting to any of his kinsmen the fortresses of St. Angelo, Cività Vecchia, and Tivoli; and in all weighty matters he was pledged to take the advice of the Sacred College.[h] Borgia was so confident of success in the election, that he barricaded his palace in order to protect it from the spoliation which was usually committed on the dwelling of a new pope.[i] But Julian della Rovere and Ascanius Sforza[k]

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[c] In the same year the procurator-general appealed against the pope's nomination of a bishop of Tournay, as being contrary to the decrees of Constance and of Basel, and to the Pragmatic Sanction. (Lib. de l'Eglise Gall., Preuves, 355 seqq.)

[d] Pr. des Lib. de l'Egl. Gall. 269, 617; Martin, vii. 171-6, 191; Sism., Hist. d. Fr. xiv. 648, 650, 666-7, 679. There is a letter of Innocent VIII. to Charles, warning him not to allow any measure which might lessen the papal authority (July 25). (Rayn. 1485. 37.)

[e] Burchard, 8; Not. del Nautip. 1089, seqq; Infess. 1942, 1944-5. There is a curious account of the preparations for the funeral of Sixtus in Burchard, 3-5, ed. Gennarelli.

[f] Infess. 1947. Burchard describes the arrangements (12, seqq). As the cardinals were going to the conclave, each was beset by dependants imploring him to get them offices, or other favours. (Ib. 14.)

[g] Rayn. 1484. 28.

[h] Rayn. 1484. 28-9, 30-1. Gennarelli publishes two letters written on the election to L. de' Medici. (N. in Burch. 33.)

[i] Rayn. 1484. 38.

[k] There was a question whether Sforza should be admitted into the conclave, as his "mouth" had not been formally "opened;" but this was decided in his favour (ib. 28). M. Sanuto says that, seeing that he had no chance of being chosen, he threw his influence into the

exerted themselves in opposition to him, and by special promises gained many votes for John Baptist Cibò, cardinal of St. Cecilia and bishop of Melfi, who was chosen on the fifteenth Aug. 29. day of the conclave, and took the name of Innocent VIII.[l]

The family of Cibò was of Greek origin, but had been long settled at Genoa and at Naples.[m] The pope's father had been viceroy of Naples under king René, and senator of Rome in the pontificate of Calixtus III.[n] Innocent was a man of handsome person and of popular manners.[o] His earlier life had been lax, and under him Rome saw the novel scandal of seven illegitimate children, the offspring of different mothers, openly produced as the pope's family, and the objects of his paternal favour.[p] But, although Innocent may have wished to endow his son Francis[q] with principalities, after the manner of Sixtus IV., the only course which he found practicable was that of enriching his children out of the revenues of the church; and for this purpose, and to defray the costs of his war with Naples, he continued without abatement the corrupt and simoniacal exactions of his predecessors.[r] Offices were created for the sake of the price which might be got by the sale of them; and the purchasers sought to repay themselves by using their oppor-

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scale of the poorest cardinal, flattering himself with such a pope he might really be master of the papacy; but that in this he was disappointed (Murat. xxii. 1236). Vespucci tells L. de' Medici that Julian, if he play his part well, may be virtual pope. (N. in Burch. 33.)

[l] Infess. 1947; Not. di Nantip. 1091; Gregorov. vii. 276-7.

[m] At Naples they had borne the name of Tomacelli—the family to which Boniface IX. belonged; and they were called Cibò from the chess-pattern (κύβος) in their arms. Panvin. 352.

[n] Infess. 1947; Gregorov. vii. 277.

[o] G. A. Vespucci, in n. in Burchard, ed. Gennarelli, 33; M. Sanuto, 1236; Panvin. 354; Gregorov. vii. 278. "Nam et infimæ conditionis homines sæpe exosculabatur amplectebaturque. Verum quum omnibus blandus esset, nemini tamen benignus innatamque avaritiam jocis atque dicteriis transigebat." (Raph. Volat., col. 820.)

[p] Infess. 1948; Raph. Volat., col. 821. It has been said by some writers (as M. Sanuto, 1236) that Innocent had been married as a layman. Burchard varies much—describing Franceschetto at different times as son of the pope's brother (91), as son of the pope, although styled nephew (95), as his bastard (107), and as his son, "ex uxore sua," (132). Guidantonio Vespucci reports to Lorenzo de' Medici, immediately after the election: "Ha figliuoli grandi bastardi, credo almeno uno, e figliuole femine maritate qui" (n. in Burch. 33). Infessura makes the number of children seven (l. c.), while a well-known epigram raises it to sixteen:—

"Octo Nocens genuit pueros, totidemque puellas,
Hunc merito poterit dicere Roma patrem."

Only two of them are mentioned by name, Franceschetto, and Theodorina, who was married to a Genoese. (See Gregorov. vii. 278; Giesel. II. iv. 162.)

[q] From his insignificant person, he was usually known by the diminutive Franceschetto (Infess. 1977). He shocked the punctilious Burchard by taking precedence of the archbishop of Arles in a procession. (124.)

[r] Infess. 1965, 1980-1, 1992, 1996, &c.; Sism. viii. 224; Schröckh, xxxii 381.

tunities of exaction.[s] Two papal secretaries were detected in forging bulls; and as they were unable to pay the sum which was demanded for a pardon, they were put to death.[t] With these abuses in the administration was combined an increased licence of manners in the papal court, which did not fail to affect the habits of the Romans in general.[u]

Although Innocent, after his election, had sworn a second time to the capitulations imposed by the cardinals, and had become pledged neither to absolve himself nor to accept a release, he held himself at liberty, when firmly established in his seat, to repudiate these obligations, as being contrary to the interests of the holy see.[x] And, having promised to the Romans, with the other cardinals, and again after his election, that he would bestow the more valuable Roman preferments on none but citizens, he evaded the oath by preferring strangers, after having first admitted them to the freedom of the city.[y] "But," says the chronicler Stephen of Infessura, "it is no wonder if he deceived the Roman people, since he had deceived Him to whom he had vowed and promised chastity."[z]

Throughout this pontificate Rome was distracted by the feuds of the Colonna and Orsini factions.[a] And in 1485 the pope increased the disorders of his city by allowing all who had been banished, for whatever cause, to return. In consequence of this, Rome became a haunt of villains of every sort, who eagerly flocked to avail themselves of the papal clemency. Robbery and murder were frequent; churches were plundered of their

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[s] Infess., as above.

[t] Infess. 1991; Burch. 127-8.

[u] Thus Cardinal Riario, at two sittings, won 14,000 ducats of Franceschetto Cibò, who complained to his father of false play. The pope desired the cardinal to refund, but was answered that he had spent the money on his palace. (Infess. 1992.) The same cardinal won 8000 ducats of Cardinal Balue. (ib.) After, when the pope's vicar issued an order against the keeping of concubines, either by the clergy or by laymen, Innocent made him recall it, "propter quod talis effecta est vita sacerdotum et curialium, ut vix reperiatur qui concubinam non retineat, ad laudem Dei et fidei Christianæ" (Infess. 1996-7). At the carnival of 1491, the cardinals drove about in splendid carriages, with masked attendants, and sent boys to one another's houses, singing "verba lasciva et eis delectabilia," with buffoons and mummers, attired in silk, and gold and silver brocade (ib. 2000).

[x] Burch. 35; Rayn. 1484. 41. Innocent VI. had sanctioned such repudiation in 1353, and it was approved by casuists, on the ground that cardinals, during the vacancy of the see, had no power to do anything but to elect a pope. (Sism. viii. 171.)

[y] Infess. 1946, 1949, 1950; Rayn. 1484. 42. The Romans were accustomed to make a special capitulation of this sort (Gregorov. vii. 279); but Rinaldi says that it was an abuse: "Quinimmo ut Græci, Hebræi, vel Romani apud Deum discrimen nullum est, ita Illius vices in terris gerens, omnium gentium abscisso respectu, dignis quibuslibet sacerdotia conferre potest" (1484. 42.)

[z] 1950.

[a] Infess. 1966; Panvin. 354; Gregorov. vii. 279.

plate and ornaments; every morning's light discovered in the streets the bodies of men who had been assassinated during the night; and the perpetrators of these crimes found an asylum in the houses of cardinals.[b] After a time, Innocent found it necessary to proclaim that murderers and other criminals should leave the city. But the spirit of his administration was expressed by the sarcastic saying of a high officer, that "God willeth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should pay and live." Immunity from all punishment was to be bought, if only a sufficient price were offered.[c]

Although Innocent had himself in earlier life been in the A.D. 1485. service of the Neapolitan crown, he speedily found an opportunity of quarrelling with Ferdinand, by requiring that tribute should be paid for Naples as in former times, and by refusing to accept the white horse for which Sixtus had commuted the payment.[d] In order to maintain this claim (which is supposed to have been connected with a project for the advancement of his son Franceschetto[e]) he allied himself with the disaffected Neapolitan nobles, and put forward a grandson and namesake of king René as claimant of the throne.[f] In the war which followed, Ferdinand's son, Alfonso, duke of Calabria, occupied the Roman Campagna with his troops, and for months distressed the city by cutting off all communications from outside;[g] but at length a treaty was concluded which Aug. 11, 1486. was greatly in favour of the pope. The king was to pay tribute to Rome; the barons were free to acknowledge the pope and the church as their immediate lords; and the pope was to have in his own hands the disposal of bishopricks and other dignities in the Neapolitan kingdom.[h] But hardly had this treaty been concluded when Ferdinand set its conditions at nought. He allowed the tribute to fall into arrear; he assumed the entire patronage of sees within his dominions; and, in defiance alike of honour and of humanity, he and his son put to death many of the nobles whose safety had been pledged.[i] The pope remonstrated as to the tribute; but, after

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[b] Infess. 1957-8, 1984, 1987, 2005-6; Gregorov. vii. 287. Yet Panvini speaks of Innocent as having taken more care for public order than any former pope (355), and Raphael of Volterra especially praises him on this account (col. 821).

[c] Schröckh, xxxii. 380; Reum. III. ii. 193.

[d] Rayn. 1485. 40. As to this quarrel, see documents in Baluz. i. 518-521.

[e] Schröckh, xxxii. 371.

[f] Infess. 1955; Rayn. 1486. 4-5; Giann. iv. 382; Gregorov. vii. 281.

[g] Infess. 1957; Gregorov. vii. 282.

[h] Rayn. 1486. 13-5; Panvin. 355, Raph. Volat. col. 821.

[i] Rayn. 1486. 19, seqq.; 1487. 9

some feeble remonstrances, he did not venture to intercede for the allies who were exposed to the perfidy and the cruelty of Ferdinand and Alfonso.[k] Hostilities again began, and were prolonged for some years. Innocent anathematized Ferdinand for withholding the payment of tribute, and declared him to be deposed and the kingdom to be forfeited to the Roman church; but in 1492 a fresh treaty was concluded, on the same terms which had before been so little regarded.[l]

In order to strengthen himself for this contest, Innocent found it expedient to seek the alliance of Lorenzo de' Medici, to whom he had formerly been opposed. He married his son Franceschetto to a daughter of the Medicean family;[m] and he bestowed the dignity of cardinal on Lorenzo's son John, who was then only thirteen years old. The promotion was to be kept secret until the boy should be old enough to take possession of his dignity; and when, at the age of sixteen, he repaired to Rome for this purpose, he was received with the pomp which was usually reserved for the visits of royal personages.[n] Through his connexion with the Medici, Innocent was brought into friendly relations with the great Roman family of Orsini, of which Lorenzo's wife, Clarice, was a member.[o]

Nov. 1487.

Mar. 1489.

Mar. 1492.

Innocent, like his predecessors since the fall of the eastern empire, projected a crusade against the Turks. In the beginning of his pontificate he invited all Christian princes to take part in such an expedition, and he afterwards entered into negotiations and agreements for carrying it into effect; but without any considerable result.[p] The death of Mahomet II. had been followed by a contest for the throne between his sons Bajazet and Djem; the younger brother resting his claim on the fact that he had been born after his father's accession.[q] On being defeated by

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Giann. iv. 382, 388-9; Sism. viii. 187-8. The first executions took place only two days after the date of the treaty. (Trollope, ii. 431.)

[k] Infess. 1980; Rayn. 1487. 10; Murat. IX. ii. 223; Gregorov. vii. 285.

[l] Infess. 1991; Rayn. 1487. 12; 1489. 7; Panvin. 355; Sism. viii. 247.

[m] A son of this union, by marrying the heiress of the Malespinas, got the marquisate of Massa and Carrara which was made a dukedom by the emperor Maximilian, and remained in the Cibò family until the 18th century. (Gregorov. vii. 308; Reumont, III. ii. 65.)

[n] Infess. 1985; Burchard. 160, 162, seqq.; Ciac. iii. 123, 140; Roscoe's Leo X. i. 18, 22-3; Gregorov. vii. 300. John de' Medici was born Dec. 11, 1475 (Roscoe i. 1).

[o] The Orsini had formerly been the pope's enemies, so that one of them threatened to throw him into the Tiber. (Infess. 1959-60.)

[p] Rayn. 1484. 61, seqq.; 1485. 1, seqq.; Wilkins, iii. 626; Schröckh, xxxii. 371.

[q] Krantz, Saxonia, 328. Mahomet II. had endeavoured to prevent such contests by decreeing that all the brothers of a new sultan should be put to death; but Djem, being at a distance when his

his brother, Djem took refuge in Rhodes with the Knights
A.D. 1482. of St. John, who transferred him for safety to the
care of their brethren in France.[r] Great offers were made by Bajazet to the order, in the hope of inducing them to put Djem into his hands; while the kings of France and Hungary, of Aragon and Naples, and the sultan of Egypt, contended for him, with the view of setting him at the head of an expedition against his brother.[s] But the pope was successful, and Djem, after a residence of more than six years in France, was
March 10, escorted by Cardinal Balue to Rome, where he was
1489. received as a sovereign prince,[t] and was lodged in the Vatican palace. The master of the Hospitallers, D'Aubusson, was rewarded for the surrender of his guest by being promoted to the college of cardinals.[u] At his first interview with the pope, Djem refused to perform the usual homage, and could only be persuaded to kiss him on the shoulder; [x] and throughout his residence at Rome, he was careful to maintain his pretensions to dignity.[y] Bajazet renewed his offers for the possession of his brother's person, or for his death.[z] It is said that at one time he employed an Italian to destroy both Djem and the pope by poisoning the water of which they drank; [a] at another time he sent an ambassador to offer a yearly payment of 40,000 ducats for the maintenance and safe keeping of the prince; [b] and this sum was duly paid. In order further to propitiate the pope, Bajazet presented him with a relic of extraordinary sanctity—the head of the lance which had pierced the
May 31, Saviour's side. This gift was not the less valued
1492. because the sacred lance was supposed to exist also at

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father died, had escaped. (Hammer, ii. 219–221, 253.)

[r] Letters of Sixtus IV. in Rayn. 1482. 37-8; Hammer, ii. 263, 266–8. (See Vertot, ii. 357, seqq.; 530, seqq.).

[s] Krantz, Wandalia, 305; Comines in Petitot, xii. 392; Rayn. 1482. 77; 1485. 11; Schröckh, xxxii. 378-9; Hammer, ii. 270.

[t] Burchard, 112-7; Infess. 1986: Rayn. 1485. 12; 1488. 9, and Mansi's note; Gregorov. vii. 284-5. Balue had just been released from his long imprisonment at Loches. (Martin, vii. 142.)

[u] Infess. 1904-5. There is a curious story as to Bajazet's sending to D'Aubusson the right hand of St. John the Baptist. (Rayn. 1484. 72-3.)

[x] Burch. 121; Infess. 1987.

[y] See a remarkable description of him by Andrew Mantegna, the painter, in Reumont, III. i. 193.

[z] See Burchard, in Eccard, ii. 2053–8: Baluz. i. 517-8. The terms on which the pope and the sultan stood may be inferred from the fact, that Bajazet recommended the archbishop of Arles for the cardinalate. (Eccard, ii. 2055.)

[a] Infess. 1994; Rayn. 1490. 6; Murat. Ann. IX. ii. 231.

[b] Infess. 1998 (who gives an account of the ambassador's interview with Djem); Guicciard. 81. Gieseler has collected much information as to Djem. (II. iv. 164–6.) When the pope's death was expected, the cardinals thought it necessary to prevent the prince's escape by shutting him up in the castle of St. Angelo. (Infess. 2005.)

Paris, Nuremberg, and other places of the west; and to this day it is revered as one of the four chief relics of St. Peter's Church.[c]

Jan. 1492.

While the project of a war against the Mussulmans of the east remained unexecuted, the last remnant of the Mahometan power in Spain was destroyed by the conquest of Granada, after a war of twelve years.[d] The exultation produced at Rome by the report of this success was unbounded. The Spanish ambassador and the Spanish cardinal Borgia exhibited bull-fights and other spectacles, and for several days distributed food and wine to all who chose to apply.[e]

Innocent VIII. died after a short illness, on the 25th of July of the same year.[f] It is said that an attempt was made by a Jewish physician, although without the pope's consent, to prolong his life, by injecting into his veins the blood of three boys, whom their parents sold with a view to the experiment; but, although it proved fatal to the children, it was unavailing for the intended purpose.[g]

April 7.

Three months before the death of Innocent—at the very time when Rome was engrossed by the reception of the young son of Lorenzo de' Medici into the college of cardinals—Lorenzo himself died at his villa of Careggi, near Florence;[h] and the circumstances of his death-bed lead us to trace the earlier history of a remarkable man, who, by the power of eloquence and by his earnest zeal for religion and morality, had acquired an extraordinary influence in that city.[i]

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[c] Reumont, III. i. 193. For its reception, see Burchard, 179, 182-3, 185-9, 193. The sultan had the candour to inform the pope, through his ambassador, that the point (*cuspis*) of the lance was in possession of the French king. (Infess. 2005.) For the history of the relic, see Victorelli, in Ciacon. iii. 100-1. If, says this writer, Dionysius of Halicarnassus speaks of several places as claiming the tomb of Æneas, and if seven cities claimed the birth of Homer, why should it be objected that the holy lance is claimed for several places? (Cf. Rayn. 1492. 15-6.)

[d] Calixtus III. in 1455, had issued a bull for the expulsion of the Moors, and there are frequent notices of the war with them in Raynaldus (*e.g.* 1455. 39; 1457. 70; 1462. 44 (the recovery of Gibraltar); 1485. 30; 1486. 52, seqq.; 1487. 13, seqq.; 1489. 9, seqq.; 1491. 1-5; 1492. 1). See Mariana, ii. 596-7; Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella, ii. 86–91.

[e] Burch. 158-9; Not. del. Nantip. 1107; Prescott, ii. 91; Gregorov. vii. 299. For the celebration in England, see Bacon, 105.

[f] Infess. 2000.

[g] Ib. 2005; Burch. 193.

[h] For Machiavelli's eulogium on Lorenzo, see the History of Florence, ii. 271-5. The extravagant partiality of Roscoe has produced a reaction in later writers. The festivities of the cardinal's reception were interrupted by the arrival of a courier bringing the news of his father's death. (Burchard, 171.)

[i] For the history of Savonarola there are the old lives by J. F. Picus of Mirandola (in Bates's Vitæ selectorum aliquot Virorum, Lond. 1681) and the Dominican Burlamacchi (in Baluz. Miscell. i.; and later biographies by Rudelbach (Hamburg, 1835); Meier (Berlin, 1836), Perrens (Paris, 1853), Heraud (?) (London, 1843), Madden

Jerome Savonarola was born in 1452 at Ferrara, where his grandfather, a native of Padua, had settled as physician to the court.[k] It was the wish of the family that Jerome should follow the same profession; but he preferred the study of theology, philosophy, and poetry. At the age of twenty-two, he was induced by the preaching of a friar, by some visions with which he supposed himself to be favoured, and by disgust at the April 1475. wickedness and disorder of the world, to enter into the Dominican order—to which he was especially inclined by his reverence for its great teacher, Thomas of Aquino.[l] To the study of Aquinas he now added that of Cassian and other ascetic writers;[m] but, above all, he devoted himself to the holy Scriptures,[n] of which his knowledge became very great, although he appears to have carried to an excess the caprices of the allegorical system of interpretation.[o] After having spent seven A.D. 1482. years in the Dominican convent of Bologna, he was removed by his superiors to St. Mark's, at Florence, a monastery which but a few years before had been governed by the saintly archbishop Antoninus,[p] while its walls were adorned by the pencil of the "angelical" painter of Fiesole.[q] July 1491. But already its discipline had grievously decayed; and Savonarola, when after some years he was elected prior, found it necessary to correct by strict and searching reforms a state of luxury and worldliness altogether inconsistent with the institutions of St. Dominic.[r]

After some unpromising efforts, and notwithstanding serious natural disqualifications, Savonarola had burst forth into unequalled power as a preacher; and the vast cathedral of Florence was crowded by multitudes who eagerly hung on his words.[s] His fervid and fluent language, his passionate gestures, his eyes glowing with enthusiasm, seemed to indicate a man possessed by the convictions which he expressed, and authorised

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(Lond. 1853), and Villari (Florence, 1859). Of these books, Villari's is by far the most elaborate and valuable. See also an admirable article by Dean Milman (Quart. Rev., June, 1856), reprinted in his 'Essays;' a lecture by the late Rev. F. Myers, 'Lectures on Great Men;' and Pt. II. of Hase's 'Neue Propheten.'

[k] Picus, 108; Burlam. 531; Villari, i. 1-2.

[l] Picus, 109, 112; Burlam. 531; Villari, i. 14-6; and Docum. i.; Milman, 5-6.

[m] Picus, 111.

[n] Ib. 112.

[o] See Perrens, Pt. II. c. iii.; Villari, i. 110, 114–7, 325; Milm. 18.

[p] For the reform by which it had been made over to the Dominicans, see Antonin. 526.

[q] Villari, i. 33. For St. Antoninus, see Æn. Sylv. Comment. 90; Acta SS May 2 (although Butler and others place him on the 10th). He died in 1459.

[r] Villari, i. 121, 150–2.

[s] Picus, 112; Burlam. 533; Perrens

to speak in the name of God.[t] The chief aim of his preaching was to rouse men from the chill indifference to spiritual things which marked the character of the age, and was especially conspicuous amidst the material prosperity and the literary and artistic culture of the Florentines.[u] He denounced the sins of all classes, including the prelates and clergy, as to whom he declared that the church had once had golden priests and wooden chalices, but that now the chalices were of gold and the priests were wooden—that the outward splendour of religion had been hurtful to spirituality.[x] He was fond of expounding the Apocalypse, and confidently foretold chastisements as being near at hand. According to words revealed to him in a vision, the sword of the Lord was to come on the earth speedily and swiftly.[y] A new Cyrus was to descend on Italy from beyond the Alps;[z] the church was to be scourged and was to be renewed.[a] In part, these prophecies did not pretend to be more than the result of a firm belief in a Divine government of the world, carried on according to the principles declared in the Holy Scriptures—a conviction that, as offences had been committed, the threatened punishments would surely ensue; and as to this, Savonarola's error consisted in assuming too certainly the time when the punishment was to come.[b] But in part his utterances claimed a higher source; for from an early stage of his monastic life he had supposed himself to be favoured with visions and revelations, communicated to his mind by angels,[c] and commissioned to announce the designs of God to men. As some of his predictions were fulfilled, the general belief in him increased;[d] his followers spoke of him as "the prophet;"[e] and by means of the press, his writings and his fame were

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t. i. 20, 41-2, and Pt. II. c. ii.; Villari i. 28-9, 68, 118, 123; Milm. 10.

[t] Pic. 116; Burlam. 539; Vill. i. 118.

[u] Burlam. 549; Villari, i. 74.

[x] Villari, i. 169-70.

[y] "Ecce gladius Domini super terram cito et velociter." (Burlam. 534.)

[z] Burlam. 544; Nauclerus, 1118.

[a] See his 'Compendium Revelationum,' and his defence of the Compendium against Samuel of Monte Cassino (Strasburg, 1615); Picus, 213-4; Burlam. 533-4; Perrens, i. 29–31; Villari, i. 76-82; Giesel. II. iv. 470. Even before entering into the monastic state, he had published a tract to this effect. (Vill. i. 16-7, and Doc. ii.)

[b] Perrens, ii. 70-1; Villari, i. 298-9, and Doc. pp. 272. 284.

[c] Picus, 115; Burlam. 534-5; Guicc. 104; Villari, i. 70–2, 143, 295; Perrens, i. 192, and the concluding chapter; Hase, 129; Milman, 34–7. Rudelbach seems to make too little of this (308, seqq.).

[d] *E.g.* As to the deaths of the pope, the French king, and Lorenzo de' Medici. (Picus, 114.) Yet these, as has been remarked, were predictions which might safely be hazarded without any supernatural revelation. See for his most remarkable predictions, Perrens, Pt. II. c. v.; as to his failures, Bayle, art. *Savonarole*, n. e.

[e] See *e.g.* Benedetto, "Vulnera Diligentis" in Villari, Doc. xlvii.-ix.; Guicc. 104.

carried not only throughout Italy, but far beyond its borders.[f] There were stories as to his being rapt from his senses while praying; that his face had been seen to shine with a celestial light; that he had contests with evil spirits.[g]

To the family of Medici, Savonarola was inflexibly hostile. Himself a zealous republican, he regarded them as usurpers of the liberty of Florence;[h] and he viewed with disgust and indignation the gross licentiousness and the pagan tendencies which were combined in Lorenzo with refinement of manners and high culture of tastes for literature and art.[i] He refused to pay some marks of respect by which the priors of St. Mark's had been accustomed to acknowledge the favours bestowed on their house by the Medicean family. The attempts of Lorenzo to alarm or to conciliate him were vain;[k] but when at length the "Magnifico" felt the approach of death, and when amidst the terrors of his aroused conscience, he found himself unable to trust the spiritual counsels of his chaplains, he eagerly requested a visit from the friar who, alone of all the clergy, had spoken to him with unflattering frankness. He professed especial remorse for three things—the cruelties committed in the sack of Volterra;[l] his interference with the funds of a bank instituted for the benefit of young women[m]—of whom many had in consequence of his acts been driven to a life of vice; and the bloodshed which had taken place on account of the Pazzian conspiracy.[n] To his request for absolution Savonarola replied by assurances of the divine mercy and goodness; but it is said that he in his turn required of the penitent three things—that he should have a living faith in God's will and power to forgive; that he should restore all that he had unjustly taken; and that he should restore the republican liberties of Florence. As to the first of these conditions, Lorenzo made

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[f] Picus, 125–27; Villari, i. 119, 140, 174–5; Gregorov. vii. 417. It is said that even the Grand Turk ordered some of his sermons to be translated, in order to become acquainted with them (Burlam. 54). But this was later.

[g] Picus, 123-4; Burlam. 533. See Savonarola's 'Compendium Revelationum.'

[h] Picus, 114-5.

[i] Vill. i. 38, seqq. As to the character of Lorenzo, see pp. 43-4; Perkins, Tuscan Sculpture, ii. 5. The style of *magnifico* was not an epithet peculiar to him, but was a title commonly given to persons of distinction who had no other—ambassadors, condottieri, &c. He was not "Lorenzo il magnifico," but "Il magnifico Lorenzo" (Sism. viii. 127). Roscoe denies this.

[k] Milman, 19-20; Burlam. 535; Perrens, i. 57-8; Villari, i. 118, 120-1. For Cosmo's munificence to St. Mark's, see Vespas. in Mai, i. 332.

[l] See Mur. Ann. IX. ii. 168; Trollope, iii. 299; and above, p. 533, n. g.

[m] The "Monte delle Fanciulle."

[n] Burlam. 537; Villari, i. 135-6

the required profession; to the second he consented, although with some reluctance. But when Savonarola, rising from his seat, enounced the last demand with the sternness of a prophet, the dying man, gathering up his remaining strength, turned his back on the friar; and Savonarola left him unabsolved.[o]

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[o] Picus, 115; Burlam. 537 (who says that Savonarola believed that if he had had an opportunity of conversing longer with Lorenzo, his efforts to bring him to a better mind would have been successful). As Politian and others represent Lorenzo's death as peaceful, the account given by Savonarola's friends has been much questioned, as by Rudelbach, 84; Perrens, i. 59-63; Dean Milman (21·2); Harford, 'Life of M. Angelo,' i. 144. Hase thinks it the most likely story, and in defence of it see Villari, i. 155-9. Mr. Madden tries to harmonise the accounts, i. 156-7; and, in truth, the question seems to be whether the one story must be held to exclude the other.

CHAPTER V.

ALEXANDER THE SIXTH.

A.D. 1492—1503.

The death of Innocent was followed by disturbances such as had become usual during a vacancy of the popedom. The whole country around Rome was in arms;[a] within the city itself it is said that two hundred and twenty persons were slain.[b] The cardinals met for the election of a successor in the Sixtine Chapel on the 6th of August. The practice of intrigue had been common on such occasions; but the manner in which members of the college now put themselves forward as candidates was without example.[c] Among these the most prominent were Roderick Borgia, whose seniority, wealth, and frequent employment in the most important business of the church, gave weight to his pretensions; Ascanius Sforza, son of the great condottiere who had founded a new dynasty in the dukedom of Milan; and Julian della Rovere, the nephew of Sixtus IV.[d] Although experience had amply proved the inefficacy of capitulations, an attempt was once more made to bind the future pope by engagements of this kind; among other things, he was required to promise that he would not make any cardinals without the consent of the existing members of the body.

The conclave was of unusual duration. Much bribery was practised. Sforza, after having ascertained that his own chance of election was little or none, transferred his interest to Borgia; and it is said that all the cardinals, except della Rovere, Piccolomini, and three others, were bought by the promise of money or preferments.[e] At length, on the fifth night, the deliberations of the cardinals resulted in the election of Borgia, who exclaimed "I am pope, pontiff, and vicar of Christ!" and hastily put on the papal mantle, as if to assure himself of the reality of his success.[f] The name which he took was Alexander VI.

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[a] M. Sanuto, in Murat. xxiv. 1249.

[b] Burch. 193-4, 213, ed. Gennarelli; Infessura, 2009.

[c] Gregorov. vii. 308-9.

[d] Ib. 309; Schröckh, xxxii. 385; Reum. II. i. 199.

[e] Infess. 2009; Guicciard. 6.

[f] Gregorov. vii. 311.

Within a few days, Sforza, according to compact, received the office of vice-chancellor, which Borgia had held, together with his palace,[g] and some churches and castles; while the preferments accumulated on other members of the college attested the value of their support, and the means by which it had been secured.[h] But the consciousness of having attained his dignity by means which might have vitiated the election—the dread of any inquiry, by a general council or any other tribunal, into the circumstances of his elevation—hung as a weight on the pope all his days, and affected his course of conduct.[i]

Roderick Borgia (whose change of surname has been already mentioned)[k] was born in 1431 at Valencia, of a family belonging to the lower grade of nobles. He had studied at Bologna, and in early life had been an advocate and also a soldier. To his uncle Calixtus III. he was indebted for rapid ecclesiastical promotion; he became cardinal,[l] archbishop of his native city, vice-chancellor of the Roman church; and his support of Sixtus IV. in his election had procured for him the abbacy of Subiaco.[m] By these preferments, and by inheritance from Calixtus, he had become very wealthy; and a mission as legate to Spain, for the purpose of gathering money for the crusade, had considerably increased his riches, although it had not improved his reputation.[n] He was more esteemed for eloquence than for learning, but was especially noted for the craft, the perseverance, and the fertility of resources which marked his character as a negotiator.[o] Fond as he was of pleasure, he never allowed the pursuit of it to interfere with business, to which he often devoted a large

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[g] Now called Cesarini.

[h] Infess. 2008; Guicciard. 6; Burch. 205-12; Panvin. 357; Gregorov. vii. 310.

[i] See the North British Review, Jan. 1871.

[k] P. 493; Panvin. 357.

[l] He was at first cardinal of St. Nicolas in Carcere, and was promoted by Sixtus to the episcopal cardinalates of Albano and Porto. (Panvin. 357.)

[m] Gregorov. vii. 233, 313. Sixtus also nominated him to the archbishoprick of Seville, but was baffled by the opposition of king Ferdinand. (Mariana, ii. 559.)

[n] See Mariana, ii. 478-9, who takes occasion to give a very unfavourable account of the Spanish clergy, as being ignorant, sensual, simoniacal, &c.; also Rayn. 1472. 22; 1473. 18-9. On his return, Borgia was nearly shipwrecked. (Vita Sixti IV. in Murat. III. ij. 1060.)

[o] "Vir est ingenii ad quæcumque versatilis, et animi magni; sermo ei promtus est, et in mediocri litteratura valde compositus; natura est callidus, sed ante omnia miræ ad res tractandas industriæ. Claret mirum in modum opibus," &c. (Jac. Volaterr. in Murat. xxiii. 130; cf. Guicc. 6.) Alexander's utter faithlessness, which was such that even his oath could not be trusted, and his success, are celebrated by Machiavelli (Principe, c. 18). Mr Gregorovius rates his abilities much lower than has been usual (vii. 500).

part of the night.[p] And, although he hesitated at no crime for the attainment of his objects, he is praised for the placability of his disposition, and for the patience with which he overcame the enmity of opponents.[q]

In the earlier years of his ecclesiastical life, he made great professions of piety and charity, visiting churches and hospitals, and distinguishing himself by the largeness of his almsgiving.[r] One of the first indications of the qualities for which he afterwards became infamous, is found in a letter of severe reproof which Pius II., while sojourning at the baths of Petrioli after the council of Mantua, addressed to him on account of his having A.D. 1460. witnessed, if he did not even join in, some dancing which is described as indecent, in a garden at Siena.[s] At a later time—probably about 1470, he entered into a connexion with a woman named Vanozza de' Catanei, whom he regarded as a sort of wife, while he provided her with two husbands in succession, and found places for these men in some of the government offices.[t] By Vanozza he became the father of five children, of whom three sons and a daughter were alive at the time of his elevation to the papacy. Yet it would seem that thus far Borgia's laxity of morals had not in any remarkable degree exceeded such licence as the age allowed. His palace had not, like those of some other cardinals, been notoriously defiled by scandalous revels; nor was it until he had been raised to the most sacred office in Christendom that his infamy became conspicuous and signal.[u]

The report of Alexander's election excited various feelings. By some of the Romans, who looked to his dignified presence, his wealth, his expensive tastes, and who expected a splendid pontificate, the tidings were received with joy, and he was ex-

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[p] Raph. Volat. 825; Panvin. 362.

[q] Raph. Volat. 824–5.

[r] Gordon's Lives of Alex. and Cæsar Borgia, 6. (Lond. 1729.)

[s] "Cum in hortis dilecti filii Joannis de Bichio convenissent fœminæ plures ad sæcularem vanitatem compositæ . . . saltatum ibi est, ut accepimus, cum omni licentia; nullis illecebris amatoriis parsum, tuque etiam inter hæc omnia non secus versatus, quam si unus esses ex sæcularium juvenum turba" (Rayn. 1460. 31). Gaspar of Verona writes of him in his earlier time, "Qui mulieres egregias visas ad se amandum gratior allicit et mirum in modum concitat, plusquam magnes ferrum; quas tamen intactas dimittere sane putatur." (Mansi, in Rayn. xi. 415.)

[t] Gregorov. vii. 315. According to some writers, Vanozza was the daughter of a Roman woman with whom in her widowhood he had before cohabited in Spain (Schröckh, xxxii. 383); but this seems to be groundless. Vanozza herself was possessed of some independent property, and appears to have become devout and beneficent after Alexander's death. She is buried in Sta. Maria del Popolo. (Gregorov. l. c.; Reumont, III ii. 204, who gives her epitaph, p. 838.)

[u] Reum. III. ii. 201; Gregorov. vii 312-3.

tolled in verses to which his later life gives the character of the bitterest satire.[x] But those who saw further into his character—among them the sovereigns of his native Spain[y]—regarded his promotion with alarm; and Ferdinand of Naples, who, notwithstanding his treachery, cruelty and other vices,[z] was regarded as the wisest statesman of the age, is said to have shown his knowledge of Alexander by bursting into tears.[a]

The spirit of secular ambition, and the undisguised licentiousness, which had been more and more displayed during the late pontificates, were now carried to a monstrous excess. For the first time the bastards of a pope were brought forward as his acknowledged children;[b] and the violence of his affection for them carried him into crimes of many sorts, tempted him to disturb the peace of the world, to make Italy, which for many years had enjoyed a tranquil prosperity such as had never before been known,[c] a scene of violence and bloodshed, and to invite the fatal interference of foreign nations in her affairs.

For his eldest son, Peter Louis, who died before Alexander's elevation to the papacy, he had obtained from the king of Spain the title of duke of Gandia, which passed to the next brother, John.[d] The third son, Cæsar, was designed for the ecclesiastical profession, and was a student at Pisa, when a courier announced to him his father's elevation to the papacy, Cæsar at once set out for Rome, where the pope received him with affection, but is said to have addressed to him a formal speech, in which, after adverting to the discredit which the first Borgia pope had incurred by his nepotism, he warned him that he must expect no promotion except such as his merits should justify.[e] The hypocrisy of such a declaration was forthwith shown by the pope's promoting, in his first consistory, a nephew to be archbishop of Monreale and cardinal;[f] and three other Borgias, besides Cæsar, were afterwards raised to the

Sept. 20.

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[x] *E. g.*:—

"Qui prudens, justus, constans, pius atque modestus,
Pro meritis tanto culmine dignus erat."

(Burch. 219; cf. Gregorov. vii. 318, 320; North. Brit. Rev., Jan. 1871, p. 353.)

[y] P. Martyr, quoted by Prescott, ii. 241.

[z] See Comines, iii. 59-60; Guicciard. 3, 35.

[a] Guicciard. 6; Giannone, iv. 394. Gregorovius questions this, vii. 321; cf. 329.

[b] Guicc. 13. It will be seen that Innocent VIII. had not gone so far in this direction. (See p. 542, n. [p].)

[c] Guicc. 2.

[d] Reumont, II. i. 204, and genealogical table, 'Borgia.' (See Gregorov. vii. 323.)

[e] Gordon, 15-8. This is questionable. (See Schröckh, xxii. 388-9.)

[f] Pauvin. 358.

cardinalate, while other relations of the pope were thrust into all manner of offices and preferments.[g] On Cæsar himself, his father at once bestowed the bishoprick of Pampeluna (which Innocent had designed for him),[h] and to this he added, on the day of his coronation, his own archbishoprick of Valencia.[i] May 1493. In the following year, he made him a cardinal; and as illegitimacy would have been a bar to such a promotion, the pope suborned false witnesses to swear that Cæsar was the lawful offspring of Vanozza by her first husband.[k]

The pope's daughter, the beautiful Lucretia, who was in her fifteenth year, had been some time betrothed to a son of the count of Aversa; but Alexander, whose ambition had risen with his fortunes, now bribed him to sue for a dissolution of the engagement, in order that Lucretia might marry a suitor of more powerful connexions—Alexander Sforza, son of the lord of Pesaro, and illegitimate grandson of the first duke Sforza of Milan.[l] The June 12, 1493. marriage was celebrated in the Belvedere, which had been added to the Vatican by Innocent VIII.;[m] and it was followed by a banquet, at which cardinals and other high ecclesiastical dignitaries sat promiscuously with ladies, and by the performance of comedies and other amusements, which lasted far into the night.[n] Among the party was Julia Farnese, known as "la Bella," a married woman, for whose sake Alexander made her brother a cardinal;[o] and the chronicler, who describes the scene, speaks indignantly of the effect which the examples of Innocent and Alexander had produced on the morals of the clergy, and even of the monastic orders.[p]

For his youngest son, Geoffrey, the pope planned a marriage with a daughter of Alfonso, duke of Calabria. The duke's father, King Ferdinand, was willing to consent to this marriage,

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[g] Gregorov. vii. 534. At his first creation of cardinals, seven only of the college consented. (Infess. 2015.)

[h] Infess. 2015. Innocent gave the see to Cæsar at the age of seventeen, with the condition that he should not enter on the pastoral charge of it until his twenty-seventh year. (Burch. 148.)

[i] Gregorov. vii. 323.

[k] Guicc. 36; Mariana, ii. 604; Giesel. II. iv. 168. Allegretto Allegretti, a Sienese chronicler, says that when the promotion of Cæsar was proposed, the cardinals in disgust rose up and walked away, "senza dir altro." (Murat. xxiii. 827.)

[l] Infess. 2011; Schröckh, xxxii. 390.

[m] Infess. 2008.

[n] Infessura styles the plays "lascivæ," and intimates that he could say more than he is willing to say. (2012.)

[o] See Ciac. iii. 182, 531 seqq. This cardinal afterwards became Pope Paul III. Alexander had his mistress Julia painted by Pinturicchio as the Madonna, with her child, and himself on his knees before her! (Infess. 2015; Vasari, v. 269.) Mr. Dennistoun questions the truth of this, supposing Vasari to be the only authority for it, but speaks of a picture of Alexander on his knees before the ascending Redeemer as objectionable. (Dukes of Urbin, ii. 159.)

[p] Infess. 2011.

but Alfonso himself was strongly opposed to it; and by this disappointment the pope was thrown into other connexions, which were full of disaster for Italy.[q]

Louis Sforza, who from his swarthy complexion was styled the Moor, a man of deep ambition and perfidy,[r] administered the government of Milan in the name of his nephew, John Galeazzo, whom it is said that, for the sake of retaining power in his own hands, he allowed to grow up without any such training as might have fitted him for the duties of his position.[s] Louis projected a national league of the Italian powers, for the purpose of preserving their country from foreign rule, and endeavoured to gain the pope's co-operation;[t] but, finding that a special alliance had been concluded between Alexander, the king of Naples, and the Florentine republic, he was led by jealousy to invite Charles VIII. of France into Italy, for the purpose of asserting a claim to the Neapolitan crown, which had been bequeathed by the last count of Provence to Louis XI.; and the conquest of Naples was represented as a step towards the recovery of Constantinople and Jerusalem from the infidels.[u] The proposal was well fitted to attract the young king, who, although weak, sickly, and almost deformed in person, and yet more feeble in mind, had his imagination filled with visions of chivalrous and crusading exploits and renown.[x] His wisest counsellors—such as his sister, the lady of Beaujeu,[y] and Philip de Comines—endeavoured to dissuade him from undertaking an expedition into Italy, and urged him to accept the offers made by Ferdinand of Naples to hold the kingdom as tributary to the crown of France.[z] But Charles listened to advisers of another kind—to Neapolitan exiles who were eager for vengeance on the Aragonese dynasty, and to his kinsman Louis, duke of Orleans, who wished to use the king's ambition for the furtherance of his own designs in Italy.[a] He dismissed the Neapolitan ambassadors,[b] and prepared for an expedition to Italy by making peace, on disadvantageous

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[q] Guicc. 13.

[r] Guicc. 184, 304.

[s] Sism. viii. 309.

[t] Schröckh, xxxii. 394; Sism. viii. 305; Martin, vii. 249.

[u] Comines, iii. 16, 34; Guicc. 15, 18–21; Fr. Carpesan. in Mart. Coll. Ampl. v. 1204; P. Jovius, i. 12; Giann. iv. 435–7; Mariana, ii. 613; Gibbon, Misc. Works, 398 seqq.

[x] Guicc. 55; Sism. R. I. viii. 312; Hist. d. Fr. xiv. 634; Reumont, III. i. 210, from the relation of the Venetian ambassador Contarini.

[y] See p. 540.

[z] Comines, iii. 27, 64; Guicc. 21-2.

[a] Guicc. 23–5; Martin, vii. 251.

[b] Guicc. 34.

terms, with the kings of England and of Spain, and with Maximilian, who had lately succeeded his father Frederick as emperor.[c]

The expectation of a French invasion brought about a connexion between the reigning dynasty of Naples and the pope. It was arranged that Geoffrey Borgia, who was only twelve or thirteen years of age, should marry Sancha, an illegitimate daughter of the duke of Calabria; that he should receive the principality of Squillace, with other territory, and should be appointed lieutenant of the kingdom; that the duke of Gandia should be nominated to one of the chief offices, and that Cæsar Borgia should receive high ecclesiastical preferment at Naples; while, on the other hand, the tribute payable by the Neapolitan crown to the papacy was to be reduced.[d] Ferdinand died on the 25th of January, 1494, and it is believed that his death was hastened by the French king's rejection of his offers.[e] His successor, Alfonso, who was eminent as a general, but was even more treacherous and cruel than his father, was crowned by the cardinal archbishop of Monreale, and the marriage of Geoffrey Borgia with Donna Sancha was celebrated at the same time.[f] In their alarm, Alfonso and the pope applied for assistance to the Turkish sultan, whom they endeavoured to move by representing that the French king avowedly looked on Naples as only a stepping-stone towards Constantinople; but they failed to obtain any effective assistance.[g] To ambassadors who urged the claim of Charles to Naples, Alexander replied that the kingdom was a fief of the holy see, and could be disposed of only by the pope; that the Aragonese princes had been invested in it, and that he could not dispossess them unless another claim could be shown to be stronger than theirs. And he threatened to pronounce the censures of the church if Charles should cross the Alps.[h]

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[c] Comines, iii. 20; Sism. viii. 316; Prescott, ii. 246–250; Pauli, v. 598. Frederick died on Aug. 9, 1493, after a reign of 54 years. (Schmidt, iv. 343.) Maximilian had been elected and crowned as king of the Romans in 1486. (Molinet, in Buchon, iii. 17–40; 54–70.) He was never crowned as emperor; but Julius II. allowed him to style himself "imperator electus," and his successors, without being crowned by the pope, omitted the *electus*. (Gregorov. vii. 342.) See below, p. 600.

[d] Burchard, 306, 311, ed. Gennarelli; 2069, ed. Eccard; Guicciard. 28, 36; Rayn. 1494. 3, seqq.; Gregorov. vii. 337, 315; Schröckh, xxxii. 398.

[e] Comines, iii. 69; Guicc. 34. Burchard says that he died "sine lux, sine crux, sine Deus." (272, ed. Gennar.)

[f] Burchard, 283 (who was sent to Naples for the occasion, as master of the ceremonies); Infess. 2016; Rayn. 1494. 15.

[g] Giann. iv. 439.

[h] Guicc. 38; Schröckh, xxxii. 400.

June 1.

Charles had advanced as far as Lyons, where he remained a considerable time, engaged in tournaments and in voluptuous enjoyments.[i] It was still uncertain whether the expedition to Italy were to take place, when the king's vacillating mind was determined by the arrival of Cardinal Julian della Rovere, the implacable enemy of Alexander.[k] After the election of the pope, Julian had withdrawn to the fortress of Ostia, where he was besieged and at length driven out.[l] Alexander had attempted to conciliate him; but Julian declared that he would never again trust a Catalan; and, from having been the most zealous partisan of Naples in the college of cardinals, he transferred himself to the French interest in consequence of the pope's having entered into a connexion with Alfonso.[m] Arriving at Lyons when the king's plans were altogether uncertain, his strong and impetuous eloquence, and the freedom with which he represented the disgrace of abandoning the enterprise, determined Charles to proceed, and in the end of August he crossed the Alps at the head of a gallant, although undisciplined army.[n] The money which he had raised, including a large loan from his Milanese ally, had been spent on the gaieties of Lyons, and on a fleet which was not turned to any account; and already his difficulties were such that he borrowed jewels from the duchess of Savoy and the marchioness of Montferrat, in order that he might procure money by pledging them.[o]

Oct. 20.

After a stay of some weeks at Asti, which belonged to the duke of Orleans, Charles moved onwards.[p] At Milan he saw the young duke, John Galeazzo; but[q] this unfortunate prince died almost immediately afterwards, and, although he left a son five years old, Louis the Moor, who was suspected of having caused his nephew's death, assumed the ducal title.[r] As Charles approached Florence, Peter de' Medici, the son of Lorenzo, appeared in his camp, and, although others had been joined with him in the mission, he took it on himself to conclude a treaty by which four of the strongest

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[i] Guicc. 37; M. Sanuto (?), 31. [The authorship of this work is doubtful.]

[k] Sism. viii. 333–5; Gregorov. vii. 344.

[l] Burch. 216; Gregorov. vii. 326.

[m] Guicc. 36; Gregorov. vii. 327, 337, 344. Guicciardini styles him, "fatale instrumento e allora e prima, e poi, de' mali d' Italia." (53.)

[n] Guicc. 53-4; P. Jovius, i. 25; Sism. viii. 342–4.

[o] Comines, iii. 26, 28; Guicc. 52; Sism. viii. 345.

[p] Guicc. 57; Comines, iii. 35.

[q] Comines, iii. 36.

[r] Ib. 38; Guicc. 62-3. Mariana says that there were clear signs of poison. (ii. 696.)

places belonging to the republic were given up to France. Peter, who had been only twenty-one years old at the time of his father's death, had already made himself obnoxious to the Florentines by his incapacity, his pride, his irregularities, and other faults; and the result of his negotiations with Charles exasperated them to such a degree that, on his return to the city, he and his brothers were driven into exile.[s] The eloquence of Savonarola, who spoke of the "new Cyrus" as an instrument of Divine vengeance for the sins of the Italians, instead of rousing the citizens to resistance, tended to persuade them to submission.[t] He reminded them that the sword which he had foretold had now actually come on them.[u] After the expulsion of the Medici, the friar was sent at the head of an embassy which was received by Charles at Pisa. In the solemn tone of a prophet, he told the king that he must regard himself as an instrument in God's hand; that if he should forget his calling—if he should neglect to labour for the reform of the church, and to respect the liberties and the honour of the Florentines—another would be chosen in his stead.[x] Charles answered with courtesy, although in a way which showed that he did not apprehend the peculiarity of Savonarola's character and position;[y] but during his stay at Florence (where the citizens, who had agreed to admit him peaceably, were deeply offended by his entering with his lance on his thigh, as if assuming the character of a conqueror) the friar's admonitions were repeatedly administered to him.[z]

In the mean time Alexander was distracted by a variety of fears. In vain he entreated Maximilian to intervene as advocate of the church.[a] He was alarmed by hearing that the Colonnas had openly declared for the French, and entertained designs of seizing him; that the Orsini, on whose support he had relied, had submitted to the invader; that the trading classes of his city were not disposed to stand by him; that the French were devastating everywhere, and that his concubine, Julia Farnese, had fallen into their hands.[b] Cardinal Picco-

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[s] Comines, iii. 41-2, 47; Guicc. 66–70; M. Sanuto (?) in Murat. xxiv. 9; Raph. Volat. 180; Allegr. Allegr. ib. xxiii. 833; P. Jovius, i. 32-3; Vita Leonis, 16; Sism. viii. 350-1.

[t] Perrens, ii. 92, seqq.; Villari, i. 141-2, 185.

[u] Perrens, i. 101.

[x] Compend. Revel. fol. 7; Picus, 115; Burlam. 515; Villari, i. 209; Rudelb. 103.

[y] Sism. viii. 358; Perrens, i. 109.

[z] Guicc. 73; Burlam. 545-6; Perrens, i. 112; Villari, i. 214, seqq., 224.

[a] Gregorov. vii. 359.

[b] Guicc. 59, 77-8; Comines, iii. 53-4; P. Jovius, ii. 18; Fr. Carpesan. in Mart Coll. Ampl. v. 1206; Gregorov. vii. 361-4.

lomini and others, whom he sent to Charles, returned without having been able to obtain an audience.[c] He arrested the cardinals who were in favour of France, and even the French ambassadors; and almost immediately after he released them again.[d] He spoke of leaving Rome, but was unable to carry out any resolution.[e] He invited Ferdinand, duke of Dec. 9. Calabria, to occupy the city with Neapolitan troops.[f] But when Charles asked for leave to pass through Rome, in order to the crusade (for nothing was said of his designs on Naples), Alexander felt that he could make no effective opposition; and by his request the duke of Calabria indig- Dec. 31. nantly withdrew along the Appian way at the same time that the French made their entrance at the opposite end of Rome.[g] As at Florence, Charles affected to enter as a conqueror, by carrying his lance rested on his thigh. On his right and on his left rode the cardinals Julian della Rovere, Sforza, Colonna, and Savelli; and the multitude raised loud shouts in honour of France, Colonna, and the cardinal of St. Peter *ad Vincula.* It was night before the greater part of the troops could enter; and the gleam of torches and of lights from the windows heightened the impression made by their arms, their horses, and a train of artillery which far exceeded all that the Italians had yet beheld of its kind.[h]

Alexander, a few days after the king's arrival, withdrew into the castle of St. Angelo, from which he uneasily Jan. 6. watched the lights and the sounds on the other side of the Tiber. He knew that importunities were addressed to Charles by eighteen cardinals for the assembling of a general council in order to his deposition; and he felt that neither the manner of his election nor his personal character could endure the examination of such an assembly.[i] He was repeatedly urged by Charles to give up the fortress as a pledge; but he declared that he would rather place himself on the battlements, with the holiest relics in his hands,[k] and abide the effect of an attack.

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[c] Alex. in Rayn. 1495. 16; Fr. Carpes. 1207; Guicc. 69; Allegr. Allegr. in Murat. xxiii. 833.

[d] M. Sanuto in Murat. xxiv. 10; Guicc. 78; Allegr. Allegr. 836; Rayn. 1494. 5.

[e] Guicc. 78.

[f] M. Sanuto, in Mur. xxiv. 10.

[g] Guicc. 80; Giann. iv. 440; Gregorov. vii. 358, 364-5; Reumont, III. i. 214-6.

[h] Burch. in Eccard, ii. 2053; P. Jovius, i. 41-2; Fr. Carpes. 1207; Panvin. 358; Gregorov. vii. 366-7.

[i] Comines, iii. 57, 67-8; Guicc. 79, 80; Gregorov. vii. 356. It is said by Paul III. that an instrument of deposition was actually drawn up. (North British Rev., Jan. 1871, p. 355.)

[k] Malipieri, quoted by Sism. ix. 12; Gregorov. vii. 371.

The French, in their impatience at his obstinacy, twice pointed their cannon against St. Angelo; but a party among the king's advisers, which had been drawn into the pope's interest by the promise of ecclesiastical dignities, was able to prevent any practical acts of hostility.[l] During his stay at Rome, Charles daily visited some church, to hear mass and to inspect the sacred relics,[m] and the Romans looked on with astonishment when he touched for the king's evil in the church of St. Petronilla.[n] But his soldiers, notwithstanding a solemn engagement to refrain from all violence, freely indulged their insolence and their love of spoil; even Vanozza's house was plundered, to Alexander's great anger and disgust.[o]

A treaty was concluded, by which the pope was to put certain Jan. 15, 1495. fortified towns into the hands of the French until the conquest of Naples should have been achieved. He was also to make over to them for six months the Turkish prince Djem, with a view to the proposed crusade; and he was to extend an amnesty to the cardinals and others who had offended him by taking part with France.[p] After the conclusion of this agreement, Charles was more than once received at the Vatican, to which the pope had returned;[q] and Briçonnet, bishop of St. Malo, one of his favourite counsellors, was promoted to the dignity of cardinal.[r] The same honour was conferred on Peter of Luxemburg, bishop of Le Mans.[s]

On the 28th of January the king left Rome, taking with him the Turkish prince, and accompanied by Cæsar Borgia, with the title of legate, but really as a hostage for the performance of his father's promises.[t] Cæsar, however, on the second night of the march absconded from Velletri in the dress of a groom,[u] so that the security which his presence had given was lost.

At Naples the approach of the French produced an outbreak against the reigning dynasty. Alfonso, knowing that, both for his father's sake and for his own, he was execrated by his subjects, and that by his atrocious cruelties and his detestable vices

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[l] Comines, iii. 68; Guicc. 81; Gregorov. vii. 370.

[m] Gregorov. vii. 372

[n] Ib. 374.

[o] Burch. 2060; P. Jovius, i. 42; Nauclerus, 1012; Gregorov. vii. 371; Reumont. III. i. 218.

[p] Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. 265; Comines, iii. 69; Guicc. 81; Burch. 2061, 2065; P. Jovius, i. 43; Gregorov. vii.

[q] Jan. 16. Molinet, ed. Buchon, v. 30; Reumont, III. i. 219.

[r] Burch. 2061–3; Comines, iii. 70.

[s] Guicc. 81-2. It would seem that these promotions were not made at the same time. (Ciac. iii. 182-4.)

[t] Guicc. 81-3.

[u] Burch. 2065; Guicc. 83; Allegr. Allegr. 836–9; M. Sanuto in Mur. xxiv. 12.

he had well deserved their abhorrence,[x] resigned the crown in favour of his son Ferdinand,[y] and withdrew to a Sicilian monastery, where he engaged in penitential exercises, and soon after died.[z] The new king, finding himself unable, with a disheartened and mutinous soldiery and a disaffected people, to make head against the invader, retired to Feb. 21. the island of Ischia; and on the following day Charles entered Naples unopposed, and was received with joyful demonstrations of welcome.[a]

But the popular feeling in favour of the French was soon changed into detestation. The strangers abused their fortune. They treated the Neapolitans with contempt and outrage. All offices were bestowed on foreigners, and sometimes two or three were accumulated on one person; even private property was invaded to gratify the rapacity of Frenchmen; and Charles avowed an intention of reducing the barons of the kingdom from their comparative independence to a like state of subordination with the nobility of France. He neglected business; to his new subjects he was inaccessible; and those who had steadily adhered to the Angevine interest were disgusted at finding that their past fidelity and sufferings did not exempt them from being confounded with the partisans of the expelled dynasty.[b] The young French nobles, after the king's example, gave themselves up freely to pleasure; the mass of the army, in consequence of their indulgences, were enervated by a new and loathsome disease;[c] the project of a crusade, which had been used to sanctify the invasion of Italy, was utterly forgotten.[d] At Naples, Djem died on the 26th of February; and his death was attributed, not only by popular opinion, but by

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[x] "Nul homme n'a esté plus cruel que luy, ne plus mauvais, ne plus vicieux et plus infect, ne plus gourmand que luy." (Comines, iii. 59.) A Venetian chronicler, whom Muratori conjectures to be Marin Sanuto, says of Alfonso and his father, "Credo che Nerone fusse santo appresso di questi tiranni." (Murat. xxiv. 14, cf. 12; P. Jovius, i. 49, &c.; Guicc. 82-3.)

[y] Allegr. Allegr. 839, 841 (who says that Alfonso was supposed to be mad); Comines, iii. 64; Burch. 2065; Mariana, ii. 619; Sism. ix. 19–22. It was reported that his father's ghost had sent him warning that the family was to be extinguished for its crimes. (Guicc. 83.)

[z] "Selon sa grande pénitence il est à espérer que son âme est glorieuse en Paradis." (Comines, iii. 66; cf. Guicc. 146; Giann. iv. 442.)

[a] Comines, iii. 72–3; Guicc. 84–90; Fr. Carpes. 1208–11; M. San. in Murat. xxiv. 13-4; Giann. iv. 443-4.

[b] Guicc. 112; M. Sanut. in Murat. xxiv. 19; Comines, iii. 76; P. Jovius, i. 55; Giann. iv. 447; Sism. ix. 75. The narrative of the Frenchman William of Villeneuve, (who tells us that, having been made prisoner at Naples by Ferdinand, he wrote "pour éviter oisiveté,") would not lead us to suspect anything of this. (Petitot, xiv. 255, 260.)

[c] See Hallam, Hist. Lit. i. 441.

[d] Comines, iii. 99; P. Jovius, i. 55; Sism. ix. 36.

Charles himself, to a slow poison, administered (as was supposed) by the pope, who had corresponded with Bajazet as to the means of removing the unfortunate prince, and reaped the benefit of the imputed crime by receiving 300,000 ducats for his body.[e]

March 31.

While Charles was lingering in hurtful inaction at Naples, dangers were gathering behind him. Louis Sforza, alarmed by finding that the duke of Orleans had asserted a claim to Milan, as being the sole legitimate descendant of the Visconti,[f] and that in this he was countenanced by the French king, concluded at Venice a league with the pope, the emperor, the sovereigns of Spain, and the Venetian republic, which, although professedly intended for defence against the Turks, had evidently a further meaning.[g] Charles, on receiving from his envoy at Venice, Philip de Comines, a report of this formidable combination, resolved to return northwards. Before leaving Naples he wished to be formally inaugurated in his new sovereignty; but as the pope, notwithstanding an absolute promise which he had made during the king's stay at Rome,[h] refused to grant him investiture, even with a reservation of any rival claims, he resolved to act on his own authority.[i] He therefore, on the 12th of May, proceeded in state to the church of St. Januarius, arrayed in the ensigns of eastern imperial dignity,[k] and there solemnly bound himself by oath to maintain the rights and liberties of the Neapolitans.[l] He then set out homewards, leaving a part of his force to maintain his authority in the south of Italy.[m]

June 1.

On his arrival at Rome, the king found that Alexander had withdrawn two days before to Orvieto, and had taken with him all the cardinals, except Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, who was left to act as his vicar.[n] At Poggibonsi he was again visited by Savonarola, who rebuked

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[e] See the letter in Burchard, ed. Eccard, ii. 2059; cf. 2066; Guicc. 107; Giesel. II. iv. 170; Hammer, ii. 275. Burlamacchi tells us that the reason of Cæsar Borgia's disappearance at Viterbo was that he had poisoned Djem. (Baluz. i. 546.) Krantz says that the prince died of grief, but that some suppose him to have taken poison. (Saxonia, 328.) The Turkish story is that the poisoning was done by means of a medicated razor, which affected the blood through a little scratch in the skin. (Hammer, ii. 277.)

[f] M. San. in Murat. xxiv. 16; Guicc. 120-1.

[g] Comines, l. vii. c. 20; Sism. ix. 68. There were secret clauses. (Guicc. 110.)

[h] Guicc. 81, 113.

[i] Guicc. 115.

[k] He claimed the eastern empire, as having bought the rights of the Palæologi from Andrew Palæologus. (Rayn. 1494. 29.)

[l] Guicc. 116; Sism. ix. 78.

[m] Guicc. 114.

[n] Fr. Carpes. 1212; Guicc. 116–8; Rayn. 1495. 21-2; Gregorov. vii. 381.

him for having failed to perform fully the work to which he had been called, and intimated that a punishment was hanging over him, yet assured him of the Divine protection on his return.[o]

As Charles retreated northwards, the Italians, after having neglected earlier opportunities of attacking him, presented themselves in numbers far exceeding those of his army at Fornuovo on the Taro; July 6. and in this, the only battle of the whole campaign, the French gained the advantage, and the king had the satisfaction of distinguishing himself by personal valour.[p] A peace was concluded with Sforza at Novara; and Charles, after an absence of about fourteen months, October. recrossed the Alps, and again found himself in France.[q] In the mean time Ferdinand had returned to Naples; and, although at first driven out by Stuart of Aubigny, a skilful general of Scottish descent whom Charles had left in command of his troops, a second expedition put him into possession of his kingdom, July 7. through the assistance of the "Great Captain" of Spain, Gonsalvo de Aguilar.[r] Of the French who had been left at Naples, ill supplied with money and provisions, and exposed to the ravages of war and of disease, hardly any found their way home from the land of which their conquest had appeared so easy.[s]

Gonsalvo also lent his aid to the pope for the reduction of Ostia, which had been left by Charles in the hands of cardinal Julian, and, from its position at the mouth A.D. 1497. of the Tiber, was a place of importance for the Romans.[t] For

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[o] Guicc. 122; Sism. ix. 85; Perrens, i. 206, 209. See Comines, iii. 186-8, who there and elsewhere speaks with high veneration of Savonarola's sanctity, and expresses belief in his prophetical gifts, as having himself had proof of them (130, 136, 150, 226-8). The threat was supposed to be fulfilled by the death of the king's only son; and some writers (as Burlamacchi, 548) represent this as having been distinctly foretold by Savonarola. He also predicted that Charles would again descend on Italy; and the nonfulfilment of this prophecy told against him. (Schröckh, xxxiii. 356.) As to Comines' opinion of Savonarola, see Bayle, art. *Savonarola*, n. B.

[p] Comines (who was present), l. viii. cc. 9-12; Fr. Carpes. 1213-5; Guill. de Villeneuve, in Petitot, xiv. 262-3; Guicc. 125-30; M. Sanuto (who glorifies the prowess of the Venetians) in Murat. xxiv. 21-3; P. Jovius, i. 70-3; Sism. ix. 85.

[q] Comines, l. viii. cc. 14-8; Guicc. 161.

[r] M. Sanut. 21; Baluz. Miscell. i. 526; P. Jovius, i. 80-7; Guicc. 115, 140, 142, 191-203; Giann. iv. 451; Quintana, Vidas de Españoles Célebres, 231, seqq. ed. Paris; Martin, vii. 279. The pope had authorised the Spanish sovereign to employ against the French in Naples the funds collected in Spain for the crusade against the Turks. (Guicc. 49.)

[s] Comines, iii. 187; Guicc. 162, 203; Sism. ix. 123-6; Gregorov. vii. 385.

[t] Guicc. 118, 219; Burch. 2080; P. Jovius, Vita Consalvi, in his Vitæ Illustrium Virorum, i. 222, ed. Basil. 1578; Quintana, 244-6.

this service the great captain was rewarded by a triumphal reception at Rome. In the ceremonies of the holy week, he refused to receive the palm from the pope's own hands, because the duke of Gandia had received it before him; although he condescended to accept the golden rose, which was regarded as a gift for sovereigns.[u] But the freedom with which he expressed himself as to the disorders and scandals of the court, without sparing the pope himself, made Alexander glad to be speedily delivered from his presence.[x]

The emperor Frederick III. had been succeeded by his son Maximilian, who had already been chosen king of the Romans. In contrast to his father's inertness, Maximilian displayed an excessive love of adventure, which continually led him to undertake great things without calculation as to the possibility of carrying out his designs. The need of money, which had reduced Frederick to inaction, and had brought on him the reproach of avarice, instead of restraining Maximilian from entering on arduous enterprises, compelled him to leave them unfinished; and the world, which had at first been dazzled by his brilliant and popular personal qualities, soon learnt to understand his "unstable and necessitous courses,"[y] and to attach little value to his promises and engagements. His intervention in the affairs of Italy, in 1496, had little other effect than that of contributing greatly to the decline of his reputation.[z]

Ferdinand II. of Naples died at the age of twenty-seven, soon
Sept. 7, 1496. after the recovery of his dominions, which on his death fell to his uncle Frederick, an amiable and popular prince.[a] The pope resolved to turn to advantage the restoration of the Aragonese dynasty; and he revived the schemes of Sixtus IV. for the aggrandisement of his own family.[b] An attempt to put down the Orsini, with a view to getting possession of their estates, was defeated by their vigorous resistance;[c] and Alexander found it necessary to make the church bear the expense of the enrichment which he designed for his

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[u] Burch. 2081; Gregorov. vii. 394.

[x] Rayn. 1497. 2; Gregorov. vii. 394.

[y] Bacon, Life of Henry VII. p. 51, ed. 1629.

[z] Mar. Sanut. in Murat. xxiv. 39; Guicciard. 205-14; Schmidt, iv. 351; Murat. IX. ii. 268; Sism. ix. 167-73; Gregorov. vii. 389-90.

[a] Mar. Sanut. in Murat. xxiv. 39; Guicc. 202; Giann. iv. 452.

[b] "Ne manca altro a tentare ai pontefici, se non che come eglino hanno disegnato infino ai tempi nostri di lasciar Principi, così per lo avvenire pensino di lasciare loro il papato ereditario." (Machiav. Istorie di Fir. c. 1. p. 241, ed. Milan, 1804.)

[c] Guicc. 216-8; Gregorov. vii. 392-3; Sism. ix. 180-3.

children. In a secret consistory on the 7th of June, 1597, the duke of Gandia, who had just been appointed standard-bearer of the church, was formally invested in the dukedom of Benevento, with Terracina and Ponte Corvo; and it was supposed that the dukedom was intended as a step to a greater elevation in Naples.[d] No one of the cardinals, except Piccolomini, ventured to object to this alienation of St. Peter's property; for Julian della Rovere and cardinal Perauld, bishop of Gurk, who might probably have joined in the protest, had been driven into exile.[e]

Two days later, Cæsar Borgia was appointed to proceed to Naples as legate for the coronation of the new king;[f] but before his departure a mysterious crime was perpetrated. On the evening of Wednesday, the 14th of June, the duke of Gandia and Cæsar, with some others, had supped at the house of Vanozza, near the church of St. Peter *ad Vincula*. The brothers mounted their mules, and rode together towards the Vatican quarter, when, near the palace which the pope had bestowed on Ascanius Sforza,[g] the duke took leave of the cardinal, saying that he wished for some further amusement before returning to the Vatican.[h] He then took up behind him one of their companions at the supper—a masked person, who for some weeks before had been accustomed to visit him at the palace,—and he rode away attended by a groom. Next day the groom was found mortally wounded in the Piazza of the Jews, but could give no information, except that he had been left there, with orders to wait an hour, and, if his master did not re-appear within that time, to return to the palace.[i] The duke's prolonged absence excited his father's alarm, and an inquiry was set on foot. A charcoal dealer gave evidence that, while watching on the Ripetta, about the fifth hour of the night, he had seen a body thrown into the Tiber by four men, acting under the orders of one on horseback, who had brought it hanging behind him as he rode; and on being asked why he had not informed the police, the witness made an answer which throws a dismal light on the state of Rome under Alexander's government—that he had in his time seen a hundred corpses cast by night into the river, without having heard of any inquiry after them.[k] When this evidence had been received, three hundred men

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[d] Burch. 2081; Gregorov. vii. 396.

[e] Burch. l. c.; Gregorov. vii. 395-6.

[f] Burch. l. c.

[g] See p. 553.

[h] "Priusquam ad palatium rediret, alibi solatii causa ire velle." (Burch. 2081.)

[i] Ib. 2082.

[k] Ib. 2082; Mariana, ii. 631.

were employed to drag the river;[l] and the body of the duke was found, with the throat cut, and stabbed in eight other places. The hands were bound, and some money remained untouched in the pockets of the dress.[m] The pope was for the time overwhelmed by his son's dark and tragical end. As the body, after having been carried up the river in a boat, was landed at the castle of St. Angelo amidst the lamentations of the countrymen of the Borgias,[n] one voice was so loud above the rest that persons standing on the neighbouring bridge could distinctly hear it; and it was believed to be the voice of the miserable father.[o] For three days he neither ate, nor drank, nor slept;[p] he remained shut up in his apartment, from which it is said that there were June 19. heard not only his lamentations, but cries that he knew the murderer. When, however, the matter was brought before the consistory, the pope declared that he suspected no one; but the inquiry was suddenly brought to an end, and it was believed that he knew the guilty secret only too well.[q] Although men did not venture to utter their thoughts, no one doubted the guilt of Cæsar Borgia.[r] Finding himself cut off from the natural objects of his ambition by a profession for which he had neither fitness nor liking, while the circumstances of his birth excluded him from all hope of its highest dignity, it would seem that Cæsar had been struck with envy of the position to which his more fortunate brother had been raised, and of the yet higher honours which the pope was scheming for the duke; and it is said that this motive, which of itself might have been sufficient for so depraved a nature, was exasperated by jealousy at finding his brother preferred by a mistress with whom both were intimate.[s]

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[l] On this Sannazaro made the following epigram:—

"Piscatorem hominum ne te non, Sexte, putemus,
Piscaris natum retibus ecce tuum."

(Gregorov. vii. 399.)

[m] The duke, who was only 24 at the time of his death, founded the only Borgia family which lasted. He left a son, from whom descended dukes, prelates, cardinals, &c., and among them Francis, the third general of the Jesuits, who died in 1572, and was beatified in 1624, and canonized in 1724. (Gregorov. vii. 401.) See Acta SS., Oct. 10, 230-1; Stirling-Maxwell's 'Cloister-Life of Charles V.,' 60, &c., ed. 2; Reumont, III. i. 563.

[n] Alexander never forgot his country. He and his family spoke Spanish among themselves; their chief attendants and confidants of all kinds, even Cæsar's trusted assassin and poisoner, were Spaniards. (Burckhardt, 88; Gregorov. vii. 439.)

[o] Milman, Essays, 51 (from a Venetian ambassador).

[p] Burch. 2083.

[q] Gregorov. vii. 401–5; cf. Panvin. 360; Burckhardt, 'Cultur,' 90. The master of the ceremonies, Burchard, at this point, perhaps intentionally, breaks off his diary for a time, the next entry being on August 26. (See Gregorov. vii. 406.)

[r] Raph. Volaterr. 822.

[s] Guicc. 227; Panvin. 360; Schröckh, xxxii. 417; Gregorov. vii. 396. See Reumont, III. ii. 225. Some say that

To the consistory of cardinals, to ambassadors and others who were admitted to his presence, Alexander professed himself so shattered by his loss that he could take no interest in worldly objects; he professed to feel remorse for his past life—to care for nothing but the reform of the church, for which he appointed a commission of six cardinals; he even talked of resigning the papacy. But in no long time these dispositions passed away. A scheme of reform, which was drawn up by the commission, remained a dead letter; and Alexander plunged again into intrigue, and vice, and crime.[t] For a time it was believed that the ghost of the murdered man was heard wailing by night about the Vatican; but the report died away, although the people continued to see proofs of demoniacal influence in some calamities which followed quickly on each other—storm and flood, and lightning, which caused an explosion of the powder-magazine in the castle of St. Angelo.[u]

The path of ambition now lay clear before Cæsar; and it would seem that already his plans were formed. His strength of will prevailed over the pope, who appears to have resigned himself to the loss of his elder son, and to have concentrated all his affections and his hopes on the supposed fratricide.[x] Within a few weeks after his brother's death, the cardinal proceeded on his mission to Naples, and placed the crown on the head of the king whom he was perhaps even then plotting to dethrone.[y]

Aug. 10.

Under Alexander it has been truly said that the papacy changed from a theocracy to a tyranny. The Romans had lost all independence since the suppression of the Porcaro conspiracy. The college of cardinals, although it contained a few men of a higher class, was chiefly filled with nominees of Alexander, who had bought their places, who too much resembled him in character, and in action were his slaves and tools.[z]

The death of Charles of France, which took place on the

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the mistress was no other than their sister (Guicc. p. III.—a suppressed passage.) But this is perhaps too monstrous, and (as we shall see hereafter) Lucretia has found her defenders.

[t] P. Delphin. in Mart. Coll. Ampl. iii. 1156; Guicc. 227; Rayn. 1496. 6; Gregorov. 402-3. The North British reviewer of Gregorovius says that the six cardinals are mentioned as the pope's advisers in the matter of Savonarola, two months later, and that their project of reform is printed in Malipieri's Annali Veneti, p. 491 (357).

[u] Gregorov. vii. 408.

[x] Gregorov. vii. 408. About this time he bestowed on Cæsar all the preferments of a deceased cardinal, amounting to 12,000 ducats yearly. (Ib. 409; cf. Reumont, III. ii. 206.)

[y] Giann. iv. 454; Gregorov. vii. 407.

[z] Gregorov. vii. 409.

7th of April, 1498, at the age of twenty-eight,[a] opened new prospects for Alexander. The duke of Orleans, who succeeded to the throne under the name of Louis XII., needed the papal sanction in order that he might rid himself of his wife, who had been forced on him by her father, Louis XI., and might marry his predecessor's widow, Anne of Brittany, who by the death of Charles had again become the sole possessor of her hereditary duchy; while the pope saw in a French alliance the means of protecting himself against the threat of a general council.[b] A commission of bishops and doctors was appointed Dec. 17. to investigate the question of the king's marriage, and on false evidence and frivolous grounds they pronounced it to be null, and reported this judgment to Rome.[c]

Cæsar Borgia had resolved to rid himself of the restraints of Aug. 13. the clerical character. He appeared before his brother cardinals, and declared that he had always been strongly inclined to the life of a layman; that he had entered into the ecclesiastical estate out of deference to the pope's wishes alone; that he felt himself unfit for it, and desired a release from it; and that if this were granted, he would resign all his preferments. He entreated the cardinals to join with him in his petition; and they consented to do so. The pope willingly granted him the required dispensation, and the cardinal-archbishop was restored to the condition of a layman.[d]

Cæsar now prepared to go into France for the business of the king's divorce and re-marriage. The magnificence of his appointments was extraordinary; even the horses of his train were shod with silver.[e] And, although the French privately indulged their wit in ridiculing him,[f] he was received at Avignon and at Chinon with honours such as were usually reserved for sovereigns. He carried with him bulls for the divorce and re-marriage of Louis, and also one by which the dignity of cardinal was bestowed on the king's favourite minister, George d'Amboise;[g] but with the intention of exacting the highest possible terms from the king, he concealed the fact as to the

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[a] Comines, iii. 225–7; Martin, vii. 390.

[b] Guicc. 240–1; Martin, vii. 301; Gregorov. vii. 420.

[c] Guicc. 257; Martin, vii. 303-4.

[d] Burch. in Eccard, ii. 2096; Guicc. 257; Giesel. II. iv. 173. Cæsar, although an archbishop as well as a cardinal, had not been ordained beyond the order of sub-deacon, which he received on the Annunciation, 1494. (Burch. 281, ed. Gennarelli.)

[e] Burch. 2097; Molinet, v. 104-5, ed. Buchon.

[f] Brantome, quoted by Gregorov. vii. 423.

[g] Brch. 2098.

matrimonial bull, and professed to have only that for the divorce. The secret was betrayed by the bishop of Cette to Louis, who thereupon proceeded, without having seen the bull, to celebrate his marriage with Anne; and it is said that Cæsar avenged himself for the bishop's indiscretion by poison.[h]

The pope, in his eagerness for the advancement of his family, had asked king Frederick of Naples to bestow on Cæsar the hand of one of his daughters, with a considerable territory;[i] but both Frederick and the princess had shown the strongest repugnance to such a connexion.[k] In return for the favour which he had bestowed on the French king in the matter of the divorce, Alexander now engaged Louis to support him in this project; but the feelings of the Neapolitan princess were not to be overcome.[l] Louis, however, had so far pledged his assistance that he felt himself bound to obtain for Cæsar the hand of some lady whose birth might be suitable to the aspirations of the Borgias; and thus the ex-cardinal became the husband of Charlotte d'Albret, sister of the king of Navarre, and niece of Louis. It was a condition of the marriage that one of her brothers should be created a cardinal; and on the other hand Louis bestowed on Cæsar the duchy of Valentinois, and promised to assist him in his schemes of Italian conquest.[m]

Louis had from the time of his accession declared his designs on Milan by assuming the title of duke, on the ground of descent through his grandmother, Valentina, from the first duke of the Visconti family.[n] In the summer of 1499, a campaign of twenty days made him master of the duchy, while Louis the Moor sought a refuge in the Tyrol, with the emperor Maximilian, who had married his niece and had borrowed large sums of him.[o] The king entered Milan in triumph, on the 6th of October;[p] but a reaction speedily followed, and

August.

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[h] Guicc. 258. The divorced queen, Joan, founded a religious order, of which the rule is given by Rinaldi (1501. 4, seqq.), with the pope's confirmation of it. She was said to have done miracles after death. (Mém. de Bayart, i. 200, ed. Petitot.)

[i] According to Guicciardini (244), Alexander trusted that, if Cæsar obtained so much, he might depose Frederick.

[k] Burch. 2098; Gregorov. vii. 420.

[l] Guicc. 277.

[m] Burch. 2099; Guicc. 257; Ranke, Hist. of Popes, iii. 252 (from a Venetian minister's report). Cæsar retained as duke of Valentinois the title of Valentino, which he had before borne as cardinal archbishop of Valencia. (Mariana, ii. 652.)

[n] Guicc. 238-9. On the defectiveness of this claim, see Sismondi, Rép. Ital. ix. 209.

[o] Molinet, iv. 409 (in Buchon); Guicc. 286; M. Sanut. in Murat. xxiv. 100–2, 123; Rayn. 1499. 16, 20; Sism. ix. 235–241.

[p] Burch. 2103–6; M. San. 119; Guicc. 287.

Sforza, within five months from the day when he had left Milan Feb. 5, 1500. amid the curses of his subjects, was received back with extravagant joy.[q] In the war which ensued, however, he was betrayed at Novara by his Swiss mercenaries, who April 10. entered into an agreement with their countrymen in the French service;[r] and the last ten years of his life were spent in a narrow iron cage at Loches.[s] His brother, the ambitious cardinal Ascanius, was also made a prisoner, and was closely imprisoned at Bourges.[t]

But beyond Milan Louis carried his views to Naples. Alexander had in 1497 invested Frederick in that kingdom; but he had since been deeply offended by the persistent refusal of his son's alliance in marriage, while he had become bound to the French king by ties of mutual interest.[u] There was, however, reason to apprehend opposition from Frederick's kinsman, Ferdinand of Spain, who asserted that he himself was the rightful heir of the Aragonese line of Naples, inasmuch as Alfonso I. had not been entitled to bequeath the kingdom to his illegitimate offspring.[x] But the crafty Ferdinand professed that, for the sake of peace, he was willing to admit the concurrent claim of Louis, as heir of the line of Durazzo; and on this basis a flagitious scheme of joint conquest, to be followed by a partition of the Neapolitan territory between France and Spain, was agreed on at Granada on St. Martin's day, 1500.[y] It was alleged against Frederick, not only that his title was defective, but that he had invited the Turks to attack a Christian power—a charge which might with equal truth have been made against the pope himself, with the addition that he had profited by his correspondence with the Turks, whereas Frederick had received no benefit from them.[z] The ambassadors of France and Spain urged these considerations on the pope, and represented that their sovereigns (whose troops had already entered the states of the church) desired the possession of Naples only with a view to the conquest of Constantinople.

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[q] M. San. 137–9; Guicc. 299; Sism. ix. 242–5.

[r] Guicc 302; Fr. Carpes. 1232. Since their victories over Charles of Burgundy the Swiss had become the chief soldiers in Europe, but by their mercenary habits had become corrupted from the simplicity and good faith which had formerly marked their manners. (Guicc. 148; Sism. ix. 247.)

[s] M. Sanut. 150-1; Guicc. 301.

[t] Guicc. 301.

[u] Schröckh, xxxii. 428; Giann. iv. 461.

[x] Giann. iv. 418; see p. 493.

[y] Guicc. 315; Mariana, ii. 664; Giann. iv. 459; Prescott, iii. 12–4.

[z] Guicc. 326; Rayn. 1501. 52; Schr. xxxii. 428; Gregorov. vii. 451.

The pope, in addition to his wish to punish Frederick for his offence, saw that if he were removed, the barons of the Campagna, whose subjugation Alexander meditated, would be deprived of all support from without. He therefore agreed to invest the French and Spanish sovereigns in their expected conquests, and pronounced Frederick to be deposed for his connexion with the infidels and for having fostered rebels against the church; but this sentence was to be kept secret until the result of the expedition should be known.[a] Ferdinand's general, the "Great Captain" Gonsalvo, who was already in Sicily for the purpose of assisting the Venetians against the Turks, crossed over to Naples at the invitation of the unsuspecting Frederick, and perfidiously turned against him.[b] From the other side, Stuart of Aubigny, accompanied by Cæsar Borgia as his lieutenant, advanced into the Neapolitan territory. Capua was taken by the help of treachery, and Cæsar found an opportunity of signally displaying his cruelty, rapacity, and lust.[c] It was clear that Frederick could have no hope of success against the combination of powerful enemies which had attacked him. In his extremity, he chose to surrender himself to the stranger rather than to the perfidious kinsman who had taken advantage of his unsuspecting faith to effect his ruin; and he received from Louis the duchy of Anjou, with a pension of thirty thousand ducats, on condition that he should not quit the soil of France.[d]

June 25, 1501.

July 24.

With the countenance of the French king, and with some material aid from him, the duke of Valentinois entered on his campaigns in Italy in 1499.[e] The design was to form for the Borgia family a large principality, and in the first instance to gain possession of some of the remoter territories belonging to the Roman church. These had formerly been committed to the care of papal vicars, whose descendants had gradually assumed the position of independent lords, paying their tribute to the Roman see irregularly, if at all, engaging themselves in the

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[a] Burch. 2131; Rayn. 1501. 53, seqq.; Mariana, ii. 664; Giann. iv. 461.

[b] Guicc. 320–2; Sism. ix. 286, 288; Prescott, iii. 20. Quintana represents Gonsalvo as the unwilling and indignant agent of Ferdinand in this. (258-9.)

[c] Burch. 2132; Guicc. 324; Giann. iv. 463; Sism. ix. 289-290.

[d] Guicc. 326; Panvin. 359; F. Carpes. in Mart. Coll. Ampl. 1238; Giann. iv. 461; Martin, vii. 351. Frederick died in 1504. (Guicc. 419.) His sons left no issue; but his daughter Charlotte (the same who had rejected the Borgia connexion) married the count of Laval, and left a daughter who became the wife of Francis de la Tremoille. The descendants of this marriage claimed to inherit the Neapolitan title. (Bayle, art. *Naples, Alfonse de*, n. K; Giann. iv. 476–8.)

[e] Sism. ix. 264-5; Gregorov. vii. 432.

service of princes, without consideration of their obligations to the church, and acting in a general disregard of its superiority.[f] Each of these little tyrants had his palace and his court, at which, according to the fashion of the age, artists, poets, and men of letters were entertained. The expenses of these courts usually made it necessary to tax the subjects oppressively, even if worse means of raising money were not employed; the morals of the princes were commonly of the depraved type which in that age was characteristic of Italy; their courts and their territories were full of lawlessness and crimes; assassinations, poisonings, and other such atrocities were familiar matters of every day.[g] By ejecting these petty tyrants, therefore, the pope intended not only to aggrandize his family, but to put into their place one who, instead of their rebellious defiance, would be guided by policy and interest to act in accordance with the papacy;[h] and he had little reason to fear that they would be supported by any popular feeling amongst the subjects who had suffered from their vices and their misgovernment. Their failure as to the payment of tribute afforded a pretext for confiscating their territories; and Cæsar proceeded to carry out the papal sentence.[i] At one place after another he was successful;[k] the only considerable difficulty which he encountered was at Forlì, where Catharine Sforza, the widow of Jerome Riario,[l] vigorously defended herself for a time; but she was at last compelled to submit, and for a time was imprisoned in the castle of St. Angelo.[m]

Feb. 26, 1500.

On his return to Rome, Cæsar was honoured with a triumph, and with a public reception by the pope, who soon after bestowed on him the golden rose, and appointed him captain-general and standard-bearer of the church, in the room of his murdered brother.[n] His success was celebrated with games and other festive spectacles; among which was a representation in the Piazza Navona of the victories of Julius Cæsar.[o] The alienation of the church's patrimony to the Borgias was sanctioned by the college of cardinals; and Cæsar joined to the title of Valentinois that of duke of Romagna.[p] In order to counteract in some

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[f] Guicc. 295; Sism. ix. 258; Gregorov. vii. 431.

[g] Sism. ix. 258–262; N. British Rev. Jan. 1871, p. 357.

[h] Ib. 363.

[i] Burch. 2107; Guicc. 295.

[k] Guicc. 312; Panvin. 360; Rayn. 1502. 10.

[l] See p. 530. Jerome had been assassinated at Forlì, in April, 1480. (Infess. 1981; M. San. 1244; Murat. Ann. IX. ii. 225.) His widow was privately re-married to one of the Medici family. (Guicc. 246.)

[m] Guicc. 297; F. Carpesan. 1127; Burch. 2111; Sism. ix. 263-4.

[n] April 2, Burch. 2113–5; Gregorov. vii. 438.

[o] Gregorov. vii. 439.

[p] Guicc. 318.

degree the impression which his crimes had made on the minds of men, he established throughout his dominions an energetic system of administration, which appeared in favourable contrast with the misrule of the ejected princes;[q] but even as to this he delighted to employ that system of mysterious terror which was one of his chief instruments. Thus, when the province had been reduced to order by the stern rigour of a governor named Ramiro d'Orco, the people of Cesena were startled by discovering one morning in their market-place the body of the governor with the head severed from it, and a block with a bloody knife beside them,—a spectacle by which the duke intended to claim for himself the credit of his good government, to throw the blame of past severities on the officer who had thus been punished for them, and to strike a general awe by the manner of Ramiro's end.[r]

Dec. 26, 1502.

Having gained the greater part of the Romagna (although he found himself obliged to leave the Bentivoglio family in possession of Bologna)[s], Cæsar turned his attention towards Tuscany. But here he found that his ally the king of France, instead of assisting him, required him to give up his attempt; and he was obliged to content himself with receiving from the republic of Florence the office of condottiere, with a large income attached to it, and with the understanding that no services were to be required of him.[t] The countenance shown by the French king to a man so generally execrated as Cæsar induced many complaints, which were laid before the king at Asti, with entreaties that he would deliver the church both from Alexander and from his son.[u] It would seem that Louis thought of deposing the pope, and that to this time is to be referred a medal which he struck, with the inscription, "Perdam Babilonis nomen."[x] But Alexander, who had already gratified the king by appointing his minister D'Amboise legate *a latere* for France, drew the cardinal afresh into his interest by promising to create additional cardinals, with a view to promoting his election to the papacy; and

June 1501.

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[q] "Summa æquitate populos regebat." (R. Volaterr. 825.) Guicciardini speaks of a popular feeling in favour of Cæsar after his father's death. (384.)

[r] Machiav. Principe, c. 7; Legazione al Duca Valentino, lett. 42; Sism. ix. 268; x. 25.

[s] Guicc. 318; Gregorov. vii. 448.

[t] Guicc. 320; Machiav. Principe, c. 7; Sism. ix. 279.

[u] Sism. ix. 317.

[x] It is generally said to have been struck on occasion of his differences with Julius II. But its appearance, and the sensation excited by it, are mentioned in a letter of Costabili, Aug. 11, 1502. (N. British Rev. Jan. 1871, p. 356.)

Cæsar, on hurrying to Louis at Milan, was received with Aug. 1502. cordiality and confidence. The alliance with the king was confirmed, and Louis soon after returned to France.[y]

By the partition of the Neapolitan kingdom, the barons of the Campagna were deprived of the support on which they had relied; and Cæsar proceeded to reduce them to submission. But in the course of this war, the duke's condottieri and captains, of whom many belonged to the same class with the enemies against whom they were engaged, began to perceive that they were lending themselves as instruments for their own Oct. 1502. ruin. Cæsar was suddenly surprised by a mutiny, and was shut up in the town of Imola,[z] until the besiegers were driven off by the approach of some French troops, who advanced to his assistance. Cæsar after having treated with the leaders of the mutiny singly, was able to bring them together, as if for a conference, at Sinigaglia, where he had collected as large a force as possible; and, after having by a show of kindness led them to throw off all suspicion, and to Dec. 31. disarm their followers, he caused them to be surrounded by his soldiery, arrested them, and put some of the most important among them to death.[a] Such was the morality of the age, that this atrocious treachery was regarded with general admiration. Louis XII. himself spoke of it (apparently without sarcasm or irony) as "a Roman deed;" and Machiavelli repeatedly eulogizes Cæsar as the model of a prince and a statesman.[b]

Among those arrested at Sinigaglia were some of the Orsini —a family which Alexander was determined to ruin. After having disregarded many warnings against intended treachery, cardinal Orsini[c] allowed himself to be decoyed into an interview with the pope, who committed him to prison, seized his treasures, and gave up his palace to plunder.[d] The cardinals in a body interceded for their brother, but without effect. For

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[y] Guicc. 341-2; Sism. ix. 317.

[z] Guicc. 336, 346; Panvin. 360.

[a] Burch. 2148-9; F. Carpes. 246-8; Guicc. 348-52; Panvin. 361; Raph. Volat. 823; Machiav. Legazione, c. xliii. (an account of a mission to the duke); Sism. ix. 325-33; Schröckh, xxxii. 421; Gregorov. vii. 472-7.

[b] "Un' azione da Romano." (Letter of Beltrando Costabili to the duke of Ferrara, quoted by Gregorov. vii. 481. But were the ancient or the modern Romans meant? Paul Giovio, bishop of Nocera, is unequivocal in calling it a "bellissimo inganno." (ib.) "Io non saprei quali precetti mi dare migliori ad un principe nuovo che lo esempio delle azioni sue." (Machiav., Il Principe, c. 7; cf. c. 13; Gregorov. vii. 487.)

[c] Burch. 2142.

[d] Guicc. 352; Reumont, III. i. 244.

a time Orsini was kept without suitable food, until his mother, by a large sum of money, and his mistress, by finding and giving up a very precious pearl which had belonged to him, obtained leave to send him supplies. But before this the pope had caused one of his favourite powders to be administered, and the cardinal died in prison.[e] As Cæsar returned to Rome, marking his path by acts of cruelty in every town through which he passed, the Orsini made a desperate but ineffectual stand at the Ponte Lomentano. The Borgias had crushed all opposition;[f] but the pope himself stood in awe of his son, and professed to be shocked by the atrocity of Cæsar's measures.[g]

Feb. 22, 1503.

For his daughter Lucretia, Alexander formed projects which became more and more ambitious. After a marriage of less than three years, her husband, Sforza of Pesaro, appears to have felt himself unsafe in the connexion, and fled from Rome; whereupon their union was dissolved under frivolous pretexts, and she was married to a youth of seventeen, Alfonso, prince of Bisceglia, an illegitimate son of Alfonso II., the late king of Naples.[h] But this new husband appears in his turn to have suspected that mischief was intended against him,[i] and secretly left Rome for Naples.[k] The pope, however, persuaded him to return; and he had lived with his wife ten months longer,[l] when, on the 15th of July, 1500, he was stabbed on the steps of St. Peter's. The assassins were carried off in safety by a troop of horsemen. The authorship of the crime was inferred from the fact that no inquiry was allowed; and, as the wounded man seemed likely to recover, he was strangled in his bed on the 18th of August. It is said that Cæsar Borgia not only contrived but witnessed the murder, and that he justified it by

Easter 1496 –Sept. 1497.

Aug. 2, 1499.

September.

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[e] Burchard, 2142, 2149-50 (who says that he avoided the cardinal's funeral because he did not wish to know too much). F. Carpesan. 1248; Guicc. 353. "Causa mortis omnibus facile judicata," says Raphael of Volterra (823); Gregorov. vii. 479, 485.

[f] Burch. 2150; Gregorov. vii. 488.

[g] Gregorov. vii. 482-3; N. Brit. Rev. Jan. 1871, p. 363.

[h] Burch. 2096-7; M. Sanut. in Murat. xxiv. 45; Giesel. II. iv. 167; Guicc. 327; Gregorov. vii. 395, 420.

[i] Sismondi (ix. 311) and Gregorovius (vii. 446) say that the value of the connexion for the Borgias had been diminished by the fall of Alfonso's uncle Frederick; but this, as we have seen (p. 573), did not take place until the summer of 1501.

[k] Burch. 2101; Giesel. vii. 428-9.

[l] Burch. 2103. A son was born Nov. 1, and was baptized with great pomp on Nov. 11. (Ib. 2107-8.) There is no apparent reason for supposing that Alfonso was not on good terms with his wife; but he stood in the way of the family politics.

charging the victim with designs against his life.[m] A year later, Sept. 4, 1501. Lucretia was again married, with great pomp, to a third (or fourth) husband—Alfonso, eldest son of the duke of Ferrara.[n] By condescending to such a connexion (which was forwarded by the influence of the French king) the proud house of Este, which had been alarmed by Cæsar Borgia's progress, gained for itself the pope's protection, security against the territorial ambition of the Borgias, a large payment of money, and the free possession of some ecclesiastical fiefs in the Romagna; while for the Borgias, in addition to the dignity of the alliance, there was the advantage that the new duchy of Romagna was covered on its weakest side by the territory of a friendly power.[o] Lucretia, who had not only exercised the government of Spoleto, but during her father's absence from Rome had actually been entrusted with the Jan. 5, 1502. administration of the papacy,[p] removed to Ferrara,[q] where she lived until 1519. In her later years she cultivated the reputation of religion and earned the celebration of poets—among them, of Ariosto.[r] But although we may hesitate or refuse to believe, at least in their full extent, the foulest of the charges which have assailed her,[s] it is impossible to disconnect her from the treasons and murders, the brutal licentiousness, the gross and scandalous festivities, amid which her earlier life

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[m] Burch. 2122; Polo Capello, in Ranke, Hist. of Popes, iii. 252-3; Guicc. 327; Gregorov. vii. 445. Alfonso's doctors, and a hunchback who had helped in nursing him, were put in prison, but were soon released, "cum esset immunis qui mandantibus ceperat optime notum." (Burch. 2123.) The meaning of this is pretty clear, although the text seems to be corrupt.

[n] Burch. 2133. See Reumont, III. i. 500.

[o] Guicc. 327; Burch. 2133; Gibbon, Misc. Works, 820; Sism. ix. 312; Gregorov. vii. 458; Reumont, III. i. 239.

[p] Burch. 2132. She was authorised to open all letters addressed to the pope. (Ib.)

[q] Ib. 2136.

[r] "Lucrezia Borgia, di cui d' ora in ora
La beltà, la virtù, la fama onesta
E la fortuna cresceva non meno
Che giovin pianta in morbido terreno."

Orlando Fur. xiii. 69; Reumont, III. i. 205; Gregorov. vii. 463-4. Lucretia has found defenders among us in Roscoe (Append. to Life of Leo X.), Dr. Madden (Life of Savonarola, Append. to Vol. II.), and more lately in Mr. Gilbert ('Lucretia Borgia,' Lond. 1869). Mr. Gregorovius rightly speaks of this last work as "an uncritical panegyric." (vii. 464.) Mr. Dennistoun is more moderate and more judicious (Dukes of Urbino, i. 305-7). As to her acquirements, the Venetian minister Capello describes her, in her early days, as "savia e liberal" (Ranke, iii. 253), and when Bayard visited her at Ferrara, she spoke and wrote Spanish, Italian, French, Greek, and "quelque peu très-bon Latin." (Petitot, xv. 358.) (See Reumont, III. i. 205.) Petitot is wrong in supposing Bayard's duchess to have been an earlier wife of Alfonso.

[s] Schröckh, xxxii. 434; Gregorov. vii. 464. For these see the Life of Cæsar Borgia by Tommaso Tomasi (Gregorio Leti), Victor Hugo's play of 'Lucrèce Borgia,' &c. They are countenanced by a suppressed passage of Guicciardini, vol. I. p. III. Even as to her life at Ferrara, Burchard says that there was great hatred between Cæsar and Cardinal d'Este, because the cardinal "diligebat et cognoscebat" his sister-in-law, "quam et ipse dux [Cæsar] etiam cognoscebat carnaliter." (2150.)

was spent, and in some of which it appears that she took a conspicuous part.[t] Nor are either poets or divines superior to the temptation of overlooking the moral faults of persons in high station whose patronage they regard as a benefit and an honour.

The moral degradation into which the papacy sank under Alexander has no parallel either in its earlier or in its later history, even if we make large deductions from the statements of contemporary writers on the ground of malice or exaggeration. The pope himself and his children are accused of profligacy which hesitated at nothing for its gratification, which never scrupled to remove obstacles by murder, or to violate the laws of nature. The Vatican was polluted by revels and orgies of the most shameless and loathsome obscenity, of which the pope and his daughters are represented as pleased spectators.[u] A letter of the time, which is said to have been read in Alexander's own hearing, paints the morals of the court in the darkest colours, and speaks of him as a man stained with every vice, a second Mahomet, the predicted antichrist.[w]

For the expenses of this disgusting and costly vice, for the wars and the pompous displays of Cæsar Borgia, for the establishment of his other children in the rank of princes, Alexander needed money continually; and he raised it by means more shameless than anything that had before been practised. An epigram of the time (for epigrams and pasquils were the only form in which the Romans then ventured to express their discontent) speaks of him as selling all that was holiest, and as entitled to sell, inasmuch as he had previously bought.[x] The most disreputable of the expedients to which earlier popes had resorted—sale of offices and benefices, creation of new offices in order that they might be sold,[y] traffic in indulgences, misappropriation of money raised under pretence of a crusade—these and such like abuses were carried to an excess before unknown.[z] Cardinals were appointed in large numbers—at one time twelve, at another time eleven—with

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[t] See Gibbon, Misc. Works, 820; Gregorov. vii. 458; Sism. ix. 312. See a story of her jesting with the cardinal of Lisbon. (Burch. 2132.)

[u] See Burch. 2131-5; R. Volaterr. 825; Schröckh, xxxii. 434.

[w] Burckh. 2144, seqq.

[x] "Vendit Alexander claves, altaria, Christum;
Emerat ille prius, vendere jure potest.

. . . .

Sextus Tarquinius, sextus Nero, sextus et iste,
Semper sub sextis perdita Roma fuit."

Gregorov. 473; cf. 410, 504; Giesel. II. iv. 177; Sism. x. 21; See Burckhardt, 210; Vettori, in Reumont, III. i. 498.

[y] Panvin. 361.

[z] Infess. 2013; Gregorov. vii. 504.

the avowed purpose of extorting money for their promotion.[a] The Jubilee of 1500 attracted a vast number of pilgrims to Rome:[b] on Easter-day, 200,000 knelt in front of St. Peter's to receive the pope's benediction;[c] and while these multitudes returned home, to scandalise all Christendom by their reports of the depravities of Rome,[d] the papal treasury was enriched by their offerings, and by the commutations paid by those who were unable to make the pilgrimage in person.[e] The "right of spoils" (*jus exuviarum*) received new developments for the gratification of Alexander's rapacity; he seized the property of deceased cardinals in disregard of their testamentary directions; in some cases he forbade cardinals to make wills; and it was believed that the deaths of those who had the reputation of wealth were sometimes hastened by poison.[f] Property was largely taken from the great Roman families—often under false pretences—for the endowment of the pope's children and kindred.[g] Thus the Gaetani were charged with treason, because Alexander had fixed his desires on the duchy of Sermoneta.
July 5, 1500. The duke was committed to the castle of St. Angelo, where he died, probably of poison. Others of the family were put to death, and the duchy was made over, by a pretended sale, to Lucretia, whose son by Alfonso of Bisceglia was decorated with the title attached to it.[h] Another boy, the son of Alexander by a Roman mother[i] (probably Julia Farnese),[k] was made duke of Nepi, with a suitable endowment. The interests of the church were utterly disregarded, in order that the pope's bastards might be enriched; thus Cæsar, in addition to his fiefs in the Romagna, received the abbey of Subiaco with eighteen castles belonging to it; and nineteen cardinals signed the deed of alienation, while not one dared to object to it.[l]

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[a] Sept. 28, 1500; May 31, 1503; Ciac. iii. 192, 202; Gregorov. vii. 447, 492.

[b] The bull for the jubilee is in Rayn. 1499. 25. For the ceremonies, see Burchard, 2110, seqq. Most of the money went to Cæsar. (Guicc. 313.) Trithemius speaks of many pilgrims as dying of plague, killed, or sold on the way. (Chr. Sponh. 1500.) The collection for jubilee indulgences was continued later in Germany. (Ib. 1502.)

[c] Burch. 2117. [d] Mariana, ii. 663.

[e] Schröckh, xxxii. 427; Gregorov. vii. 436, 412. In 1501 a commissioner was sent to England to give indulgences to those who had not visited Rome, and to raise money under the pretext of a crusade. Certain sums were appointed to be paid by all classes. (Letters of Rich. III. and Hen. VII., ed. Gairdner, ii. 43, 100.)

[f] Panvin. 362; Schröckh, xxxii. 427; Gregorov. vii. 471.

[g] Gregorov. vii. 456.

[h] Burch. 2113; Schröckh, xxxii. 424; Gregorov. vii. 456.

[i] "Cum quadam Romana." (Burch. 2134.) [k] Gregorov. vii. 456.

[l] Reumont, III. i. 238; Gregorov. vii. 457, 502-3.

Rome was kept under a system of terror, so that no one dared to mutter his dissatisfaction.[m] The dungeons of St. Angelo and of the Tor di Nona[n] were crowded with prisoners, of whom many found an end by secret violence. Prelates whose wealth made them objects of sinister interest to the pope disappeared, and were not again heard of. Dead bodies were found in the streets, or were thrown into the Tiber.[o] Hosts of spies and assassins lurked in secret, or audaciously swaggered about the city.[p] The state of Rome can hardly have been made worse by an edict which allowed all persons who had been banished for murder, robbery, or other crimes, to return with impunity.[q] The ruling spirit in this general terror was Cæsar Borgia, with whom the pope remonstrated on his tyranny, while he extolled his own clemency by way of contrast.[r]

June 1501.

The powers which had combined for the conquest of Naples soon quarrelled about the division of their prey.[s] After a time, a treaty was arranged at Lyons, by which Naples was to become the endowment of a marriage between the French king's daughter Claude, and Charles, the child of the emperor's son Philip by Joanna, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella;[t] and, until the parties should be of age to consummate the marriage, the partition of Granada was to be in force.[u] But the Spanish general Gonsalvo, taking advantage of the weakness of the French in southern Italy, and professing that he had no official knowledge of the treaty, suddenly assumed the offensive, and made himself master of the whole Neapolitan territory;[x]

April 2, 1503.

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[m] Panvin. 363.

[n] The Tor di Nona (of which the name is still preserved by a street leading to the bridge of St. Angelo) was originally a fortress belonging to the Orsini, and about the end of the 14th century became a prison, to which additions were afterwards made. (Reumont, III. i. 444.)

[o] *E.g.* "Feria quinta reperti sunt in Tiberi suffocati et mortui . . . juvenis decem et octo annorum in circa, pulchræ formæ et staturæ, cum balista ad collum, et duo juvenes cum brachiis simul ligati, unus quindecim annorum et alii viginti quinque, et prope eos erat quædam fœmina, et multi alii." (Burch. 2138.) A Venetian minister at Rome, Polo Capello, writes that Cæsar had assassinated his brother the duke of Gandia and others — "Tutta Roma trema di esso ducha non li faza amazzar." (Ranke, Hist. of Popes, iii. 253.) Cf. Murat. Ann. X. i. 21-2; Gregorov. vii. 480.

[p] R. Volaterr. 825; Gregorov. vii. 465, 491-2; Burckhardt, Cultur, 93.

[q] Burckh. 2128.

[r] Gregorov. vii. 468. It was a proverb that the pope never did what he said, and that the duke never said what he did. (Guicc. 377.)

[s] Guicc. 331-2; Martin, vii. 334; Giann. iv. 466; Prescott, iii. 34.

[t] Guicc. 363; Sism. R. I. ix. 345; Martin, vii. 336. Charles, afterwards famous as the fifth emperor of that name, was born Feb. 24, 1500, and the tidings of his birth were received at Rome during the celebration of Cæsar Borgia's triumph (see p. 574). (Burch. 2115.)

[u] See p. 572.

[x] Guicc. 364, seqq.; Fr. Carpes. 1254, seqq. The Spanish historians try to extenuate the treachery. (Prescott, iii. 82-6.)

and Ferdinand, in order to gain the benefit of this treachery, disowned the treaty of Lyons, under the pretext that Philip, who had acted for him, had exceeded his instructions.[y] The French king was preparing an expedition for the recovery of his Neapolitan territory, and for the chastisement of Cæsar Borgia, who had been joined with Gonsalvo in the late campaign, when it was suddenly reported that the pope was dead.[z]

At the age of seventy-two, Alexander still appeared full of vigour; the sonorous and musical voice with which he officiated in the mass at Easter, 1503, excited the admiration of the Ferrarese ambassador.[a] His schemes had all been thus far successful, and he was meditating yet further projects of ambition.[b] On the 12th of August, Alexander supped at his vineyard, near the Vatican palace,[c] with his son the duke of Valentinois and Hadrian cardinal of St. Chrysogonus and bishop of Hereford.[d] All three were seized with sudden illness; and it was commonly believed that the pope and his son had drunk, through a servant's mistake, of poisoned wine, designed by Cæsar for the cardinal, whose wealth had attracted the cupidity of the Borgias.[e] Hadrian, after a severe illness, during which the whole skin of his body was changed,[f] recovered; Cæsar, although with difficulty, was carried through by the immediate use of antidotes, aided by his youth and natural force of constitution;[g] but the pope died within a week,
Aug. 18. after having received the last rites of the church. His

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[y] Guicc. 371; Giann. iv. 471–3; Sism. x. 18; Martin, vii. 337.

[z] Guicc. 378–380.

[a] Beltrando Costabili, quoted by Gregorov. vii. 487. If the day named, April 17, is correct, it was Easter Monday.

[b] Guicc. 381; R. Volaterr. 826; Gregorov. vii. 494.

[c] Some (as Jovius, Vita Consalvi, 260) place the banquet at the cardinal's vineyard.

[d] Hadrian Castellesi, usually styled, from his birthplace, the cardinal of Corneto, was appointed bishop of Hereford in 1502, and in 1504 was translated to Bath and Wells. He was distinguished for the elegance of his Latin style. (Ciac. iii. 206.) It was for him that Bramante built the noble palace in the Borgo, which the cardinal gave to Henry VIII., and which became the residence of the English ambassadors. (See Vasari, vii. 130.) Having afterwards been implicated in the conspiracy of Petrucci against Leo X., by listening to the cardinal without giving information against him, he lived at Venice until Leo's death, and is supposed to have been murdered on his way to the election of a successor. (See Bacon, Hist. of Hen. VII. 70; Godwin, de Præsulibus, 385-6; Bayle, art. *Hadrien, cardinal*; Roscoe's Leo X.; Reumont, III. i. 361; Gregorov. vii. 653; viii. 212.)

[e] Guicc. 381; P. Jovius, Vita Consalvi, 260; Fr. Carpes. 1256. "Causam in cœnam venenatam incerto auctore vulgo constans opinio jactat." (R. Volat. 826.). Ranke gives a story from a MS. of M. Sanuto, that Hadrian, suspecting poison, bribed the pope's cook, who thereupon served up a poisoned dish of confections to Alexander. (Hist. of Popes, iii. 253.)

[f] Jovius, l. c. 260.

[g] Guicc. 380-1; Jovius, Vita Leonis X., 28.

illness appears to have been treated as a fever, and may perhaps have been no more than an ordinary disease of this kind.[h] But it was reported that his body was black and swollen, as if from poison; and it was commonly believed at Rome that the devil, by whose aid he had attained the papacy, after having long attended on him in the form of an ape, had carried off his forfeit soul.[i]

The circumstances of the time, after the expulsion of the Medici, had led the Florentines to look to Savonarola for guidance: and he found himself inevitably drawn to mingle deeply in political affairs.[k] The parties at Florence were three; the *Whites*, or popular party, who, although far from being penetrated by Savonarola's religious principles, usually acted in accordance with him; the *Greys*, or adherents of the Medici, who for the time found it necessary to disguise their opinions; and the oligarchical party, mostly composed of violent young men from whom it got the names of *Arrabbiati* (infuriated) and *Compagnacci*. These were generally opposed at once to Savonarola's political views and to his religious and moral strictness; and they derided his followers as *Piagnoni* (weepers) *Fratteschi*, and *Masticapaternostri*.[l] Agreeably to the principles of the book *De Regimine Principum*, commonly ascribed to Thomas of Aquino,[m] Savonarola held that, while monarchy was in itself the best form

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[h] Rayn. 1503. 11; see Sism. R. I. x. 22; Ciac. iii. 162; Gregorov. vii. 495, 497, 499; N. British Rev., Jan. 1871, p. 367; Alzog, ii. 186; Roscoe's Leo, i. 194, 469. Yet how is the illness of his two companions to be accounted for? A MS. quoted by Rinaldi (1503. 12) ascribes the illness of the pope and his son to malaria. Raphael of Volterra speaks of Alexander as the most remarkable instance of good fortune—"Postremo, quum omnes exitum expectarent malum, levi morbo annosus, inque suo lectulo inter oscula filiorum decessit."

[i] Gregorov. vii. 496. Picus (Vita Savonar. ed. Bates, 139) says that some supposed him to have been poisoned; others, to have been strangled by a devil, "Certe constat eum more utris inflatum distentumque periisse." Guicciardini says that the corpse was "nero, enfiato, e bruttissimo, segni manifestissimi di veleno," and that the Romans crowded to look at it when it was laid out in St. Peter's, from their detestation of him (i. 480-1). The Ferrarese ambassador says that the black and swollen appearance of the body gave rise to the popular belief of poison. (Reumont, III. i. 247; see Murat. Ann. X. i. 18–20.)

[k] Picus, 111; Milman, 26-7; Villari, i. 241–3; P. Jovius, Vita Leonis, 19. "Is enim astutia singulari, mediocri doctrina, sermone facundo, ambitione immensa, prophetam se esse simulabat . . . . eoque res processerat ut non solum in rebus divinis, sed in administranda republica a civibus passim consuleretur, nihil omnino publici aut privati nisi eo auctore fieret." (Raph. Volaterr. 181.) Burchard, who regards him as an impostor, says, "Ejus nutu civitas regebatur" (2087); and in like manner the Venetian chronicler, in Murat. xxiv. 51, speaks of him as absolute. For instances of the political action of Italian saints, see Perrens, i. 120.

[l] Perrens, i. 180; Villari, i. 197-8, 306–11, 328-9.

[m] Perrens, ii. 267.

of government, different polities were suitable for various states; that the intelligence, advanced culture, and courage of the Florentines rendered them fit for a purely republican government;[n] and to his influence the establishment of a popular, yet not democratic, constitution, was chiefly due.[o] But while his political allies wished to use his religious influence for their own purposes, the Dominican's great object was to make political reform subservient to the reformation of morals and religion.[p] He proclaimed the sovereignty of Christ, and did not hesitate to deduce from this the sacredness of the laws which he himself set forth.[q] His visions increased, partly through the effect of his ascetic exercises.[r] He expected supernatural guidance in determining the subjects of his preaching, and even believed in the visions[s] of a monastic brother named Sylvester Maruffi, although these were evidently nothing more than the offspring of a nervous temperament,[t] combined with a weak and ignorant mind. He frequently expressed his expectation of a violent death, and he carried a small crucifix in his sleeve, by way of preparation for a sudden end.[u]

In the mean time the effects of his preaching had begun to appear in the graver dress and more decorous manners both of men and of women; in church-going, fasting, almsgiving, in the celebration of marriages with seriousness, instead of the levity which had been usual, in habits of family devotion, which were almost monastic, in the restoration of wrongful or questionable gains, in the reading of religious books, in the substitution of hymns for the licentious and half-pagan carnival-songs of former times, some of which had been composed by Lorenzo himself.[x] The grosser vices seemed to have disappeared; the spectacles in which the Florentines had delighted were neglected.[y] At the

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[n] Hase, 119; see Perrens, ii. 277–9. Savonarola is very severe on "tyranny," by which he meant the government of the Medici (ib. 286–93, 303).

[o] Guicc. 104; Villari, i. 215–9, 252–6, 260, seqq. M. Perrens is especially desirous to shew that Savonarola was yet not a demagogue, i. 137–40 (cf. Hase, 120); yet he elsewhere speaks as if the lower citizens had too much sway (225). The Medici had ruled by universal suffrage, and therefore Savonarola opposed it. (Milman, 27.)

[p] Vill. i 250, 412-3.

[q] Milman, 28-9; Perr. i. 140-9. Machiavelli highly praises his views of statesmanship, but says nothing of his plans as to religious reform. (Gregorov. vii. 414-5.) See the opinions collected by Villari, i. 285–8.

[r] Vill. i. 295, 306; Giesel. II. iv. 172.

[s] Schröckh, xxxii. 553.

[t] Vill. i. 296-7; and Doc. pp. 229, 254, 296, &c.

[u] Picus, 116, 122; Burlam. 552; Perr. i. 226.

[x] Picus, 117; Burlam. 519; Perr. i. 156-8, 162-3, 167; Vill. i. 328; Milman, 42.

[y] Burlam. 550.

carnival of 1496, the boys of the city, whose disorderly behaviour at that season had defied the efforts of the magistrates, were brought by the friar's influence to enlist themselves in the service of religion; and, instead of extorting money to be spent in riotous festivity, they modestly collected alms which were employed in works of mercy under the direction of a charitable brotherhood.[z]

Within the convent of St. Mark, Savonarola, as prior, had introduced a thorough reformation. There was a return to the earlier simplicity of food and dress. All use of gold or silver in crucifixes and other ornaments was forbidden. Schools were established, not only for the study of scripture in the original languages, but for painting, calligraphy, and illumination; and the practice of these arts contributed much to defray the expenses of the society.[a] The number of brethren had increased from about fifty to two hundred and thirty-eight, of whom many were distinguished for their birth, learning, or accomplishments; [b] and among the devoted adherents of the prior were some of the most eminent artists of the age, such as Baccio della Porta, who after Savonarola's death entered the brotherhood of St. Mark's,[c] and is famous under the name of Fra Bartolomeo; the architect Cronaca, the painters Botticelli and Credi, the family of Della Robbia, eminent in sculpture,[d] and, above all, Michael Angelo Buonarroti, who even to old age used to read the sermons of Savonarola, and to recall with reverence and delight his tones and gestures.[e]

But Savonarola's course was watched with unfriendly eyes.[f] The partisans of the Medici were hostile to him; for in a sermon he had plainly recommended that any one who should attempt to restore the tyranny of the banished family should lose his head.[g] The Arrabbiati were bitterly opposed to him, and they

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[z] Burlam. 556-7; Perr. i. 168–72; Vill. i. 371-3.

[a] Picus, 118-9, 121; Vill. i. 152; Perr. l. i. c. 5.

[b] Vill. i 329; Perr. l. c.

[c] It is said that he showed his attachment to Savonarola by refusing to use his pencil for four years after his death. (Vasari, vii. 154-7; Crowe-Cavalcaselle, iii. 432.) One of Bartolomeo's earliest works is a portrait of Savonarola, lately brought to light from under another painting (ib 433).

[d] Luca della Robbia, the most famous of this family, and inventor of a peculiar style of art, had died in 1481.

[e] Vasari, vii. 207; viii. 121; xii. 276; Vill. i. 469-70, who shows that M. Rio ('De l'Art Chrétien,' t. ii. cc. 12-3) is fanciful in representing Savonarola as the head of a school of that kind of art to which M Rio would confine the title of Christian. There was nothing reactionary in the art of his followers. (Cf. Madden, i. 405, seqq.)

[f] Giesel. II. iv. 473.

[g] Villari, i. 276.

enlisted on their side the power of Louis the Moor, and his influence with the pope.[h] The clergy, and especially those of high position in the church, were indignant at the assaults on their manner of life; monks and friars—some of them even of his own order—were exasperated by his reproofs of their degeneracy.[i] Frequent complaints were carried to Rome, where one Mariano of Genezzano, a Franciscan, who in Savonarola's earlier days had been a rival for fame as a preacher, continually endeavoured to represent him as a dangerous man;[k] and as early as July, 1495, the prior of St. Mark's was invited by
July 21, 1495. Alexander to confer with him on the subject of his prophetic gifts. But although the invitation was very courteously expressed, and was accompanied by compliments as to his labours,[m] his friends warned him that it was not to be trusted;[n] he therefore excused himself on the ground that his
July 31. health had suffered from over-exertion, and that, in the circumstances of the time, his presence was considered necessary at Florence.[o] Further correspondence took place, in which the pope's blandishments were soon exchanged for a threatening tone, and Savonarola was denounced by him as a "sower of false doctrine;" while Savonarola, although he maintained the reality of his inspirations, endeavoured to explain his prophetical character in an inoffensive sense.[p]

He was charged to refrain from preaching, and for a time
July 28–Oct. 11, 1495. obeyed, employing himself chiefly in the composition of books, while his place in the pulpit was supplied by one of his most zealous adherents, Dominic of Pescia.[q] But the solicitations of his friends, and his own feeling as to the circumstances of the time, induced him to resume his preaching, as he considered the inhibition to have been issued on false grounds, and therefore to be invalid.[r] He now thundered against the vices of the Roman court, and denounced vengeance which was to come on them.[s] He pointed to a general council as the remedy, and declared that it might depose unworthy prelates—

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[h] Burlam. 551; Villari, i. 311.

[i] Picus, 118.

[k] Burlam. 536; Villari, i. 355-6, ii. 23; Doc. No. xli. See Perrens, i. 10-2.

[m] "Che ti vedremo con amore e con carità," &c. (Villari, Doc. xxiv.)

[n] Villari, i 356–8.

[o] Ib. 362; Doc xxv.

[p] Villari, i. 362–4, 432-3. He refers the pope to his 'Compendium Revelationum,' which had just been printed (Florence, 1495). In this he seems to claim inspiration and divine commission. (See Villari, i. 298.)

[q] Villari, i. 365.

[r] Burlam. 553; Villari, i. 394.

[s] Villari, i. 384-5; ii. 2, seqq.

even the pope himself, whose election, as it had been effected by notorious bribery, Savonarola regarded as null and void.[t] He taught that property might lawfully be held by the church, for otherwise St. Sylvester would not have accepted it; but that the present corruptions of the church proved the expediency of resigning it.[u] In the hope of silencing and gaining so formidable a man, Alexander employed an agent to sound him as to the acceptance of promotion to the cardinalate; but Savonarola indignantly declared from the pulpit that he would have no other red hat than one dyed with the blood of martyrdom.[x]

Among the charges against Savonarola was that of having surreptitiously procured a papal order by which the Tuscan Dominicans were separated from the Lombard congregation.[y] The matter was discussed until, feeling that on his independence depended the validity of his reforms, he avowed that, in case of extremity, he must resist the pope, as St. Paul withstood St. Peter to the face. Thus he was brought into direct conflict with the papacy, and he was ordered to refrain from preaching, either in public or within his convent, until he should have obeyed the papal summons to Rome.[z]

At the approach of the carnival of 1497 Savonarola resolved to carry further the reform which he had attempted in the preceding year. For some days the boys who were under his influence went about the city, asking the inhabitants of each house to give up to them any articles which were regarded as vanities and cursed things;[a] and these were built up into a vast pile, fifteen stories high—carnival masks and habits, rich dresses and ornaments of women, false hair, cards and dice, perfumes and cosmetics, amatory poems and other books of a free character, musical instruments, paintings and sculptures—all surmounted by a monstrous figure representing the Carnival.[b] A Venetian merchant offered the signory 20,000 crowns for the contents of the heap, but the money was refused and he was obliged to contribute his own picture to the sacrifice.[c] It is said that Baccio della Porta cast into the heap a number of his academic drawings from the nude figure, and that Lorenzo di

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[t] Villari, i. 395. He urged Charles of France by letters. (Cf. Baluz. i. 581.)

[u] Villari, ii. 5.

[x] Burlam. 538; Villari, i. 423.

[y] See Villari, i. 443-4, 447-9; and Doc. Nos. x.-xiii. The order (Doc. xi.) is dated May 22, 1493. Cf. Perrens, i. 81-90.

[z] Villari, i. 437, 449.

[a] "Anathema," Picus, 117; Villari, i. 460.

[b] Burlam. 558; Picus, 117; Villari, i. 461.

[c] Burlam. 558. We may suspect that this merchant of Venice had more of Shylock than of Antonio in him.

Credi and other artists of Savonarola's party imitated the act.[d] Feb. 7. On the morning of the last day of the carnival Savonarola celebrated mass. A long procession of children and others then wound through the streets, after which the pyre was kindled, and its burning was accompanied by the singing of psalms and hymns, the sounds of bells, drums, and trumpets, with the shouts of an enthusiastic multitude, while the signory looked on from a balcony. The money collected by the boys and made over to the brotherhood of St. Martin exceeded the amount which that society usually received in a year.[e] But although Savonarola was delighted with the success of his project,[f] the errors of judgment which he had shown in investing children with the character of censors and inquisitors, in employing them to inform against their own relations, and otherwise introducing dissension into families, in confounding harmless and indifferent things with things deeply vicious and sinful, in sanctioning the destruction of precious works of literature and art—such errors could not but tend to alienate the minds of men in general, while they furnished his enemies with weapons against him.[g]

The opposition of these enemies was becoming more and more bitter, and showed itself in various forms—lampoons, charges of designs against the state, and attempts at personal violence. May 4. As he was preaching on Ascension-day, a violent attack was made on him; but some of his friends who closed around the pulpit were able to carry him off to his convent.[h] In consequence of this he abstained from preaching for a time.[i]

The pope's anger against Savonarola became also more and more exasperated. On the 12th of May was issued a sentence of excommunication, grounded chiefly on the prior's disobedience to the orders for the reunion of his convent with the

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[d] This story, which comes from Vasari (vii. 153) is questioned by Villari, i. 469.

[e] Burlam. 558; Villari, i. 461-2.

[f] Burlam. 558.

[g] See Perrens, i. 170-4, 252-3. Savonarola had attempted at an earlier time to get the archbishop's sanction for a bonfire of vanities (ib. 249). We have already seen that the idea was not new (pp. 374, 517), although Savonarola's biographers do not mention the examples of Bernardine of Siena and John of Capistrano. Villari labours (i. 462, seqq.) with a zeal which is sometimes rather amusing than persuasive, to vindicate Savonarola from charges of Vandalism in connexion with this affair, to which has been attributed, whether rightly or wrongly, the disappearance of some noted sculptures, &c., and of all but a few copies of some early editions, such as Valdarfer's Boccaccio, of which the only known perfect copy fetched 2260l. at the Duke of Roxburgh's sale in 1812. (Brunet, Manuel du Libraire, i. 994-5.)

[h] Villari, ii. 16–21; Doc. xxxv.

[i] Vill. ii. 21. See the 'Apologia, J. F. Pici Mirand. nepotis pro Hieron. Savonarolæ viri prophetici Innocentia.' [No date.]

Tuscan congregation,[k] and on the 22nd of June this sentence was solemnly pronounced, with bells and lighted tapers, in the cathedral of Florence.[l] Savonarola withdrew into his convent, while a conflict as to the merits of his case was kept up by preachers on either side.[m] During this time he employed himself much in composition, and to it belongs his chief work, 'The Triumph of the Cross.'[n]

The death of the duke of Gandia soon after furnished him with an opportunity of addressing to the pope a letter of consolation and of admonition as to the reforms which Alexander, under the pressure of this calamity, professed a wish to undertake.[o] But although the pope appeared to receive the letter favourably, it would seem that he afterwards regarded it as an offensive intrusion.[p] July 1.

In the beginning of August a conspiracy in the interest of the Medici was discovered,[q] and five of the principal citizens, among whom was Bernard del Nero, a man of seventy-five, who had held the highest offices in the state, were convicted and sentenced to death. An appeal to the Great Council was violently refused, because it was feared that in that body they might find interest sufficient to save them; and they were beheaded in the night which followed their condemnation.[r] This was the work of Savonarola's partisans, and both he and they suffered in general estimation by the refusal to the accused of the right of appeal, which had been allowed in the constitution established by Savonarola himself.[s] But it would seem that, in his excommunicated and secluded state, he took no part in the affair beyond interceding—coldly, as he himself says—for one of the conspirators.[t] Aug. 21.

On Septuagesima Sunday, in the following year, he resumed

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[k] Villari, ii. 25-6, and Doc. xxix., xxxvi.

[l] Ib. ii. 28. A deprecatory letter from Savonarola to the pope, May 22, has been generally regarded as an answer to the excommunication. But the bull, although dated on the 12th of May, was accidentally delayed on its way, and did not reach Florence until after the date of the letter (ib. 24). There is another letter addressed to all Christians, June 19.

[m] Guicc. 235.

[n] Villari, ii. 62-75; Perrens, ii. 211-3.

[o] See p. 569; Perrens, i. 276; and Doc. ix.

[p] Villari, ii. 32.

[q] Villari, ii. 41-2, and Doc. xxxiii.

[r] Guicc. 228; P. Jov. Vita Leonis X., 20; Villari, ii. 42-52, and Doc. xxxviii. xxxix.; Sism. ix. 189-91; Perrens, i. 280.

[s] Guicc. 228; Sism. ix. 163; Perrens, i. 281.

[t] "Freddamente," Villari, ii., Doc. p. 295. Villari defends him—not altogether successfully, as appears to me—from the blame which, from the time of Machiavelli and Guicciardini, has been thrown on him in connexion with this affair (ii. 52-5).

preaching at the request of the signory. The archbishop's vicar-general, a member of the Medici family, forbade attendance at his sermons, but was induced by a threat from the signory to withdraw his prohibition.[u] But this body of magistrates was changed every second month; and, as its elements varied from time to time, Savonarola, after having often enjoyed its support, was at length to experience its fatal hostility.[x] His preaching was now more vehement than ever; he launched out against the pope's exaggerated claims, against the vices of the Roman court and its head, against the abuse of excommunication,[y] as to which he even prayed in the most solemn manner that, if he should seek absolution from the unjust sentence pronounced against him, he might be made over to perdition.[z] He urged strongly, as he had urged by letters to sovereign princes, the necessity of a general council as a remedy for the disorders of the church.[a] It would appear from some of his expressions that he expected a miracle to be wrought in behalf of his doctrine.[b] At the approach of Lent he repeated the "burning of vanities;" but, although the value of the things consumed was said to be greater than on the former occasion,[c] the procession did not pass off so quietly, as the boy-censors, in the course of their movements about the city, were insulted and roughly handled by the Compagnacci.[d]

After the burning Savonarola's followers returned in procession to St. Mark's, where in front of the convent they planted a cross, around which they danced wildly[e] in three circles, composed of friars, clergy, and laymen, young and old, chanting strange verses composed by one of the party.[f] That Savonarola tolerated a repetition of these frantic scenes, by which his party had incurred just obloquy two years before,[g] is

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[u] Perrens, ii. 295-6; Villari, ii. 76.

[x] Villari, ii. 91.

[y] Guicc. 234; Perrens, i. 298, seqq., 311; Villari, ii. 76, 83.

[z] "O Signor mio, se io mi faccio assolvere da questa scomunica, mandami al inferno." (Villari, ii. 78.)

[a] 'Vulnera Diligentis,' in Villari, Doc. ii. pp. 246, 274–6, 291; ib. 106–10; Perrens, i. 314. One of these letters, which denounced Alexander forcibly, was intercepted by Louis the Moor, and forwarded to the pope, who did not forgive it. (Vill. ii. 112.)

[b] Ib. 78-9; cf. 83-4.

[c] Among them was a copy of Petrarch, which, from its embellishments and golden ornaments, was worth 50 crowns. (Burlam. 559.)

[d] Burlam. 559; Villari, ii. 84; Perrens, i. 304.

[e] "Lasciata ogni sapienza umana." (Burlam. 559.)

[f] Ib.; Perrens, i. 306; Villari, ii. 85.

[g] Viz. at the end of Lent, 1496. See Perrens, i. 232-3, for Savonarola's defence of the dancing on that occasion.

a proof of the high state of enthusiasm to which he had been excited.

About this time one Francis of Apulia, a member of the division of the Franciscans which, from wearing wooden shoes, had the name of *zoccolanti*, challenged Savonarola to the ordeal of fire, as a test of the truth of his doctrine.[h] For himself, he said that, being but a sinner, he must expect to be burnt, but that he would gladly give his life to expose Savonarola as a sower of scandals and errors.[i]

The challenge was accepted by Dominic of Pescia,[k] who had already been engaged in disputes with the Franciscan at Prato, and, in his devotion to Savonarola, believed him capable of performing miracles.[l] Savonarola himself discouraged the ordeal, because he considered that the truth of his teaching and prophecies, and the nullity of his excommunication, were sufficiently proved by other means; he declared that he had other and better work to do; yet he evidently expected that, if such a trial should take place, it would result in the triumph of his cause.[m] Objections were raised, but were silenced by a reference to the famous case of Peter the Fiery, of which Florence itself had been the scene four centuries earlier.[n]

Francis of Apulia refused to encounter any other champion than Savonarola himself, to whom alone his challenge had been addressed; while, on the other side, not only all the Dominicans of St. Mark's and of Fiesole, but a multitude of men, women, and even children, entreated that they might be allowed to make the trial.[o] At length it was settled that a Franciscan named Rondinelli should be opposed to Dominic of Pescia, and that the ordeal should take place on the 7th of April—the day before Palm Sunday.[p] The propositions as to which the Divine judgment was thus to be invoked were these—that the church was in need of renewal; that it would be chastised and renewed; that Florence also would pass through chastisement to

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[h] Picus, 128; Violi in Villari, Doc. p. 188. Burlamacchi says that Savonarola had proposed the ordeal, but found no one to accept the challenge (559; see Guicc. 255, Villari, ii. 114), and that he had proposed to raise a dead man (554). See Perrens, i. 326-7; Milm. 61.

[i] Picus, 129; Villari, ii. 113.

[k] See p. 586.

[l] Picus, 129; Villari, ii. 113; and Doc. 316, 325, &c.; Violi, ib. 189.

[m] Burlam. 561; Perrens, i. 330-1; Villari, ii. 120-1. (See Bayle, art. *Savonarole*, n. G.)

[n] Schröckh, xxxiii 561. (See vol. ii. p. 602.)

[o] Burlam. 559-61; Picus, 129; Burchard, in Eccard, ii. 2088-90; Villari, ii. 114, 117, 121.

[p] Burch. 2092; Villari, Doc. pp. 401-3; Burlam. 559.

renewal and prosperity; that the unbelievers would be converted to Christ; that all these things would take place during that generation; and, finally, that the excommunication of Savonarola was a nullity.[q]

The Place of the Signory was filled by an immense multitude of spectators. Two heaps of combustible matter had been set up for the purpose of the trial; they were forty yards long, two yards and a-half in height, and separated by a passage one yard wide.[r] But the eagerness of the crowd was to be disappointed. For hours a discussion was carried on in consequence of objections raised by the Franciscans that Savonarola's party and their champion might make use of magical charms.[s] The wearisome dispute was still in progress, when a heavy shower fell; and at length the signory forbade the ordeal.[t] The multitude, tired, hungry, drenched, finding themselves baulked of the expected spectacle, and not knowing on whom to lay the blame, broke out against Savonarola. It was with difficulty that some of his friends were able to conduct him, through a crowd which loaded him with insulting language, to St. Mark's.[u]

Everything seemed now to turn against him. Two days later St. Mark's was besieged by a mob, and, on its surrender,[x] the prior and Dominic of Pescia were committed to prison.[y] Savonarola's partisans were attacked and proscribed; some of them were tumultuously murdered; a commission of men hostile to him was appointed to investigate his case;[z] and throughout a month he was frequently subjected to torture. His nervous system, naturally delicate, and rendered more sensitive by his ascetic exercises, was unable to bear the agonies which were inflicted on him;[a] he confessed whatever was desired, and, when the torture was over for the time, retracted the avowals which had been wrung from him

April 11.

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[q] Burch. 2088; Villari, ii. 116.

[r] Burlam. 562; Villari, ii. 128.

[s] Picus, 129; Burchard. 2093; Benedett. in Villari, ii. 131-2, 228–33; Violi, ib. 191-5; Guicciard. 235; Burlam. 563; Perrens, i. 340, seqq., who thinks that both parties acted with artifice.

[t] Villari, ii. 232-3; Violi, ib. 196; Perrens, 342.

[u] Burch. 2093; Burlam. 563; Vulnera Diligentis, in Villari, ii. 239. It was afterwards remarked that the day was that of Charles VIII.'s death. (Guicc. 233.)

[x] Violi, in Vill. ii. 198–200; Picus, 130; Burlam. 564-5; Burchard, 2093; Perrens, i. 359-60; Villari, ii. 138, 145-58, and Doc. p. 342.

[y] Burlam. 565.

[z] Picus, 131; Burlam. 566; Villari, ii. 159, and Doc. 405, seqq.

[a] Villari, ii. 158; see Schröckh, xxxiii. 566.

"When I am under torture," he said, "I lose myself, I am mad; that only is true which I say without torture."[b] Many questions related to his claims to the character of a prophet; and as to this he talked wildly and inconsistently—insisting at first on the reality of his visions, but at last, in his despair, appearing to give up his pretensions.[c]

While the pope wished him to be sent to Rome, the magistrates of Florence, from a regard to the dignity of the republic, desired that his punishment should take place on the scene where his offences had been committed.[d] The pope at length consented, and sent the general of the Dominicans and another as his commissioners, before whom the examination was resumed.[e] May 19. It was impossible to convict the accused of any unsoundness as to faith, and in order to give a colour for charges of heterodoxy it appears that the acts of the process were falsified.[f]

But the judgment of the court had been predetermined. On the 22nd of May, Savonarola, with Dominic of Pescia and Sylvester Maruffi (who had been associated with them in prison), was sentenced to be hanged and burnt. Dominic, with his characteristic zeal, declared himself eager to be burnt alive; but Savonarola, on being informed of this, reproved him for wishing to exercise his choice in such a matter.[g]

On the following day the sentence was carried out in the Place of the Signory, which was occupied by crowds as numerous as those which a few weeks before had gathered there for the expected ordeal.[h] The duty of degrading the victims was imposed on Pagagnotti, bishop of Vaison,[i] who had formerly been a friar of St. Mark's. In his grief and agitation the bishop mistook the form, and said to Savonarola, "I separate thee from the church triumphant." "From the militant," said

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[b] Violi, in Villari, ii. 218–20; Benedetto, ib. 238; Doc. pp. 292-6; Guicc. 236.

[c] Villari, ii. 160–2, 165; Violi, ib. 213; Schröckh, xxxiii. 567.

[d] Villari, ii. 183-4, 185-7.

[e] Picus, 133; Burlam. 568; Villari, ii. 195-7.

[f] Picus, 132; Violi in Villari, ii. 202, seqq., 211, 221-2; Burlam. 566-7; Bened. ib. 236–240; Guicciard. 236; Rudelbach, 257; Villari, ii. 163-4, 169, and Doc. li.; Giesel. II. iv. 476. The various documents of the process are given by Villari. See also Baluz. Miscell. iv.

[g] Burlam. 569 (who represents Savonarola as having got his knowlege by supernatural means); Picus, 134. The St. Mark's brotherhood in general deserted the prior, and were willing to make their peace with Rome by sacrificing him. (Perrens, i. 376, and Append. xvii. xviii.; Villari, ii. 181-2.)

[h] Burlam. 570; Guicciard. 236.

[i] See Gallia Christiana, i. 934.

Savonarola, correcting him, "not from the triumphant, for that is not thine to do."[j]

After the execution of the sentence, such remains of the bodies as could be found were thrown into the Arno; yet relics of Savonarola were preserved with veneration among his adherents, who even believed them to work miracles, and eagerly traced in the events of the following years the fulfilment of their master's prophecies.[k]

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[j] Picus, 135. This seems to be the true version of the story, although some writers represent the bishop as having named the militant as well as the triumphant church. (See Burlam. 580; Bened. in Villari, Doc. p. 244; Rudelb. 271; Villari, ii. 207.)

[k] Burlam. 570-1; see Comines, iii. 227-8. The biographer Pico believed that he possessed a piece of Savonarola's heart, which had been fished out of the river, and that it drove out devils (136-7; Burlam. 571; Villari, ii. 212). Although the party spirit of monachism has assailed Savonarola's orthodoxy, it has generally been regarded in the Roman church as unimpeachable. His 'Triumph of the Cross' was repeatedly published by the Jesuits, and was used as a text-book in the college of the Propaganda. (Perrens, ii. 241.) His cell was turned into a chapel, and the members of his own community paid him the honours due to a martyr. (Quetif-Echard, i. 884-5; Villari, ii. 220-21; cf. Mansi in Rayn. xi. 300-1.) Papebroch was uncertain whether he ought to be admitted into the 'Acta Sanctorum,' as a beatified person. (Giesel. II. iv. 476.) Of the popes, it is said that Julius II., and even Alexander VI., declared him worthy of canonization (Burlam. 578); and that Benedict XIV. was of a like opinion. (See Perrens, i. 394–7.) Under Pius IV. his writings were examined, and were declared blameless, with the exception of the 'De Veritate Prophetica,' and of some sermons in which he had attacked the popes and the Roman court; and it was only on the ground of possible misinterpretation that these were forbidden. (Ib. 196, 395-6.) The first great assault on him was by one of his own order, Catharinus, in 1518. (Schröckh, xxxiii. 574.)

The commentary on the li. psalm, composed between his first and last examinations (April—May, 1498; Burlam. 566) had already gone through many editions, when Luther, in 1523, reprinted it, and claimed the author as a precursor. (Werke, xxii., Anhang, 81, ed. Leipz. 1734; Schröckh, xxxiii. 572.) In this character he is represented in the great Luther monument at Worms; and he has been often regarded as a protestant, *e.g.* by Rudelbach (b. iii. c. 3). It is, however, only in his character of a *practical* reformer that he can be considered as having prepared the way for the great movement which began twenty years after his death. He had no antihierarchical theories, such as those of Marsilius, Occam, or Wyclif; and in all respects, including the doctrine of the Eucharist, he was in accordance with the orthodoxy of his time. (See Villari, ii. 4, 190–2; Gregorov. vii. 417.) It is amusing to contrast with the tone now prevalent (which is perhaps in some cases too regardless of Savonarola's very serious defects) the language of Roscoe. —"It requires not any great discernment to perceive that Savonarola united in himself those exact proportions of knavery, talents, folly, and learning, which, combining with the insanity of superstition, compose the character of a fanatic, the motives and consequences of whose conduct are perhaps no less obscure and inexplicable to himself, than they are to the rest of mankind." (Life of Leo X. i. 162.)

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER VI. TO THE END OF THE FIFTH COUNCIL OF THE LATERAN.

A.D. 1503—1517.

Cæsar Borgia had supposed himself (as he told Machiavelli) to have provided for all the contingencies which might occur on his father's death, with a view to controlling the election of the next pope, and of securing for himself the power which fortune and skill had combined to put into his hands.[a] But his calculations were frustrated by the circumstance that, at the time of Alexander's death, Cæsar was himself disabled for action by the illness which had seized him in the vineyard of the Vatican.[b] He contrived, however, while on his sick-bed, to enter into an agreement with the Colonna family, for the purpose of strengthening himself against the opposition of the Orsini, who had seized the occasion to make threatening demonstrations.[c] In the mean time the Roman populace, in vengeance for the insolence of the Spaniards under the late pontificate, attacked their houses and destroyed their property; and the city was a scene of tumult, plunder, and slaughter.[d] As the Vatican quarter and the fortress of St. Angelo were occupied by Cæsar's soldiery, the cardinals, thirty-eight in number, met in the Dominican church of St. Mary sopra Minerva, and refused to go into conclave until they were assured that these troops should be removed, and that the French army should approach no nearer than Nepi.[e] Their wish as to the French was effected through the influence of Cardinal d'Amboise, who avowedly put himself forward as a candidate for the papacy, and brought with him to the election Ascanius Sforza, whom he had gained to his interest by releasing him from his French prison, and by entertaining him honourably for the last two years.[f] But it soon

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[a] Machiav. Legazione al Duca Valent. c. 21; Principe, c. 7.

[b] Guicciard. 382.

[c] Ib.; R. Volaterr. 826.

[d] Guicc. l. c.; R. Vol. 826; Panvin. 363.

[e] Guicc. 382, 386; R. Volat. 826; Panvin. 363; Rayn. 1503. 12, seqq.

[f] Guicc. 385.

appeared that d'Amboise could barely reckon on a third part of the college as his supporters, and the cardinals, surprised and perplexed by the suddenness of the late pope's death, resolved to choose one who should not only be free from party ties, but whose age and infirmity might seem to promise another speedy vacancy. On the 22nd of September the election fell on Francis Piccolomini, who, in memory of his uncle Pius II., styled himself Pius III.[g] The new pope was sixty-four years old; he had been promoted to the cardinalate by his uncle in 1460,[h] and was regarded as the most respectable member of the college, which had been greatly sunk in character by Alexander's simoniacal and scandalous appointments.[i]

Rome and the ecclesiastical states were still in a condition of disturbance. Nobles of the Campagna repossessed themselves of lands which had been taken from them by the duke of Valentinois; the cities of Romagna invited their expelled lords to return, or these returned uninvited to resume their power. The Venetians invaded Romagna, and made themselves masters of Faenza and other places.[k] By entering into an alliance with the French, Cæsar Borgia provoked the Spanish general Gonsalvo to order that all the Spaniards who were in his service should leave it. The duke renewed the contest with his old enemies the Orsini, but was driven to withdraw into the Vatican and the adjoining quarter, where he endeavoured to fortify his position. By these disorders the pope was compelled to take refuge in the Castle of St. Angelo, where he died after a pontificate of six-and-twenty days.[l]

This short interval between two vacancies of the papacy had sufficed to ascertain the strength of parties in the college. D'Amboise, finding that he could not hope to be chosen, exerted himself in favour of the cardinal who was supposed to be the most devoted to the French interest, Julian della Rovere.[m] Ascanius Sforza was gained to the same side by the hope that his family might recover the duchy of Milan;[n] and, notwithstanding the long and open enmity between Julian and the

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[g] Guicc. 386; Rayn. 1503. 13-4. He had taken his uncle's family name instead of that of Todeschini.

[h] Rayn. 1460. 26-7; Ciac. iii. 210.

[i] Schröckh, xxxii. 444.

[k] Guicc. 383, 388, 390–2.

[l] Guicc. 389; Sism. x. 26–30. It was said that a sore in one of his legs was poisoned through the contrivance of Petrucci, tyrant of Siena (Sism. x. 30), whose son, cardinal Petrucci, was charged with intending to take off Leo X. by similar means in 1517. (Ib. xi. 102.)

[m] Guicc. 390. D'Amboise was rewarded by being appointed legate for France, Nov. 29. (Burchard, in Eccard, ii. 2159.)

[n] Ib.

Borgias—although Cæsar had made the eight Spanish cardinals[o] swear that they would elect no one but a partisan of his family—even Cæsar was induced, by expectations of recovering his territories, of confirmation in his office of standard-bearer, and of marrying his daughter to the future pope's nephew, to throw his influence into the scale of Julian.[p] Capitulations were drawn up, and an oath was taken to observe them; among other things the future pope was within two years to assemble a general council for the reformation of the church.[q] Without having been shut up in conclave, thirty-seven out of thirty-eight cardinals voted for Julian, who, as pope, Oct. 31. took the name of Julius—a name which has been borne by only one of his predecessors, the contemporary of Constantine and Athanasius.[r] The pope, whose earlier career had been noticed from time to time, was now sixty years old. He was regarded as a man of sincere and open character; even Alexander VI. allowed him this merit, while censuring him in other respects.[s] But it would seem that he sometimes traded unfairly on his reputation for honesty, as when, at the election, he recommended himself to the French party by referring to his past conduct, and to the Spaniards by promising a different policy for the future.[t] His manner of life was not immaculate; he had an illegitimate daughter, whom he married to one of the Orsini; his amours had affected his constitution,[u] and his love of wine was notorious;[x]

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[o] Of 36 cardinals, made by Alexander, 18 were Spaniards. (R. Volaterr. 824.)

[p] Burchard in Eccard, 2159; Guicc. 390; Mariana, ii. 703.

[q] Rayn. 1503. 6.

[r] Guicc. 389; Schröckh, xxxii. 443. See Cardinal Hadrian of Corneto, in Gairdner's Richard III. and Henry VII. (Chron. and Mem. ii. 121.)

[s] "Mordendolo nelle altre co.c." (Guicc. 390.)

[t] Sism. x. 31; Martin, vii. 343.

[u] Panvin. 368.

[x] Murat. Ann. X. i. 84. Louis XII. of France "volendo tassare l'ebrietà sua nota a ciascuno, disse che il Papa la sera dinanzi doveva essersi troppo riscaldato col vino." (Guicc. 444; cf. Bayle, art. *Jules II.*, n. L.) His love of wine is frequently mentioned in the dialogue entitled 'Julius Exclusus,' which is reprinted in the appendix to Jortin's Life of Erasmus, and in Münch's edition of the 'Epistolæ obscurorum Virorum.' In this bitter satire the pope appears at the gate of heaven, attended by a "genius," and demands admission. A conversation with St. Peter ensues, in which the unlikeness of Julius—in his ambition, love of war, and personal character—to the true pastor of the church is brought out, and at last he is not admitted. Erasmus and Ulrich v. Hutten have been charged with the authorship of the piece. Erasmus strongly denied it. (Append. Epp. 17.) Münch attributes it to Hutten (422), but Dr. Strauss believes that the initials originally attached to it, "F. A. F.," mean Faustus Andrelinus Foroliviensis, who was a partisan of Louis XII. (Ulr. v. Hutten, i. 102.) Fr. Carpesanus describes Julius much as he appears in Raphael's picture, "Dum domi forte sedens contractione supercilii nescio quid secum mussitaret," and adds that by the habit of talking to himself he sometimes betrayed secrets. (12 6.)

but, as compared with some of his late predecessors, his character and conduct might almost be styled decorous and respectable.

Cæsar Borgia had believed that, although not powerful enough to dictate the choice of a pope, he was able, through his influence with the Spanish cardinals, to prevent the election of any individual to the papacy; and he professed to regret the support which he had given to Julius as the only mistake that he had ever committed.[y] But, as in his prosperity he had never scrupled at any treachery, he was now to be the victim of other men's deceit.[z] His army was scattered by the Orsini and others;[a] but he still retained about 400 or 500 soldiers, and formed a wild scheme for the recovery of Romagna by means of this little force. But, as he was about to embark at Ostia for Spezzia, he was arrested by the pope's order, and was detained Jan. 22, 1504. in the Vatican until he consented to sign a document by which some fortresses, which still held out for him, were made over to Julius.[b] He then made his way by sea to April, 1504. Naples, and repaired to the camp of Gonsalvo, with whom he had secretly carried on negotiations. But, although he was received with a great show of honour, he was carefully guarded until the general should learn the Spanish king's pleasure respecting him; and, agreeably to Ferdinand's May 26-7. usual perfidy, he was arrested in defiance of the safe-conduct which he had received, was sent as a prisoner to Spain, and was imprisoned in the fortress of Medina del Campo.[c] From this confinement, after two years, he made his escape, and he was invested with a military command by his brother-in-law the king of Navarre, who had vainly interceded for him with Ferdinand. But in March, 1507, his adventurous life was ended in a skirmish near Viana, within the diocese of Pampeluna, of which he had formerly been bishop, and on the anniversary of his institution to the see.[d] So utterly was the terror of the Borgias extinct (although Lucretia still lived as duchess of Ferrara) that a "Comedy of Duke Valentino and Pope Alexander" was acted in the ducal palace of Urbino,

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[y] Machiav. Il Principe, c. 7.

[z] Guicc. 394.

[a] Sism. x. 39.

[b] Guicc. 394, 411; Burchard, in Eccard, ii. 2159-60; Hadr. de Corneto, in Gairdner's Richard III. and Henry VII. (Chron. and Mem.), ii. 121.

[c] Guicc. 412; Rayn. 1504. 13. As to Gonsalvo's share in this and other treacheries of Ferdinand, see Prescott, iii. 360, seqq. Louis XII. said that after this the word of the Spaniards might be classed with the Punic faith. (Mariana, ii. 727.)

[d] Guicc. 451; Ciacon. iii. 174-5; Mariana, ii. 762.

and that other scenes from the family story were already represented on the stage.[e]

As Alexander's great object had been the establishment of his family in the rank of territorial princes, that of Julius was to extend the temporal power of the papacy by recovering for it all that it had ever possessed, or could pretend to claim. And to this end he employed great skill, energy, tenacity of purpose, and even the talents of a general and the endurance of a soldier. He desired to reunite under the papacy all those fiefs which had been taken by Cæsar Borgia from their hereditary lords, and which since Cæsar's fall had again for the most part fallen under the old dominion, while part had been seized by the Venetians. The Venetians offered to give up all their acquisitions except Faenza, and to hold that territory under the same conditions of tribute as its former lords. But the pope for a time refused even to admit their ambassadors to his presence; and he utterly rejected their proposals.[f] In the end of August, 1506, he set out from Rome for the purpose of reducing the fiefs of the church to obedience. Aug. 27–Nov. 11. Baglioni, a condottiere who had got possession of Perugia, submitted, and was allowed to continue. The Bentivogli were driven from Bologna; on St. Martin's day the pope made his triumphant entry into that city; and his return to Rome was greeted with a yet more imposing triumph.[g]

The French had been driven out of Naples by Gonsalvo of Cordova, and the whole kingdom was now subject to Ferdinand.[h] Dec. 1503. The death of Isabella of Castile (November 26th, 1504), and that of her son-in-law the archduke Philip (September 25th, 1506), brought into nearer prospect the vastness of the power which was likely to be concentrated in the hands of the young Charles, the heir of Spain, Naples, Austria, and the Netherlands; and Louis of France was bent on averting the danger which seemed to threaten him from this cause.[i]

Maximilian, at a diet which assembled at Constance, told the German estates that it was necessary for him to be crowned as emperor at Rome, if the empire were to retain any influence in Italy. Aug. 1507. The promise of men which he

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[e] Dennistoun, Dukes of Urbino, ii. 31; Reumont, III. ii. 16.

[f] Schröckh, xxxii. 451; Sism. x. 34, 55-9.

[g] Paris de Grassis, in Rayn. 1506. 30; Guicc. 446-7; Sism. x. 81–9. Erasmus was a witness of both. (Gregorov. viii. 43–5.)

[h] Mariana, ii. 675-714; Sism. x. 39-40, 46; Martin, vii. 316-7; Gairdner's Richard III. and Henry VII., ii. 121.

[i] Schmidt, iv. 410.

received from the assembly—8000 horse and 27,000 foot for half a year—was unequal to his wishes and was imperfectly performed; but he set out on his expedition.[k] The Venetians, Feb. 1508. although they professed themselves willing to allow his passage through their territories, refused to admit his army.[l] There were signs of opposition from other quarters, and on entering Italy from the Tyrol he found himself obliged to engage in some fighting, which did not result in his favour.[m] The pope, in his desire to keep him at a distance, allowed him, by a special privilege, to assume the title of emperor without June 1508. having gone through the ceremony of a coronation.[n] The army, ill-fed and unpaid, broke up; and Maximilian, after having concluded a treaty with the Venetians, returned to Germany.[o]

The republic of Venice was now at its greatest height of wealth and power, and the success of its prudent, selfish, and grasping policy had long excited a strong feeling of jealousy in other states.[p] Thus when Pius II. invited the Florentines to take part in the crusade, they had declined on the ground that whatever might be taken from the Turks would fall to the Venetians.[q] Julius, in a letter to Maximilian, spoke of them as encroaching, as aiming at supreme domination in Italy, and even at re-establishing for themselves the old imperial power;[r] and he had been especially offended by their rejecting one of his nephews, whom he had nominated to the see of Vicenza, and substituting a Venetian citizen, whom they required to style himself bishop by the grace of the senate.[s] The emperor considered that the Venetians had formed their territory at the expense of the empire.[t] The French king was angry with them for having crossed his designs, for having underhandedly favoured the interest of Spain, and for having got possession of some places which had belonged to his duchy of Milan.[u] Dec. 10. In December, 1508, a treaty was concluded at Cambray between the Archduchess Margaret, regent of the Netherlands, on the part of her father the emperor, and by Cardinal d'Amboise as representative of France. Spain was to take part in the

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[k] Guicc. 440, 474.

[l] Ib. 443, 483.

[m] Ib. 490.

[n] Ib. 488; Schmidt, iv. 415; Ranke, Hist. Ref. i. 191.

[o] Guicc. 494; Martin, vii. 369; Ranke, i. 194-5.

[p] "Genus quidem hominum consilio, opibus, et amplo dominatu pollens; verum in augendo imperio, ubi ansam aliquam ad occupandum alienum jus nacti sunt, anxium; in aucto, pertinacissimum." (Fr. Carpesan. 1261.)

[q] Schmidt, iv. 405.

[r] Schmidt, iv. 402.

[s] Schröckh. xxxii. 452; Daru, iii. 310.

[t] Schmidt, iv. 403; Sism. x. 140.

[u] Schmidt, iv. 401; Sism. x. 139-40.

treaty, and d'Amboise, as legate, took it on him to promise the pope's concurrence.[x]

The treaty began by stating that the emperor and the French king, having resolved, at the pope's request, to make war against the Turks, held themselves bound to restrain the Venetians in their aggressions on the holy Roman empire and other Christian states; and it pledged the allied powers to hold by each other until each should have recovered whatever had been taken from it by the Venetians. For a time this treaty was kept secret from the power against which it was directed.[y]

Although Julius had special reasons for dissatisfaction with the republic, he yet felt strongly the inexpediency of admitting foreigners to exercise dominion in Italy. And the evil was the greater in proportion to the power of the French and the Spanish sovereigns, who had respectively possessed themselves of Milan and of Naples.[z] He dreaded the pretensions which might be advanced on the part of the empire as to Italy; he dreaded d'Amboise as one who was intriguing to succeed him—whom Louis, by interfering in Italian affairs, might help to attain the papacy, in order that a French pope might transfer the imperial crown from Germany to France.[a] Hence, although in his enmity to Pope Alexander he had himself been the first to bring the "barbarians" into Italy, the policy of his later years was directed chiefly to their expulsion. He therefore privately offered to make peace with the republic on condition that certain territories should be yielded up to him. But the Venetians, in reliance on their power of raising mercenary troops, and in the expectation that a league between parties widely differing in interests would soon break up of itself, declined the proposed terms; and Julius thereupon joined the league, undertaking to utter the censures of the church against the Venetians, so that Maximilian should be set free from the engagements which he had lately contracted with them.[b]

In the spring of 1509 Louis began hostilities, and within seventeen days his forces had made themselves masters of all that he was entitled to claim under the treaty of Cambray.[c] The pope about the same time sent forth a "moni-

May.

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[x] Guicc. 500; Mariana, ii. 780; Sism. Rep. Ital. x. 145; Martin, vii. 369; Daru, iii. 313-4.

[y] Daru, iii. 315-6, 321; Sism. x. 147.

[z] Guicc. 586; Schmidt, iv. 420.

[a] This Julius himself said in a letter to the archduchess Margaret. Schmidt, iv. 413; Sism. Rep. Ital. x. 113 4, 148-9.

[b] Guicc. 503-6; Sism. x. 147.

[c] Sism. x. 152.

tory" bull, in which he reproached the Venetians for encroachments April 27. and usurpations, for interfering with the rights of the church as to jurisdiction over clerks and as to patronage of bishopricks, and for harbouring enemies of the apostolic see. He allowed them twenty-four days for submission and restitution; in case of their neglecting this opportunity he declared them to be under interdict, and that their persons and property might be seized and sold. The Venetians appealed to a general council, and found means to display their appeal on the doors of St. Peter's at Rome; and Julius pronounced an interdict against them.[d]

But the pope did not confine himself to the use of spiritual weapons. His troops, under the command of his nephew Francis della Rovere, duke of Urbino, marched into Northern Italy and reduced Faenza, Rimini, Ravenna, and other places.[e] The Venetians, pressed by this invasion, by the French king, who May 14. inflicted on them a severe defeat near Agnadello,[f] and by the fear of preparations in which Maximilian was supposed to be actively engaged, made overtures to the pope for peace; but these were so ill received that for a time the republic hesitated between submission to the father of Christendom and an alliance with the Grand Turk. But Julius dreaded lest the destruction of the republic should give the French king the sovereignty of all northern Italy; he was softened by the compliance of a power which had usually been so haughty; and, although the ambassadors of France and of the empire opposed a reconciliation, he listened to the intercession which Henry VIII. of England addressed to him through Bainbridge, archbishop of York.[g] The Venetians agreed to abandon their appeal, to give up all pretensions to ecclesiastical independence and to jurisdiction over the clergy.[h] Six citizens of high dignity were sent as ambassadors to Rome, where they were required to enter by night, and were not greeted with any of the usual marks of honour.[i] Yet they were not obliged to submit to the full humiliation which had sometimes been inflicted on penitents. Feb. 24. 1510. On prostrating themselves before the pope in the porch of St. Peter's, they were absolved with a simple injunction to visit the seven basilicas of Rome, and were at

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[d] Guicc. 513; Rayn. 1509. 14; Reumont, III. ii. 28; Daru, iii. 331.

[e] Guicc. 522.

[f] Daru, iii. 338–41.

[g] Guicc. 528; Roscoe, Leo. X. i. 213;

[h] Rayn. 1510. 1–6; Guicc. 555–6; Daru, iii. 351–3, 363–4, 379–82.

[i] Guicc. 540.

once received, "not as excommunicate or interdicted, but as good Christians and devoted sons of the apostolic see."[k] The pope himself had struck out the usual flagellation from the scheme which had been drawn up by his master of ceremonies.[l]

Julius had quarrelled with the French king about the see of Avignon, which had become vacant by the death of a bishop while in attendance on the papal court. The pope attempted to exercise the patronage, but as Louis declared this to be contrary to a late treaty, he was compelled to yield ungraciously.[m] The death of Cardinal d'Amboise, in May, 1510,[n] increased the ill-feeling which had arisen, as Julius claimed for the church the treasures which the minister-legate had accumulated.[o] The pope resolved to destroy, if possible, the French king's influence in Italy. He endeavoured to stir up troubles against him on the side of England and of Switzerland; and in the violence of his self-will he insisted that others, with whom he had hitherto acted, should follow him in his change of policy.[p] Hence, when Alfonso, duke of Ferrara, who was a feudatory of the papacy and had been one of his generals, refused to break off from the alliance against Venice, Julius declared that he had forfeited his fief, and refused to accept his tribute. Aug. 9, 1510. He issued against him a bull of extraordinary violence,[q] repeated its denunciations in the customary curses of the holy week, and professed that for the ruin of this enemy he would risk his tiara and his life.[r] July 3, 1510. He declared that Louis had forfeited his claim to the kingdom of Naples, and granted investiture in it exclusively to Ferdinand, whom he hoped by this favour to secure to his party.[s] He negotiated through Mathias Schinner, bishop of Sion in the Valais, with the Swiss, whom Louis had offended by resisting their demands of increased pay and by speaking of them with disparagement; and he was allowed by their diet to raise as many soldiers as he might require from the confederation.[t]

Louis, although unwilling to quarrel with the pope, both from

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[k] Guicc. 567; Rayn. 1510. 7-10.

[l] Rayn. l. c.

[m] Guicc. 553; Sism. Rep. Ital. x. 184, 192.

[n] Ciac. iii. 189, 228.

[o] Sismondi estimates these as equal to 55,000,000 francs in our own day (xi. 208). Julius is said, on hearing of the cardinal's death, to have exclaimed, "Thank God, I am now the only pope!" (Martin vii. 387.)

[p] P. Jovius, Vita Leonis, 31; Schmidt, iv. 430; Sism. x. 211, 214-5.

[q] In Rayn. 1510. 15, where, however, the penalties are given in an abridged form. (Cf. P. Jov. l. c.)

[r] Guicc. 586, 588; Schmidt, iv. 432; Sism. x. 215-6.

[s] Guicc. 528; Rayn. 1511. 24-8.

[t] Guicc. 566, 571 (whose account of the Swiss is curious), pp. 680-3; P. Jov. Vita Leonis, 49; Sism. x. 201, 221.

his own feeling and yet more on account of his queen's influence over him, found it necessary to act in self-defence. Falling back on a suggestion of his late minister d'Amboise, he convoked at Orleans a national assembly of prelates, doctors, and other learned men, which continued its deliberations at Tours.[u] The chancellor opened the proceedings by denouncing Julius as having attained the papacy by uncanonical intrigues, and having cruelly troubled Christendom by his love for war;[x] and the king submitted to the council eight questions, bearing on the lawfulness of resisting an aggressive pope by force. The answers were favourable to his wishes; it was declared that a pope might not make war on a temporal prince except within the church's territory; that a prince might, in self-defence, invade the pope's territory, although not with a view to depriving him of it; that if a pope should stir up other powers against a prince, the prince might withdraw from his obedience, although only so far as might be necessary for the protection of his own rights; that in case of such withdrawal he ought to fall back on the ancient common law of the church and on the pragmatic sanction; that any censures unjustly uttered by popes were not to be regarded.[y]

Aug.–Sept. 1510.

While Louis was thus endeavouring to fortify himself by the sanction of ecclesiastical law, the pope continued to proceed by forcible means. Neither age nor sickness could check his impetuosity.[z] At Bologna, where he had made his entry with great pomp on the 23rd of September,[a] he ordered that all who were able and willing to fight should be assembled in the market-place; and on being informed that their numbers amounted to 15,000 foot and 5000 horse, although he was suffering from a violent attack of fever, he rushed from his bed to a balcony, and pronounced his benediction on them.[b] Towards the end of October, his life was despaired of;[c] but

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[u] Guicc. 606; Richer, Hist. Conc. General. iv. 81.

[x] Guicc. l. c.; Giesel. II. iv. 183.

[y] Hard. ix. 1557; Richer, iv. 81; Preuves des Lib. 520. There are three versions of this paper; one of them prescribes appeals to a council as the remedy for difficulties. (See Giesel. II iv. 184.)

[z] Guicc. 620. To this time belongs the well-known epigram:—

"In Gallum, ut fama est, bellum gesturus acerbum
Armatam educit Julius urbe manum;
Accinctus gladio, claves in Tibridis amnem
Projicit, et sævus talia verba facit;
'Quum Petri nihil efficiant ad prælia claves,
Auxilio Pauli forsitan ensis erit.'"

It appears from Bayle, art. *Jules II.*, note F, that some writers have disputed whether these lines are to be taken as a statement of actual fact. A longer form of the epigram is given by Roscoe, Leo X. i. 475.

[a] Guicc. 502.

[b] Sism. xv. 230.

[c] Ib. 232.

he recovered,[d] and notwithstanding the remonstrances of cardinals and ambassadors, who endeavoured to restrain him by a regard for his spiritual character, he set out in a litter for the siege of Mirandola. Arriving there on the 2nd of January, 1511, he took up his abode in a peasant's hut, under the guns of the fortress.[e] He scorned the frost, the heavy snow, the roughness and scantiness of his fare. He reproved the officers around him for their slowness; and while his pioneers fled from the discharge of the enemy's artillery, he himself superintended the pointing of his cannon, and gave orders for the firing.[f] On returning to Mirandola, after a short intermission of the siege, he established himself in a little chapel, still nearer to the walls than his former quarters.[g] A plan laid by the famous Bayard for his capture, would probably have been successful, but that a sudden snowstorm drove the pope and his party back to their cover before they had reached the point at which the French ambush was posted; and, on finding himself pursued in his return, Julius with his own hand assisted in raising a drawbridge over which he had just made his escape.[h] Jan. 20. But he persevered in the siege; and when at length Mirandola was taken, he refused to enter by the gate, and desired that a breach might be made in the wall, so that he might make his entry in the style of a conqueror, arrayed in helmet and cuirass.[i]

In Germany, as well as in France, there had been manifestations of discontent against the papacy. A paper of A.D. 1510. ten "Grievances" had been drawn up, setting forth, among other things, the abuses of the Roman court as to dispensations, as to the rejection of bishops who had been duly elected, as to the reservation of the greater dignities and benefices for cardinals and papal protonotaries; as to expectancies, annates, patronage, indulgences; as to the exaction of tenths

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[d] Guicciardini says that at the end of 1510, Julius incurred some discredit by being suggested to have shared in an attempt to assassinate Soderini, gonfaloniere of Florence. (See Roscoe, Leo X. i. 252, 618.)

[e] Guicc. 617-8.

[f] Guicc. 619; P. de Grassis, in Rayn. 1511. 46; Fr. Carpes. 1273.

[g] Guicc. 619.

[h] Mém. de Bayard, i. 345-8 (ed. Petitot).

[i] Mém. de Bayard, i. 393. The 'Loyal Serviteur,' who wrote these memoirs, says that the pope proposed to Alfonso of Ferrara to get rid of his French auxiliaries by treachery; that the duke then suggested to the agent that he should poison the pope; but that Bayard's expressions of horror, on being informed by Alfonso of a design which, to an Italian of that age, was quite of a familiar kind, diverted him from it. (Ib. 361-6.) This story, however, appears very questionable. (See Sism. x. 241.)

under pretext of crusades which never took place; as to drawing of causes to Rome which ought to be decided on the spot.[k] A list of suggested "Remedies" followed; and a paper of "Advices to the Imperial Majesty" was annexed—recommending the establishment of a Pragmatic Sanction, similar to that of Bourges.[l] In consequence of these representations Maximilian took it on himself to issue an edict forbidding pluralities and simony, and desired James Wimpheling, a learned jurist, who was supposed to be the author of the *Gravamina*, to draw up a pragmatic sanction adapted to the circumstances of Germany.[m]

Negotiations were attempted between Maximilian and the pope through Matthew Lang, bishop of Gurk, who appeared at Bologna as imperial ambassador, and was received with great marks of honour.[n] But Julius was offended by the assumptions of the bishop, who, when three cardinals were sent to him, employed three gentlemen of his suite to [illegible] them, as if no one but the pope himself were worthy to treat with the representative of the emperor;[o] and Lang, on withdrawing from the court, complained of the impossibility of moving the pope's "obstinate and diabolical pertinacity."[p]

April.

In consequence (it is said) of the death of a cardinal at Ancona, five of his brethren, among whom Carvajal, a Spaniard, was the leader,[q] refused to join the pope at Bologna, and obtained from the government of Florence permission to remain in that city.[r] By this the pope was greatly incensed, as he supposed their conduct to imply a charge of poison against him, and he expressed his dissatisfaction to the Florentines.[s] The cardinals removed from Florence to Milan, where they openly declared themselves in opposition to the pope. The French king had drawn the emperor into his wish for a general council; the two sovereigns applied to the pope, reminding him of the promise which he had made at his election, and telling him that, in case of his refusal, they would endeavour to accomplish their object by means of the cardinals; and they acted accordingly.[t]

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[k] Fascic. Rer. Expet. et Fug. i. 334; Giesel. IV. ii. 185-6.

[l] Fascic. i. 336; Giesel. IV. ii. 186-7.

[m] Giesel. II. iv. 188.

[n] Guicc. 635 6.

[o] Ib. 637; Sism. x. 241–6.

[p] Lettres du Roy Louis XII., quoted by Gieseler, IV. iv. 188. Cf. P. de Grassis, in Rayn., 1511. 57; M. Coccin. in Freher, ii. 269.

[q] Guicc. 659.

[r] Ib. 606-7; Rayn. 1510. 19; Sism. x. 260.

[s] Sism. l. c.

[t] Sism. x. 266

There was some discussion as to the place where the council should be held; for while Maximilian wished it to be at Constance, Louis proposed Lyons, and the Italian prelates insisted that, as reform was needed not only in the members, but in the head of the church, some Italian city would be most suitable.[u] On the 16th of May, three cardinals, in the name of themselves and of six others (by some of whom the act was afterwards disavowed)[x] issued a document summoning the council to meet on the 1st of September at Pisa—a place which was considered of good omen, as having been the scene of the council which deposed the antipope Anacletus,[y] and of that which, after deposing the rivals Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII., elected Alexander V.[z] They announced this step to Julius, and charged him in the mean time to refrain from creating any new cardinals.[a] The emperor and the king of France severally issued their citations;[b] but it was in vain that they endeavoured to gain the co-operation of Ferdinand, and Henry of England wrote in strong terms to Maximilian, expressing his horror at the possibility of a schism.[c]

May 21.

In the mean time an insurrection broke out at Bologna. The bronze statue of Julius, lately executed by Michael Angelo, and erected in front of the cathedral, was thrown down, dragged about the streets with insult, and afterwards given to the duke of Ferrara, by whom it was melted into cannon.[d] The Bentivogli returned under French protection.[e] The cardinal legate, Alidosi, whose government had been greatly detested, fled in disguise by night,[f] and made his way to Ravenna, where, on reporting his arrival, he was invited to the pope's table. But as he was on his way to the banquet, he accidentally met the pope's nephew, the duke of Urbino, who taxed him with having calumniated him to Julius, as inclining to the French interest, and, drawing out a dagger, stabbed him mortally.[g] The pope, although greatly distressed by

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[u] Guicc. 648.

[x] Ib. 653; P. de Grassis, in Rayn. 1511. 7.

[y] See vol. iii. p. 18.

[z] Guicc. 647; see p. 191-3; Rayn. 1511. 5-6.

[a] On March 10th, Julius, in order to strengthen himself, had made eight cardinals; among them the English ambassador, Archbishop Bainbridge, of York, and the bishop of Sion. (Guicc. 635.)

[b] Rayn. 1511. i. 2; Richer, iv. 177-82.

[c] Martin, vii. 395-6.

[d] Guicc. 644. See as to the statue, Vasari, xii. 186-8, 318; Perkins, 'Tuscan Sculptors,' ii. 29-30; Harford's Life of M. Angelo, i. 252. Alfonso was famous as a cannon-founder. (Niem. de Bayart, in Petitot, xv. 358; Fleuranges, ib. xvi. 205.)

[e] Sism. x. 251.

[f] Guicc. 643.

[g] P. de Grassis, in Rayn.; F. Carpesan. 1174; Mémoires de Bayard, i. 366-7; Mariana, ii. 806; Dennist. ii. 326; P. de Grassis says that the car-

the murder, was afraid to inflict any punishment on his nephew, lest he should go over to the enemy.[h] He set out in deep grief for Rome, and on arriving at Rimini, he found the announcement of the Pisan council placarded on the door of the convent where he lodged.[i]

On the 16th of July the pope sent forth a bull summoning a rival council to meet in the church of St. John Lateran on Monday after Easter-week in the following year.[k] In this document he defended himself as to his performance of the engagements made at his election, professing to have been always zealously desirous of a general council, and to have endeavoured to gain the concurrence of temporal princes towards that object, although the fulfilment of his wishes had been prevented by public troubles. He compared the opposing cardinals to "acephalous locusts,"[l] threatened them with deposition from their dignities and preferments unless they would submit within sixty-five days, and interdicted Florence, Pisa, and all places in which the schismatical council should meet.[m] He laboured to stir up his allies against it, and at the expiration of
Oct. 24. the time of grace pronounced the refractory cardinals to be deposed, and subject to the penalties of heresy and schism.[n]

It soon became clear that the council of Pisa would be a failure. The emperor's promises of support proved to be delusive.[o] In laying the subject before a meeting of German prelates at Augsburg, he found that they were unwilling to take any part in the movement; and, although he sent a
Sept. 1. commissioner to be present at the opening, the members of the council were almost exclusively Frenchmen, who acted under constraint of their sovereign.[p] No confidence was placed in the cardinals, whose conduct in summoning the council was attributed to motives of personal ambition.[q] The French king

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dinals approved of his death, although they blamed such an outrage against an ecclesiastic. Guicciardini (646) and Michael Canini (in Freher ii. 271) speak of Alidosi with strong reprobation. (See, too, Gregorov. viii. 64.) The murder was celebrated in a poem by Paul Giovio, who justifies it, and vituperates Alidosi. Elogia, 236 (Basil. 1596); Vita Leonis, 34.

[h] Rayn. 1513. 11. Yet Canini says, "Cujus memoriæ pontifex subinde Romæ maledixit, quem tamen antea et honoribus et dignitate sublevaverat" (l. c.). A few months later, the pope, when dangerously ill, absolved his nephew, "non per via di giustitia, repugnando a questa la brevità del tempo ma come penitente, per gratia ed indulgentia apostolica." (Guicc. 660.)

[i] D. de Grassis, in Rayn. 1511. 7; Guicc. 646.

[k] Hard. ix. 1584. 93; Rayn. 1511. 9-15; cf. 24-9.

[l] Hard. ix. 1585. 17. Perhaps there is a reference to Prov. xxx. 27, "Regem locusta non habet."

[m] Rayn. 1511. 32; Guicc. 653-4, 658, 668.

[n] Guicc. 668; Rayn. 1511. 35.

[o] Guicc. 658.

[p] Guicc. 678.

[q] Ib. 676; P. Jovius, Vita Leonis, 34.

himself is said to have afterwards avowed that the assembly of it was merely a device for rendering the pope more tractable.[r] The number of members was never considerable.[s] On attempting to enter the cathedral of Pisa for the performance of the opening mass, they found the doors closed, and Nov. 1. were obliged to resort to another church, although an order from the Florentine magistrates afterwards gave them admission to the cathedral.[t] The clergy of Pisa refused to lend them vestments, and left the city in obedience to the papal interdict. In the face of these circumstances the council, under Carvajal as president, affected to assert its authority by declaring that all that might be attempted against it by the pope or his cardinals should be null, and that it was not to be Sess. iii. Nov. 12. dissolved until the church should have been reformed in head and in members.[u] But the Florentines, alarmed by the pope's sentences and threats, became weary of allowing the rebellious assembly a place within their territory; and after three sessions the council took occasion from a street-affray between some servants of its members and some young men of Pisa to remove to Milan.[x]

About this time Maximilian, whose mind was singularly fertile in wild designs,[y] conceived the strange idea of getting himself elected to the papacy.[z] This scheme appears to have been suggested by an illness of Julius, which was so serious that for a time he was believed to be dead, and cries were raised at Rome for the establishment of a republic.[a] August. But as the old man recovered in defiance of medical warnings and prescriptions,[b] Maximilian wished to be appointed his coadjutor, as a step towards being elected as his successor. In order to obtain the consent of the Spanish king, he professed himself willing to resign the empire in favour of Charles, the grandson of both;[c]

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[r] "Fabulam esse et declamatiunculam." (Rayn. 1512. 11.)

[s] It is said not to have exceeded 4 cardinals, who held proxies for 3 of their brethren, 2 archbishops, 13 bishops, 5 abbots; some doctors of law, among the most famous was Philip Dexio (or Decius), author of tracts in favour of the council, which are printed in Goldast, ii. 1667, seqq., and in Richer, IV. 39, seqq., 123, seqq., 146, seqq., with deputies from some universities. (Schröckh, xxxii. 469.)

[t] Guicc. 677.

[u] Guicc. 678; Richer, iv. 226.

[x] Guicc. 677; Rayn. 1511. 42. The removal was voted on Nov. 12, and took place on Dec. 7. (Richer, 228.)

[y] Guicc. 652.

[z] A letter to his daughter Margaret (Sept. 18) in which he talks of becoming a pope, and then a saint, so that it would be her necessary duty to adore him, might be regarded as a jest; but there is other sufficient evidence to prove that the design was seriously entertained. (See Gieseler, II. iv. 392; Döllinger, ii. 366; Martin, vii. 395-6; Gregorov. viii. 68.)

[a] Guicc. 659; Gregorov. viii. 71.

[b] Guicc. 570.

[c] Schröckh, xxxii. 485.

and he was ready to pledge his jewels and robes with the Fuggers, of Augsburg, the great money-dealers of the age, in order to raise funds for securing the votes of the cardinals. But the plan found no favour with Julius, and appears to have come to nought through its mere extravagance.

The pope offered terms of reconciliation to Louis; but, as Oct. 9. he had foreseen, they were not accepted,[d] and he entered into a new alliance with Aragon and Venice. Of this "holy league" (as it was called), the declared objects were, to preserve the unity of the church against the pretended council of Pisa, to recover Bologna and other fiefs (among which Ferrara was understood to be included) for the Roman see, and to drive out of Italy all who should oppose these designs.[e] The concurrence of England is said to have been partly gained by a cargo of presents more novel than costly,—Greek wines, southern fruits, and other provisions, intended for the king and the chief persons of the kingdom, and conveyed on board of the first papal vessel that had ever anchored in the Thames.[f]

The French troops poured into Lombardy under Gaston de Foix, duke of Nemours; and it is at this time that Louis is commonly supposed to have met the papal threats of interdict by striking the medal which bears the motto *Perdam Babilonis Nomen.*[g] The council, which was sitting at Milan, professed to authorise Gaston, through its legate the cardinal of St. Severino, to occupy the states of the church until St. Peter's chair should be filled by a lawfully chosen pope.[h] Brescia, which had risen against the French, was taken, and the capture was followed by extraordinary excesses of spoliation, cruelty, and brutality.[i] But at the great battle of Ravenna, fought on Easter-day, April 11. 1512, although the French general gained a brilliant victory over the allied Spanish and papal troops, he himself fell, at the age of twenty-four.[k] Among the prisoners taken by the French was the cardinal legate of Bologna, John de' Medici, whom they carried off to

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[d] Martin, vii. 396-7. [e] Sism. x. 272.

[f] Hume, iii. 374; Sism. x. 300. (See Bayle, art. *Jules II.* n. P.)

[g] Giesel. II. iv. 191. We have, however, seen that there is ground for referring it to an earlier date (p. 575). The ingenious Father Hardouin supposed it to relate to a crusade, Babylon meaning Cairo! (Giesel. l. c.)

[h] Guicc. 704; Martin, vii. 401.

[i] Guicc. 698-9; Fr. Carpes. 1280; Mém. de Bayart, c. l.; Sism. x. 291-3. Bayard's own conduct towards the ladies in whose house he lay while wounded (c. li.) was a contrast to the general behaviour of his countrymen.

[k] Guicc. 715; P. Jov. Vita Leonis, 37, 46; Fr. Carpes. 1285; Mariana, l. xxx. c. 9; Sism. x. 307-315.

Milan. But there, when he offered the absolution which the pope had authorised him to bestow on all who would promise never again to bear arms against the church, his captors crowded around him, entreating his pardon and blessing;[l] while the members of the antipapal council could not show themselves in the streets without being pursued with jeers, curses, and insulting gestures.[m] The French army, weakened by an order which the emperor had issued for the recall of the Germans who were serving in it,[n] and by the desertion of many soldiers who had returned to their own country after sharing in the plunder of Brescia, was needed at home for defence against the English;[o] and as it retreated through the Milanese territory, before a force of 20,000 Swiss, which had entered Italy by the Tyrol for the service of the pope and of Venice, the inhabitants rose against the stragglers, and slaughtered many in revenge for the late outrages.[p] The sentence of suspension which the council, after attempts to draw Julius into summoning another general council,[q] and after several delays and extensions of the time of grace allowed him, Sess. 8. affected to issue against the pope, was laughed at;[r] April 21. and the residue of the unfortunate assembly, after having removed to Asti and thence to Lyons, vanished so obscurely that its end was not observed.[s]

Julius had treated all the messages of the opposition council with contempt. He had not been dismayed by the successes of the French, and had rejected, even with anger, a suggestion that he should withdraw for safety to Naples.[t] And three weeks after the battle of Ravenna—only a fortnight later May 3. than the time originally appointed—he assembled the Fifth Lateran council.[u] The proceedings were opened by Giles of Viterbo, general of the Augustine friars, and afterwards a cardinal, who, in a discourse which was greatly admired,[x] spoke of the evils and dangers of the time, of the benefits of synods, the providential care which had been shown in the protection of

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[l] Guicc. 721; P. Jov. Vita Leon. 46-7; M. Coccin. in Freher. ii. 287-9; Schröckh, xxxii. 488; Roscoe's 'Leo,' i. 272-3.

[m] Guicc. 678; P. Jov. 48.

[n] Roscoe, i. 271.

[o] Guicc. 725.

[p] Ib. 729; M. Coccin. in Freher ii. 281; Sism. x. 323-7, 336.

[q] Richer, 231.

[r] Richer, 281; Gies. II. iv 191; Schröckh, xxxii. 471. Julius degraded from his doctorate Philip Decius (see above, p. 609, n. s.) for his writings in defence of the council. (Guicc. 702.)

[s] Schröckh, xxxii. 472.

[t] Sism. x. 318-9.

[u] Hard. ix. 1573, 1595-8; Guicc. 721; Mém. de Bayart, c. lii.

[x] Sadolet. in Hard. ix. 1575.

the pope, the mischiefs of schism, the necessity of ecclesiastical and moral reformation, and the duty of arming against the general enemy of Christendom.[y]

The first and second sessions were chiefly occupied by formal May 10-17. business.[z] At the third session, Matthew Lang, bishop Dec. 3. of Gurk, appeared, and produced a commission from Maximilian, with whom the pope had lately concluded an alliance.[a] In this document the emperor signified his adhesion to the council, and authorised his representative to do all that might be possible for the restoration of unity. The bishop then declared that in the emperor's name he revoked and annulled all that had been done in the *conciliabulum* of Pisa, for which, he said, the emperor had never given any mandate; and he and a lay envoy of Maximilian reverently kissed the pope's feet.[b] At the same session was read and accepted a bull, by which Julius reprobated and annulled all the proceedings of the refractory cardinals, and renewed an order by which, in the preceding August, he had interdicted all France, with the exception of Brittany, and had even condescended to gratify his enmity against the French by removing the fair of Lyons to Geneva.[c]

At the fourth session the question of the Pragmatic Sanction was brought before the council. Dec. 10. The instrument by which Louis XI. had abrogated it was read.[d] The advocate of the council, Melchior Bardassini, requested that the Pragmatic Sanction should be revoked and annulled, and that a monition should be addressed to such ecclesiastical and lay persons of eminence in France as might be interested in it, requiring them to appear and to show cause why it should not be abolished.[e] Two bulls of the proposed tenor were thereupon produced, and received the approbation of the council.[f]

Julius had quarrelled with his Venetian allies, partly as to some territories which he claimed on the Po;[g] and while the republic concluded a treaty with France, the pope, as we have seen, allied himself with the emperor.[h] But while Maxi-

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[y] Hard. ix. 1576-81.

[z] Ib. 1581, seqq.

[a] Guicc. 758; Schmidt, iv. 441; Sism. x. 359-360.

[b] Hard. ix. 1626-8.

[c] Ib. 1628-30. The pope intended to take the title of "Most Christian" from the French king, and to transfer it to the king of England. (Guicc. 761, 768. See below, p. 646.) It has been said that in June, 1512, he anathematized Louis, and offered his kingdom to any one who would take it. But if such a sentence was ever framed, it would seem to have been no more than a draft. (See P. de Grassis in Rayn. 1512. 63, with Mansi's note; Guicc. 768.)

[d] Hard. ix. 1640.

[e] Ib. 1641-2.

[f] Ib. 1642-6.

[g] Guicc. 738; Sism. x. 339, 358-360.

[h] Guicc. 758; Sism. x. 363.

milian set up pretensions to the duchy of Milan for himself or one of his grandsons, the pope, who could endure no foreign dominion in Italy, favoured the claims of Maximilian Sforza, son of Louis the Moor. This claimant entered the capital on the 29th of December;[i] and it appeared as if Julius were on the point of completing his work of expelling the "barbarians" from Italy, when he was seized with an illness which seemed likely to be fatal. In consequence of this he was unable to be present at the fifth session of the Lateran council, which was held on the 16th of February, 1513;[k] but he got from it a confirmation of a bull which he had sent forth eight years before, and had since republished, with a view to checking the practice of simony in elections to the papacy.[l] The pope retained to the last his clearness of mind and his strength of will. With regard to the cardinals who had been concerned in the council of Pisa, he declared that as a private man he forgave them, and prayed that God would forgive the injuries which they had done to the church, but that as pope he must condemn them; and he ordered that they should be excluded from the election of his successor.[m] On the night of the 21st of February Julius breathed his last, at the age of seventy.

On the 4th of March twenty-five cardinals met for the election of a successor to the papacy.[n] The warlike ambition of Julius had produced so much of trouble that there was among them a general wish to fill the chair with a pope of very opposite character.[p] The younger cardinals especially resolved to make their influence felt, and among them the most active was Alfonso Petrucci, cardinal of St. Theodore, and son of the lord of Siena.[q] Raphael Riario, the senior and richest member of the college, whom some cardinals were disposed to choose in the hope of sharing in the great preferments which would become vacant by his election,[r] was soon set aside—partly on account of his relationship to Sixtus IV. and the late pope, and partly from doubts as to his capacity; and on the 11th of March the election fell on John de' Medici, who had entered the conclave two days later than the other cardinals.

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[i] Fr. Carpesan. in Murat. 1288; Sism. x. 340, 360; Schmidt, iv. 440.

[k] Hard. ix. 1561.

[l] Ib. 1656-60. The original date was Feb. 19, 1505. (See Rayn. 1506. 1; 1513. 5, 8; Guicc. 660.)

[m] Par. de Grassis, in Rayn. 1513. 8; Guicc. 769.

[n] Guicc. 770.

[p] Sism. xi. 3.

[q] P. Jovius, Vita Leonis, 56.

[r] This was thought of as a way of evading the late decree against simony (Burckhardt, 'Cultur,' 97.)

He had been detained on his journey from Florence by an ailment which is supposed to have induced some of his brethren to vote for him on the ground that it seemed likely to shorten his life.[s] It is said that Petrucci, in announcing the election of the new pope, as Leo the Tenth, to the people, shouted out, "Life and health to the juniors!"[t] The result was hailed with general acclamation.[u]

Leo at the time of his election was only thirty-seven years of age. His early promotion to the cardinalate, and his expulsion with the rest of his family from Florence, have been already mentioned.[x] During his exile from his native city he had travelled with a party of friends in Germany, France, and the Low Countries,[y] and had lived some years at Genoa, where his sister and her husband, Franceschetto Cibò, had established themselves.[z] There he became intimate with Julian della Rovere, who, like himself, was under the disfavour of Pope Alexander; and when the cardinal became pope, he removed to Rome. Under the pontificate of Julius he lived in splendour, and showed that he had inherited the tastes of his family by his patronage of literature and art. He threw open to all a noble library, including as many of the manuscripts collected by the Medici as he had been able to recover by purchase after the troubles of Florence; his palace became a resort of painters, sculptors, musicians, and men of letters;[a] but so far did the expense of indulging his tastes exceed his means of gratifying them, that he is said to have been sometimes reduced to pledge his silver plate in order to procure a supply of the most necessary materials for an intended banquet.[b]

The cardinal had been sent as legate to Bologna, at the head of the force which was intended to reduce the city after the revolt of 1511; and when the Spanish general Cardona, who commanded the besieging troops, through disregarding his advice, had allowed the French to advance to the relief of the Bolognese, the legate appeared at the battle of Ravenna, where, as we have seen, he was made prisoner.[c]
April 11, 1512.
Aug. 1512.
From this captivity he was able to make his escape;[d] and within a short time he shared in the restoration of his

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[s] P. Jovius, 55; Roscoe, i. 295–9.

[t] Bembus, in Rayn. 1513. 15. The story of Petrucci's conspiracy against Leo (see p. 582) belongs to a time later than that included in this chapter. (See Schröckh, xxxiv. 500; Sism. xi. 101–4; Roscoe, ii. 69, seqq.)

[u] Guicc. 770.

[x] Pp. 515, 560.

[y] Burckhardt in Eccard, ii. 2117; P. Jovius, 23-4.

[z] P. Jov. 21.

[a] Ib. 30; Gregorov, viii. 285.

[b] P. Jov. 20.

[c] Roscoe, i. 253, seqq.

[d] P. Jov. 49-50.

family to Florence[e]—for which he had contributed to pave the way by the attention which he was accustomed to bestow on Florentine visitors during his residence at Rome.[f] Sept. 14, 1512.

As the pope had not yet proceeded beyond the order of deacon, he was ordained as priest on the 15th of March, and as bishop on the 17th, and was hastily enthroned on the 19th in order to avoid interference with the rites of the holy week.[g] But he was not content with this imperfect ceremony, and a more splendid coronation was celebrated at the Lateran on the 11th of April. In the great procession, the gods of Olympus and other heathen elements were mingled, according to the taste of the age; and the pope rode the same Turkish horse which, on the same day of the preceding year, had carried him at the battle of Ravenna.[h] The cost of this second coronation amounted to 100,000 ducats; and such an outlay for such a purpose contrasted strongly with the practice of the late pope, who, while he incurred enormous expenses on account of his wars, had spent very little on display.[i]

Magnificence and expense were characteristic of Leo's court, and in order to find the necessary means he had recourse to the disreputable expedients of promoting cardinals for money, and of creating offices for sale.[k] Even the luxury of his table was extraordinary. He encouraged invention in the culinary art; the flesh of monkeys and crows, and other unusual kinds of food were served up before him by way of experiment; and the discovery of peacock sausages was regarded as the highest triumph of genius in this department.[l] His banquets were enlivened by the brilliant conversation of wits, and by the follies of bad poets, whom he condescended to entertain for the sake of the amusement which their vanity and their absurdities afforded him.[m] The court was a scene of continual diversions, which were not always of the gravest character. The pope's favourite companions were gay, and for the most part highly-born, young cardinals. One of them, Bernard Dovizi,[n] who from his birthplace was called Bibbiena, wrote comedies of a

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[e] Ib. 52; Guicc. 752; Roscoe, i. 284.

[f] Guicc, 665.

[g] Easter-day occurred on the 27th.

[h] Panvin. 370; P. Jovius, 57; Gregorov. viii. 164–170. "Sic enim ipse in eo triumphare voluit, in quo etiam victus fuerat." (P. de Grassis, in Rayn. 1513. 20.)

[i] Guicc. 772; Sism. xi. 6.

[k] Panvin. 373; Gregorov. viii. 221, 224, 261.

[l] P. Jovius, 85. The next pope, Adrian, was astonished by such items in looking over his predecessor's accounts. (Ib. 85) Roscoe ridiculously vindicates Julius as to this (ii, 392).

[m] P. Jov. 84-5; Bayle, art. *Léon X.*, n. F.

[n] P. Jov. 84. This cardinal delighted the pope by his talent for drawing out the absurdities of grave personages. (Ib.)

somewhat free character, which were acted by young performers in the Vatican;[o] and every year a party of comedians, known as the "Academy of the Roughs," was brought from Siena for the diversion of the father of Christendom.[p] Card-playing for heavy stakes was a common sequel of the pope's banquets; and, whether a winner or a loser, he was in the habit of throwing gold pieces among the spectators of the game.[q] He condemned the practice of dice-playing, however, as dangerous to fortune and morals.[r] Painters, sculptors, architects, musicians, and artists of all other kinds, found Leo a munificent patron; nor was literature neglected in the distribution of his favours, although it seems to have received but an inferior share of them. Before leaving the conclave at which he had been elected, he appointed as his private secretaries two elegant scholars, Bembo and Sadoleto, who afterwards became cardinals.[s] He also promoted to the cardinalate some eminent divines, such as Thomas de Vio (known by the name of Cajetan), Sylvester Prierias, and Giles of Viterbo.[t] But the learning which he chiefly favoured was not theological. His own acquirements in theology were confessedly scanty; while, as might have been expected in a pupil of Politian, he delighted in the writings of the Greek and Roman poets. His favourite amusement was hunting, in which he engaged with a zeal regardless of season, of weather, and of unwholesome air; and nothing disturbed his usually placid temper more surely than any breach of the laws of sport.[u]

That Leo had little of piety or devotion in his character appears unquestionable. But his defects as to religion may be described as those of a man of the world, too much addicted to its objects and enjoyments. The charges which have been brought against his morals appear to have been greatly exaggerated and maliciously darkened;[x] and the tales which represent him as an unbeliever in the Christian revelation may be regarded as utterly groundless.[y] Good-natured as Leo usually

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[o] Guicc. 742; Roscoe, i. 326; Reumont, III. ii. 68–70; Burckhardt, 'Cultur,' 126; Dennistoun, ii. 141, seqq.; Gregorov. viii. 349-350.

[p] "Academia de' Rozzi." (Tirab. VII. i. 18.)

[q] P. Jov. 85.

[r] P. Jov. l. c.

[s] P. Jov. 58.

[t] Roscoe, i. 336; Schröckh, xxxii. 497.

[u] P. Jov. 37-8; Roscoe, ii. 393.

[x] See P. Jov. 84; Schröckh, xxxii. 499. Mr. Roscoe, of course, labours to dispel them utterly. (ii. 389.) "Aveva saputo in modo dissimulare, che era tenuto di ottimi costumi." (Vettori in Gregorov. viii. 160.)

[y] The charge rests on a story of his having said to cardinal Bembo, "Quantum nobis nostrisque ea de Christo fabula profuerit, satis est omnibus seculis notum;" and on a passage in which J. F. Picus speaks of a pope as having been an infidel. But the first of these has no better authority than that of

was, he sometimes showed himself stern. He put a distinguished general, Baglioni, to death notwithstanding the intercessions of the Orsini, for acts of tyranny, robbery, and murder; he hanged a doctor of laws for producing forged documents in a suit;[z] and he punished with unsparing severity the conspiracy of Cardinal Petrucci.[a]

Leo was desirous, like his predecessor, to exclude the rule of foreigners from Italy;[b] but his ambition was of a lower kind than that which threw a sort of grandeur over the schemes of Julius, and in some degree covered the unscrupulous nature of the means which he employed.[c] It was not for the church, for the papacy, or for Italy that the Medicean pope laboured, but for his own family.[d] His eagerness to forward the interests of his relations was shown immediately after his election by his appointing his cousin Julian, a knight of Rhodes, and son of the victim of the Pazzian conspiracy,[e] to the archbishoprick of Florence; and to this were soon added the dignity of cardinal and the legation of Bologna.[f] At a later time great troubles arose out of his endeavours to provide a principality for a nephew by uniting Parma and Piacenza with Reggio,[g] and, on the failure of that plan, by bestowing on him the duchy of Ferrara, which was for that purpose to be taken from Alfonso d'Este;[h] and in a lower degree the pope was noted for his partiality for his countrymen in general, so that Rome, to the disgust of its native citizens, swarmed with Florentines who were employed in all sorts of offices and occupations.[i]

Sept. 23, 1513.

Leo had followed Julius in his hostility to France; and he

Bale, bishop of Ossory, who was ready to believe anything against the church of Rome; and as Picus published his book before the election of Leo, the reference must be to Alexander VI. (See Bayle, art. *Léon X.*, n. I.; Schröckh, xxxii. 498; Roscoe, ii. 388, 508; Gieseler, II. iv. 509.) There is also a story told by Luther, that Leo, having heard a dispute on the immortality of the soul, said to the maintainer of the affirmative, "Tu quidem vera videris dicere, sed adversarii tui oratio facit bonum vultum." (In Genes. xix., Opera, vi. 232, Witeberg. 1580.) But Luther cannot well be accepted as an authority in such a case; nor would the story, if true, justify the inference. (See Bayle, l. c.)

[z] P. Jov. 83.

[a] Ib.; Schröckh, xxxii. 499.

[b] Guicc. 777.

[c] Panvin. 368; Sism. xi. 38.

[d] Ib. 39; Reumont, III. ii. 59, seqq.

[e] See Gregorov. viii. 206, seqq.

[f] In the promotion to the archbishoprick, the difficulty of Julius's birth was got over by a dispensation for illegitimacy; but when he was raised to the cardinalate, his mother and other witnesses were produced to swear that his parents had been solemnly engaged to each other ("aveva avuto da lui segreto consentimento d'essere sua moglie." Guicc. 844). And on the strength of this Leo declared Julius to be "legitimum, et ex legitimo matrimonio natum." (Roscoe, i. 326, 485.) It was generally supposed that the pope cared for nothing but his ease, and that all severe measures came from cardinal Julius; but this was a mistake. (Guicc. 1135.)

[g] P. Jov. 61.

[h] Guicc. 734-5.

[i] See Ariosto, Sat. 7, quoted by Roscoe, ii. 119-121; Reumont, III. ii. 72; Gregorov. viii. 220.

was a party to a new league which was concluded against that power at Mechlin, in April, 1513, between the emperor, the king of England, and the king of Spain, although neither the pope nor Ferdinand formally signed it.[k] But the course of events speedily induced him to change his policy. The June 5. French, after some successes in Northern Italy, were defeated at Novara by Swiss troops in the interest of Maximilian Sforza, and were driven back across the Alps, while the fortresses which had been held for them in Italy surrendered;[l] and by the disasters of France the power of Spain became more alarming, as the vast dominions of that country (including its acquisitions in the new world), of Austria, Naples, and the Netherlands, with the dignity of emperor, were likely to be soon united under the young Charles, the grandson of Ferdinand and of Maximilian.[m] The pope, therefore, was disposed to conciliate the French king, who, partly from his own regard for the papacy, and yet more in consequence of his consort's importunities, was ready to abandon the unsuccessful council which he had assembled in opposition to Leo's Dec. 17. predecessor.[n] An agreement was easily concluded; and at the 8th session of the Lateran council it was declared that Louis adhered to that council, and undertook to expel the rival assembly from Lyons or any other place in his dominions, while the pope recalled all the censures which had been uttered against France.[o] The schismatical cardinals Carvajal and San Severino, who had been arrested in Tuscany on their way to the conclave, had at the seventh session petitioned the council for pardon, and, on making their humble submission to the pope, and abjuring the council of Pisa, had a few days later been reinstated in their dignity.[p]

Within three weeks after the reconciliation of France with Jan. 9, 1414. the papacy, Queen Anne of Brittany died; and on the first day of the year 1415, her death was followed by

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[k] Rymer, xiii. 354, seqq. It was in consequence of this that Henry invaded Picardy, while James IV. of Scotland, by advancing into the north of England, as an ally of France, provoked the great disaster of Flodden. (Guicc. 804-5; P. Jov. i. 180-6 (who gives a curious account of the English and Scots); Sism. R. I. xi. 28-9.)

[l] Fr. Carpes. 1291; P. Jov. i. 168, 171; Guicc. 785-6; Sism. R. I. xi. 16-8, 35. Giovio says that before the battle the French dogs went over in a body to the Swiss, "Eorum crura lambere, caudas adulanter quatere, demissisque blande auribus singulis applaudere cœperunt."

[m] Martin, vii. 454.

[n] Guicc. 811; Rayn. 1513, 61; Bayle, art. *Louis XII.*, n. F.

[o] Hard. ix. 1709-12; Rayn. 1513. 61, 85, seqq.; 1514. 6, seqq.; Guicc. 811-2; Giesel. II. iv. 193.

[p] Hard. ix. 1696; Guicc. 771, 790; P. Jov. V. Leonis, 57; Rayn. 1513 11 9.

that of Louis XII., who in the mean time had married a third wife, the young Princess Mary of England.[q] The crown of France descended to Francis, duke of Angoulême, the first prince of the blood, and son-in-law of the late king. At the time of his accession, Francis was only twenty years old. He was possessed of showy qualities, personal and mental, which won for him admiration and popularity; but he was thoroughly selfish and hard-hearted, voluptuous, unsteady, and faithless; and these grave faults were more and more developed with advancing years.[r]

The new king at once signified his intention of prosecuting his predecessor's designs on Italy by assuming the title of Duke of Milan; and in August he crossed the Alps into Lombardy—a country devastated, exhausted, and reduced to misery by the sufferings of years, during which it had been the battle-ground of French and Spanish, German and Venetian, armies.[s] The glory acquired by Gaston de Foix during his brief career stimulated the emulation of the young sovereign.[t] At the battle of Marignano, the greatest action of the age, which the veteran general Trivulzio declared to be a battle of giants, in comparison of which all his former engagements were but as children's play, his desire of glory was gratified by a signal victory Sept. 13.
over the Swiss, who until then had been regarded as invincible;[u] and when the fight was over, he distinguished the "fearless and blameless knight," Bayard, by asking and receiving knighthood at his hands.[x] In consequence of this battle, Maximilian Sforza, who had never been able to gain a firm hold on the Milanese, gave up all pretensions to the duchy of Milan, and withdrew to a life of privacy in France.[y]

After some negotiation[z] Leo sought a conference with Francis, and the two potentates met at Bologna. Dec. 10.
Francis showed the pope all ceremonious marks of reverence by kissing his feet, his hand, and his mouth, holding his train, and serving him at mass.[a] And the result of the con-

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[q] Mém. de Bayart, c. lviii.; Martin, vii. 428–430.

[r] Guicc. 832; P. Jovius, i. 290, 326; Vita Leonis, 65; Rayn. 1515. 22; Martin, vii. 435-6.

[s] Guicc. 589, 832; Sism. xi. 23, 28.

[t] Guicc. 832.

[u] Guicc. 853-5; Fr. Carpesan. 1303; Sism. xi. 60-5; Martin, vii. 447-9. The slain amounted to 18,000 or 20,000, of whom two-thirds were Swiss.

[x] Mém. de Bayart, ii. 103. Since the cessation of the crusades the old religious ceremonies (see vol. ii. p. 518) were omitted in conferring knighthood. (Schmidt, iv. 463)

[y] Guicc. 859; Sism. xi. 68.

[z] See Rayn. 1515, 23, seqq.

[a] P. Jov. i. 326; Vita Leonis, 69; P. de Grassis, in Rayn. 1515. 29, seqq.;

ference was greatly in favour of Leo. He obtained the king's consent to his designs on the duchy of Urbino;[b] he put off his request for investiture in Naples by holding out hopes of the changes which might follow on the expected death of Ferdinand of Spain.[c] But the most important business of the conference related to the Pragmatic Sanction, which for three-quarters of a century had been a subject of contention between France and the papacy.[d] The late pope, at the fourth session of the Lateran council, had cited the king, the princes, the bishops, and the parliaments of France, to show cause why the law should not be abrogated.[e] At the ninth session (May 5, 1514) the procurator of the council reported that the French had not obeyed this summons; but the bishop of Marseilles explained that the prelates of France had been unable to procure a safe-conduct from the Duke of Milan. On this, the Milanese ambassador said that his master had not refused a safe-conduct, but had required time for consideration;[f] and the subject was further discussed at the following session.[g]

Leo now succeeded in arranging with Francis that the sanction should be abolished, and a new concordat should be substituted for it. The blame of this concession was laid by the French on the king's chancellor, Duprat, whom the pope had gained to his interest by the hope of the cardinalate and of other rewards.[h] In return for his concessions the king obtained the dignity of cardinal for Adrian de Boissy, bishop of Coutances and brother of the grand-master of France, with a discharge as to certain moneys which had been collected as if for a crusade, and had been detained by Louis XII.;[i] and in addition to these favours, the pope professed to bestow on him new privileges with regard to ecclesiastical elections.[k]

The terms of the concordat were settled at Bologna in August, 1516,[l] and were ratified by the Lateran council at its eleventh session, on the 19th of December, one bishop only expressing any difference of opinion.[m] Elections in cathedrals and monasteries were abolished, on account of the alleged evil conse-

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Guicc. 862. The papal master of the ceremonies, Paris de Grassis, was in an agony lest Leo should derogate from his dignity by touching his cap, as Alexander VI. had done to Charles VIII. (Rayn. 1515. 30.)

[b] Guicc. 863-4; Rayn. 1516. 81; Ranke, Hist. Ref. i. 81-2.

[c] Sism. xi. 76.

[d] Guicc. 864.

[e] See p. 612; cf. Hard. ix. 1609.

[f] Hard. ix. 1738–42.

[g] Ib. 1782.

[h] Schröckh, xxxii. 506-7; Sism. Hist. d. Fr. xvi. 42.

[i] Rayn. 1515. 35; Giesel. II. iv. 199.

[k] Jervis, Hist. of the Gallican Church, i. 105 (Lond. 1872).

[l] Hard. ix. 1882.

[m] Ib. 1831.

quences.[n] In case of the vacancy of a see, the king was within six months to present to the pope a person not under twenty-seven years of age, and having certain other qualifications. If he should present one not so qualified, he might within a further time of three months present another; and in case of delay, the pope might appoint a bishop, as he was also authorised to do when a vacancy was caused by the death of a prelate at the Roman court. Exceptions were, however, made as to some of the qualifications in the case of persons of royal or high birth, and of friars who by the statutes of their order were unable to take the prescribed degrees.[o] A like rule was established as to monasteries, where the heads were to be chosen from persons of the same order to which the monks belonged, and not under twenty-three years of age.[p] The bull of Boniface VIII. known as *Unam Sanctam*, with the slight modification of it introduced by Clement V., was re-enacted,[q] and the Pragmatic Sanction—which was spoken of as "the Bourges corruption of the kingdom of France"[r]—was abolished. Thus the pope, in order to conciliate the king, had made over to the crown a large part of the privileges which were taken from the French church.[s] The Roman practices of reservation and expectative graces were given up,[t] but the pope found his compensation in the recovery of annates.[u]

The report of the concordat was received in France with general indignation and disgust. The students of the university of Paris broke out into tumult, and dragged about the streets a figure of the chancellor Duprat, whom they regarded as the betrayer of the national church.[x] Preachers loudly denounced from the pulpit the sacrifice of ecclesiastical liberty.[y] When Francis convened at the Palace of Justice a great assembly of the parliament, the bishops, the chapter of the cathedral, and the chief doctors of the university, the concordat and the chancellor's explanations of it, with his statement that it must be regarded as a remedy for worse evils, were

Feb. 5, 1517.

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[n] Tit. 4. [The copy of the concordat as set forth in France (Hard. ix. 1870, seqq.), is most convenient for quoting on account of the division into titles.]

[o] Tit. 5.

[p] Tit. 7.

[q] Hard. ix. 1830. See vol. iii. 534; iv. 45.

[r] "Bituricensem regni Franciæ corruptelam." (Hard. ix. 1827.)

[s] Sism. Hist. d. Fr. xvi. 42, 58; Martin, vii. 459–461.

[t] Tit. 8.

[u] "Quod autem non tam restituantur annatæ in concordatis, quam stetisse semper ponantur, declarato irritas fore provisiones nisi verus valor exprimatur (titt. 18, 39, &c.); id ex eo factum est, quod annatæ nunquam prorsus intermissæ fuissent." (Thomassin, 3. 2. 59. 11.)

[x] Schröckh, xxxii. 512.

[y] Martin, vii. 463.

received with loud cries of disapprobation.[z] When the king sent May 15. forth letters patent, by which the courts were ordered to take the concordat for the basis of their future judgments, the advocate-general, instead of requiring that the concordat and the letters should be registered by the parliament, desired that the Pragmatic Sanction might be maintained, and appealed "against the congregation which claimed the title of Lateran council."[a]

The parliament of Paris blamed the re-imposition of annates as a measure which would beggar the kingdom, and also as March 19, 1518. simoniacal.[b] It appealed "to the pope better advised, and to the first lawfully assembled council;" and in this it was followed by provincial parliaments.[c] The university March 27. of Paris appealed in like manner,[d] and forbade all printers and booksellers to circulate the obnoxious document under pain of being rejected from the academic body.[e]

Francis, in no less indignation, met these demonstrations by threats, and by high-handed measures. He imprisoned some members of the university who had made themselves conspicuous in opposition to the concordat. But the parliament still carried on a long war of formalities, in the hope of delaying, if not of preventing, the enforcement of the new system. Chapters and monastic bodies continued to elect their heads, and the parliaments maintained the men so chosen, to the exclusion of the king's nominees.[f] The courts affected to act and to decide as if the Pragmatic Sanction were still in force, until Francis, in 1527, by transferring the cognisance of ecclesiastical causes from them to the great council of state, procured a reluctant submission to the concordat.[g] The chief remaining trace of the Gallican liberties was to be found in that freer tone of thought by which the French church was until very recent times distinguished from other portions of the Roman communion.[h]

The Lateran council, although more considerable as to numbers than that of Pisa, had never been largely attended,[i] and the greater part of its members (who at the utmost did not

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[z] Richer, l. IV. ii. 31-3; Schröckh, xxxii. 512; Giesel. II. iv. 202-3.

[a] Martin, vii. 462.

[b] Giesel. II. iv. 203. [c] Ib. 204.

[d] Preuves des Lib. de l'Egl. Gall. 314-9; Bal. vi. 87, seqq. In the "Gallic style" the year is 1517. (See Giesel. l. c.)

[e] Schröckh, xxxii. 514; Martin, vii. 463. For the powers exercised over booksellers by the universities of Paris and Bologna, see Hallam, Hist. Lit. i. 345.

[f] Martin, vii. 463. [g] Ib.

[h] Schröckh, xxxii. 541.

[i] There were 83 mitred prelates at the opening. (P. de Grassis, in Rayn. 1512. 41.)

exceed sixteen cardinals and about a hundred bishops and abbots) were Italians or bishops *in partibus*, although there were also representatives of England, Spain, and Hungary.[k] Under Leo, it had become merely an instrument of the papal policy.[l] A few decrees for reform of the curia and other such objects were passed in the later sessions; but they were so limited by exceptions and reservations that little effect was to be expected from them.[m] There was also a project of an alliance between Christian sovereigns against the Turks.[n] There was a condemnation of some sceptical opinions which had been vented as to the eternity of the world and the mortality of the soul;[o] and, in order to check the indulgence in such speculations, it was decreed that no student in any university should spend more than five years in philosophical and poetical studies without also studying theology or canon law, either instead of such subjects or together with them.[p]

The council broke up at its twelfth session, on the 16th of March, 1517, having enabled the pope to triumph over the threatened schism, and to gain a victory over the church of France which placed his authority higher than it had ever stood in that country. On the 31st of October, in the same year, Martin Luther began the great movement against the authority of Rome by publishing his ninety-five propositions at Wittenberg.

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[k] Guicc. 721; Sism. xi. 104.

[l] Schröckh, xxxii. 515.

[m] Hard. ix. 1747–58; Schröckh, xxxii. 516.

[n] Rayn. 1514. 10.

[o] Sess. viii. Hard. 1719-20; Rayn. 1513. 92-3; Bayle, art. *Pomponace*; Giesel. II. iv. 508; Burckhardt, 415.

[p] Hard. ix. 1720 Under the name of poetry was included the study of classical literature in general.

CHAPTER VII.

PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL—MEASURES AGAINST JEWS AND MAHOMEDANS IN SPAIN—WITCHCRAFT—SECTARIES—FORERUNNERS OF THE REFORMATION.

I. CHRISTIANITY was now professed throughout the European countries, although in the Byzantine empire it had been forced to stoop under the ascendancy of the victorious Turks. We also meet with occasional notices of missions to some of the regions which had been the chief scene of such enterprise in the ages immediately preceding—as when Eugenius IV., in 1433, sent a bishop and twenty Franciscans into the countries bordering on the Caspian Sea.[a] But the progress of geographical discovery opened new fields for missionary labour.

Thus the Portuguese, carrying their explorations along the coast of Africa, made settlements in Congo, where A.D. 1484. many of the natives were brought to receive baptism.[b] In 1497, the passage to India round the Cape of Good Hope was discovered by the same nation;[c] and in their intercourse with the East they were brought into acquaintance with the church of Abyssinia, which they supposed to be the country of Prester John,[d] and with that of Malabar, which traced its origin to St. Thomas.[e]

But the discoveries of the Spaniards, which revealed a new world to Europe, were yet more important. Christopher Columbus, himself a Genoese, after fruitless endeavours to recommend to various potentates the project which he had conceived of reaching the Indies by a western course, gained with difficulty the patronage of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. He set sail on his first voyage in August, 1492, and returned in March of the following year,[f] having discovered the West Indian islands; and by him and his successors in adventure, a large portion of the great western continent was explored within the following

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[a] Rayn. 1433. 29.

[b] Rayn. 1491. 6, seqq.; 1504. 41; 1510. 37; Schröckh, xxx. 501, seqq.

[c] Purchas, book ii. p. 26.

[d] See Vol. III. 142.

[e] See Vol. I. 3; Rayn. 1501. 90; 1502. 3; 1504. 45-6; Hardwick, 337.

years.[f] The newly-formed territories, according to a principle which the popes had succeeded in establishing,[g] were supposed to belong to the apostolic see; and Alexander VI. was requested to decide between the claims of the two neighbouring nations which had been foremost in the work of discovery. In May, 1493, Alexander VI. issued a bull, by which the boundary line was fixed at 100 leagues west of the Cape de Verde islands and of the Azores, all new discoveries within this line being assigned to Portugal, while all beyond it were to belong to Spain.[h] But the Portuguese were dissatisfied with the award; and in the following year the Spaniards and the pope consented that the boundary should be drawn 370 leagues westward of the Azores.[i]

In dealing with such questions, the pope inculcated on the discoverers the duty of spreading the Gospel in the countries which had come under their dominion;[k] and some missions to the natives were very early set on foot. But it would be of little use to enter on any account of these missions, when all but the very beginning of their work belongs to a later period of history.

II. While it was desired and intended that the knowledge of the Christian faith should be propagated by peaceful and gentle means among the heathens of the newly discovered countries, measures of a very different kind were employed in order to force it on the Jews and the Mahometans of Spain. For this purpose the Inquisition, which during the schism of the papacy seemed to have been dormant,[l] was now revived in that country, with new circumstances of iniquity and cruelty, which have made the Spanish Inquisition an object of especially profound and deserved abhorrence.

The union of Aragon and Castille under Ferdinand and Isabella suggested the idea of establishing entire unity of religion among their subjects; and, while with Ferdinand religion was commonly little better than a pretext for a selfish and treacherous secular policy, the mind of his more estimable consort was much under the influence of the clergy.[m] Thomas de Tor-

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[f] W. Irving, 'Life of Columbus;' 'Companions of Columbus;' Prescott, ii. 119, 147. (See Guicciardini, 407-9; Allegr. Allegretti, in Murat. xxiii. 827.)

[g] See Vol. III. 154. Purchas's remarks on this bull are characteristic. ('Pilgrims,' Book II. c. i. § 6,)

[h] Rayn. 1493. 27; Mariana, ii. 606; Prescott, ii. 158.

[i] Mariana, ii. 607; Prescott, ii. 165.

[k] *E.g.* Rayn. 1493. 22; see Prescott, ii. 156.

[l] Giesel. II. iv. 377.

[m] Prescott, i. 316-7.

quemada, who had acquired a power over her by having been her confessor in early life, is said to have exacted a promise that, if she should inherit the crown, she would devote herself to the extirpation of heresy, for the glory of God.[n] The earnestness with which Torquemada and others now urged the fulfilment of this promise overpowered the queen's natural tenderness, and she was reluctantly persuaded to request of Sixtus IV. that an inquisition might be established in Castille.[o] On All Saints' Day, 1478, the pope issued a bull for this purpose.[p] The new inquisition was distinguished by its peculiar connexion with the State; the members of the tribunal were to be appointed by the sovereigns, and might be dismissed by them; and the property of the victims was to be confiscated to the crown.[q] The bishops had no share in the management of the inquisition, but were themselves subject to the action of this new and irresponsible power.[r] Even the papacy, after a time, found itself unable to cope with the inquisitors on their own ground.[s]

The inquisition lost no time in setting about its work. On the 6th of January, 1481, six victims were committed to the flames at Seville; within the following ten months 298 were burnt in that city alone; and during the year 1481 the number of those who were burnt alive in Spain amounted to 2000, while many more, who had made their escape, were burnt in effigy, and 17,000 were subjected to confiscation, civil disabilities or imprisonment for life.[t]

In 1483, the organization of the tribunal was completed by the appointment of Torquemada as chief inquisitor for Castille and Aragon, and he was confirmed in his office by Innocent VIII. in 1486.[u]

In Aragon an inquisition had existed from the pontificate of Gregory IX., who had established it for the suppression of the Albigensian doctrines; but it had latterly differed little from an ordinary ecclesiastical court.[x] The new institution, however, speedily gave signs of activity. It surrounded itself with a

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[n] Prescott, i. 317-8.

[o] Llorente, 'Hist. de l'Inquisition d'Espagne,' ed. 2, Paris, 1818, t. i. 145.

[p] Ib. 145.

[q] Limborch, 78-9; Giesel. II. iv. 378.

[r] Mariana, ii. 525; Llorente, i. 264, seqq. Thus Talavera, the first archbishop of Granada, for having attempted to counterwork the inquisition, was brought before it in 1504, and was delivered only through the pope's interference. (Ib. 311, &c.; Giesel. II. iv. 380.)

[s] Giesel. l. c.

[t] Mariana, ii. 527; Llorente, i. 160; cf. 272, seqq.; Prescott, i. 322-3. Mariana, however, does not seem to make this the work of one year.

[u] Llorente, i. 172; Schröckh, xxxiv 478-9; Giesel. II. iv. 388.

[x] Mariana, l. xxiv. 17; Llorente, i. 3; Prescott, i. 303-5; ii. 6.

host of "familiars"—spies, and ministers of its tyranny;[y] indeed the machinery was so extensive that the cost of it almost absorbed all the funds which were obtained by confiscations and fines.[z]

Every year in the beginning of Lent, the clergy were required to declare from the pulpit the duty of informing against any who might be suspected of religious error—even the nearest relations; and the information thus obtained by secret, and often anonymous, accusations, was used against the persons denounced, with more than all the injustice which had marked the proceedings of the inquisition in other countries and in its earlier stages.[a] No opportunity of fair defence was allowed; and torture was employed to wring out confessions.[b]

In Aragon, a country which had enjoyed much of liberty, and where many of the chief families, from intermarriage with persons of Jewish descent, were likely to fall under the suspicion of the new tribunal,[c] a spirit of indignation was aroused. The Cortes remonstrated against the inquisition, both at the Spanish court and at Rome; they protested that the practice of confiscation, and the denial of a fair and open trial, were violations of their hereditary privileges.[d] The chief inquisitor of the province, Peter Arbues, was mortally wounded while attending a midnight office in the cathedral of Saragossa;[e] Sept. 15, 1485. and it was found that the assassins had been hired by the contributions of many nobles and of many converts from Judaism.[f] The crime was immediately punished;[g] but there were serious tumults throughout the kingdom.[h] The Cortes renewed their remonstrances from time to time against the horrible tyranny which had been imposed on their country.[i]

Torquemada himself lived in constant fear of a violent end. It is said that he endeavoured to fortify himself against poison

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[y] Giesel. II. iv. 378.

[z] Llorente, i. 217, seqq.; Prescott, i. 335. The rest is said to have been scrupulously appropriated to the Moorish wars, or other pious purposes. (Ib.)

[a] See vol. iii. pp. 437-8.

[b] Schröckh, xxxiv. 480; Prescott, i. 325.

[c] Llorente, i. 140.

[d] Schröckh, xxxiv. 482-3; Llorente, i. 185. Rinaldi maintains the cause of the inquisition (1485. 21).

[e] Rayn. 1488. 22. He died two days later, Acta SS. Sept. 17, 734, 754; Llorente, i. 189, 191. This murder has been spoken of as a parallel to that of Becket, but the points of difference are more than those of likeness. Here, as in Becket's case, there is an alteration of the place, in order to heighten the profanity of the act, the "ante chorum" of one account becoming in others "ante altare majus," "ante altare majus et sanctissimum sacramentum, a latere epistolae." (Acta SS. 731, 751.)

[f] Llorente, l. c.; Prescott, ii. 8. Arbues was beatified by Alexander VII. in 1664. (Acta SS., l. c. 749.)

[g] Llorente, i. 204, seqq.

[h] Ib. 211-3.

[i] Giesel. II. iv. 379.

by having always on his table a horn, which was supposed to be that of an unicorn, and to be an infallible test of its presence;[k] and he never stirred abroad without a strong body-guard.[l] He was thrice obliged to send his colleague Badaja to defend him at Rome, where charges had been preferred against him;[m] and in 1494 Alexander VI. appointed four bishops to be his coadjutors, under the pretext that his age required assistance, but in reality to mitigate his severity.[n] The Roman court, in its eagerness to get money by all means, attempted to sell exemptions from the authority of the inquisition and pardons for offences condemned by it; but the tribunal was too strong, and Alexander was obliged to give up this source of gain.[o]

The first objects of the inquisition's zeal were the Jews, who in Spain had advanced more than in any other country as to wealth, culture, and general prosperity.[p] Many of them from time to time had professed Christianity; many noble houses had sought to improve their fortunes by alliances with these "new Christians;" and not a few of them had attained high dignities, as well in the hierarchy as in the state.[q] The inquisition now set itself to search out any symptoms of Judaism among the descendants of converts, and to punish it with unsparing severity, as a relapse. The old stories of outrages against the holy eucharist, of stealing and crucifying Christian children, were revived against the Jews, and a more general measure for the suppression of Judaism in Spain was designed. The unfortunate people endeavoured to avert this by offering largely towards the expenses of the Moorish war; but Torquemada burst into the royal council, holding the crucifix in his hands, and told the sovereigns that to accept such an offer would be like the bargain of Judas, who sold his master; and dashing the crucifix on the floor, he indignantly departed.[r] After the capture of Granada, Ferdinand and Isabella issued from that city an order that all Jews should before the end of July either submit to baptism or go into exile. They were allowed to sell
March 30, their property, and to carry away the value of it in
1492. bills of exchange, but were forbidden to take with them gold, silver, or precious stones.[s]

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[k] P. Giovio says that unicorns "in regno Gogiano" shed their horns. "Hoc cornu regiis impositum mensis, toxica, si qua sint epulis indita, emisso statim admirabili sudore convivis prodere narrant" (i. 327). See Sir T. Browne on Vulgar Errors, b. iii. c 23.

[l] Llorente, i. 285.

[m] Ib.

[n] Ib. 285-6.

[o] Llorente, i. 247-8; Giesel. II. iv. 381.

[p] Prescott, i. 306.

[q] Prescott, i. 312. See above, p. 452, n. q.

[r] Llorente, i. 258-60.

[s] Mariana, ii. 602; Prescott, ii. 126-7.

The Jews disposed of their possessions at a grievous loss, and at the appointed time they left the land which for many generations had sheltered their forefathers.[t] The greater part sought a refuge in Portugal, where king John II. was willing to admit them on payment of a tax for each person; but his successor, Emanuel, pledged himself, as a condition of marrying a Spanish princess, to imitate the policy of Ferdinand and Isabella by requiring the fugitives to choose between baptism and exile.[u] Those who refused to be baptized were shipped off to Africa, where they suffered extreme miseries. Many died of hardship or of ill-usage; some struggled to a Spanish settlement, where they made profession of Christianity, in the hope of being allowed to return to Spain.[x] Of those who sought a refuge elsewhere, some repaired to Rome, to appeal to Alexander VI. against an intolerance of which the popes themselves had given no example; and Ferdinand remonstrated with Alexander for having (for the sake of money as it appears)[y] allowed them to pitch their tents on the Appian way, near the tomb of Cecilia Metella.[z]

III. At the conquest of Granada, the Catholic sovereigns had promised to the Moors by treaty the free exercise of their religion, with other privileges which might mitigate the loss of their independence. But in this case, too, it was regarded as a duty to establish unity of religion. Francis de Talavera, the first archbishop of Granada, wished to pave the way for the acceptance of the Christian faith by means of conviction; and with this view he himself, although no longer young, undertook to learn the language of the Moors; he encouraged his clergy to do the like, and promoted the compilation of vocabularies, and the translation of some parts of Scripture into Arabic.[a]

But a different course was taken by the most prominent ecclesiastic of the Spanish church in that age, Francis Ximenes de Cisneros. Ximenes, who was born in 1436, had in earlier life

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[t] Mariana, ii. 603; Prescott, ii. 129-31. The number of those expelled is variously reckoned from 160,000 to 800,000. Dean Milman is inclined to adopt the estimate of Abarbanel, himself one of the sufferers,—300,000. (Hist. of the Jews. iii. 309, ed. 1863.)

[u] Mariana, ii. 630; Prescott, ii. 131, 329.

[x] Schröckh, xxx. 561; Maclear, 'Missions in the Middle Ages,' 386-7.

[y] Panvin. 361.

[z] Infessura, 2012-3. In 1487 Innocent VIII. had issued a bull against *Marrani* [the name given to Jewish converts] who had repaired to Rome, and there had been employed as clerks to protonotaries, &c. (Ib. 1979.)

[a] Schröckh, xxx. 519; Prescott, ii. 374-5.

given many proofs of a resolute character and of a burning ecclesiastical zeal. After having spent six years in study at Rome, he had obtained from the pope a presentation to an "expected" chaplaincy at Toledo. The archbishop, Carillo, to whom the patronage ordinarily belonged, regarding this as an invasion of his rights, endeavoured to make him relinquish it, and on his refusal committed him to prison; but, as Ximenes at the end of six years showed no disposition to yield, the archbishop set him at liberty.[b] Ximenes then removed into the diocese of Siguenza, where, under the bishop, Mendoza, he was speedily promoted, and appeared to have a prosperous career before him, when he suddenly resigned his preferments and entered the Franciscan order, changing his name, Gonsalvo, for that of the founder.[c] He plunged into a course of the severest austerities, and after a time withdrew to a remote and lonely chestnut forest, where he built himself a little hut with his own hands.[d] From this retreat he was drawn forth by his monastic superiors; and in 1492, through the recommendation of his old patron, Mendoza, then archbishop of Toledo, he was appointed confessor to the queen.[e] The reluctance with which he accepted this office appears to have been sincere, and he was yet more unwilling to accept the archbishoprick of Toledo after the death of Mendoza, in 1495.[f] The large revenues of his office[g] were spent on ecclesiastical and charitable objects; he even undertook at his own expense a crusade in Africa; while his own habits were of the most rigidly simple kind.[h] As provincial of his order in Castille, he had carried out a reform of the Franciscan convents, where discipline was greatly decayed; and under the authority of papal privileges he had extended his reforms, with characteristic resolution, to other monastic orders and to the secular clergy.[i]

Arriving at Granada in 1499, while the king and queen were visiting that city, Ximenes vehemently urged on them the duty of extirpating the Mahometan religion from their dominions.[j] The capitulations he set aside with scorn, as a compromise with evil which could have no validity. While Talavera was for

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[b] Alf. Gomecius, in Hispania Illustrata, i. 33. There is a Life of Ximenes, by Fléchier, bishop of Nismes (Œuvres, t. vii. ed. Paris, 1827), and one by Bp. Hefele. Fléchier's book (which I have read) gives no authorities. (See also Herzog, s. v.)

[c] Gomecius, 931, 934.

[d] Ib.; Prescott, ii. 319.

[e] Gom. 935.

[f] Ib. 941; Prescott, ii. 356–8.

[g] These at the beginning of the 16th century, amounted to 80,000 ducats, equal to nearly 150,000*l.* at the present day. (Prescott, ii. 355.)

[h] Ib. 360.

[i] Gom. 937, &c.; Prescott, ii. 352–4.

[j] See Rayn. 1499. 2, seqq.

awaiting the results of instruction, Ximenes held that baptism should be administered at once, on the ground that, if the profession of Christianity were insincere on the part of the recipient, it would become real in the next generation.[k] He was willing that there should be catechisms and popular elementary books in the vernacular tongue, but held that, until converts should have been brought by these to a love of the Gospel, they were not fit to receive the Scriptures, but were likely rather to dishonour them; nor would he allow the Scriptures to be in any other tongue than those of the originals and of the Vulgate.[l] He entered into conferences with Moorish doctors, and discoursed with fiery vehemence on the doctrines of the faith.[m] He even burdened his see in order to find the means of bribing the Moors to embrace the Gospel, and his zeal is said to have been rewarded by vast numbers of conversions, so that in a single day he baptized more than 3000 proselytes by aspersion.[n] Where the milder methods of persuasion were ineffectual, he did not scruple to make use of chains and other forcible means.[o] Although he was noted for his munificent patronage of learning, his religious intolerance led him to order the destruction of all Arabic books except such as related to medical science; and it is said that 80,000 volumes—among them 5000 copies of the Koran, of which many were adorned with splendid illuminations and with precious ornaments—were committed to the flames.[p] The exasperated people of Granada broke out into insurrection and besieged the primate in the archiepiscopal palace, and after having been rescued, chiefly through the mediation of Talavera, he repaired to the court at Seville, and pressed on Ferdinand and Isabella the necessity of dealing with the Mahometans as they had dealt with the Jews.[q]

On the 12th of February, 1502, a decree was published by which all male Moors above fourteen years of age, and all females above twelve, were required either to receive baptism or to leave the kingdom before the end of April. Like the Jews, they were forbidden to carry with them gold, silver, or jewels, and they were charged not to betake themselves to the dominions of the Grand Turk, or of any enemy of Spain.[r]

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[k] Gom. 960; Mariana, ii. 658; see Peter Martyr, quoted by Schröckh, xxx. 515; Prescott, ii. 391.

[l] Gom. 900.

[m] Ib. 958; Prescott, ii. 378-9.

[n] Gom. 958; Prescott, ii. 378-9. Rinaldi speaks of 50,000 peasants as converted in a mass. (1500. 34.)

[o] Gom. 958.

[p] Ib. 958; Prescott, ii. 382.

[q] Gom. 960; Prescott, ii. 381–7.

[r] Ib. ii. 413; Maclear, 393.

In consequence of this edict multitudes left the country. Some were imprisoned, and children under the ages named were forcibly torn from their parents. But many submitted to baptism and remained; and these new Christians, whose profession was justly suspected, were watched by all men with jealousy, and continually furnished victims for the tyranny of the inquisition.[s]

IV. As in former times,[t] the inquisition concerned itself not only with heresy, but with witchcraft—a thing which Gratian, in his 'Decretum,' had spoken of as a pagan delusion,[u] but which had come to be more and more a matter of popular belief.[x] Witchcraft was regarded as more detestable than heresy, because, in addition to impiety, it included malignity and mischief to men; and for the same reason, as being a civil offence, it was liable to prosecution by the secular magistrates, as well as by the clergy.[y] Many cases of such prosecution are found in Italy,[z] Germany, France, and other countries; but the most remarkable was that which occurred at Arras in 1459.[a] The first person who was brought to trial was a woman of disreputable life;[b] but gradually the victims were taken from higher and higher stations, and with an evident view to their wealth.[c] The offence imputed to them was that of "Vauderie;" yet, although this word appeared to connect them with the Waldensian sectaries, the charges and the evidence seem to relate wholly to the practice of sorcery; indeed, their story is a proof how readily the imputation of heresy might run into the yet more odious suspicion of witchcraft.[d] Some of the accused, on being put to the torture, confessed monstrous things—that

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[s] Mariana, ii. 660; Prescott, i. 301.

[t] See p. 316.

[u] Causa XXVI. v. c. 12. For this he professes to quote "Concilium Anquirense," but the words cannot be traced to the Council of Ancyra, or to any other authority. The maintainers of the reality of witchcraft at a later time, said that the contrary opinion was only on the *bark* of the canon quoted by Gratian. (See Giesel. II. iv. 387). On the various kinds of magic, see Trithem. in Eccard. ii. 1829, seqq., where he vindicates himself from charges of such practices.

[x] See *e.g.* Rayn. 1437. 27; 1445. 27; 1457. 90. In 1166, the university of Paris condemned books of magic composed by one Master Arnold Desmarets, which a committee had reported to contain "multas superstitiones, multas conjurationes et dæmonum invocationes manifestas et horribiles, multas insuper latentes hæreses, et idololatrias manifestas." (Argentré, i. 256.)

[y] Giesel. II. iv. 382-3, 388.

[z] Rayn. 1501. 43; Burckhardt, 429.

[a] J. de Clercq, in Petitot, xi. 62, seqq., or in Monstrel. ed. Buchon, t. xiv.; M. de Coussy in Monstrel. xi. 358, seqq.

[b] "De folle vie."

[c] J. de Clercq, in Petitot, 73.

[d] Giesel. II. iv. 388. C. Zantfliet says "A vulgaribus nuncupantur Waldenses." (Mart. Coll. Ampl. V. 501.) Rinaldi speaks of them as *called* Waldenses (1459. 86). Gaguin, after stating that a doctor of Paris was condemned

they had been conveyed by the devil to the meetings of the party, riding through the air on an anointed stick, and that at those meetings they had practised obscene, revolting, and absurd rites and abominations. On these avowals they were condemned, and were made over to the secular arm; whereupon they burst out into loud complaints against their counsel for having led them to suppose that, by confessing whatever might be laid to their charge, they might save their lives; and they steadfastly declared their confessions to be entirely false.[e] It was in vain that Giles Carlier, dean of Cambray, endeavoured to bring them off with a slight penance;[f] the bishop of Berytus, who was suffragan of Arras and had been a papal penitentiary, urged on the trial with rigour.[g] Many were put to death by fire; some were sentenced to imprisonment for life, or to the payment of heavy fines.[h]

The excitement produced by these trials was immense, and general suspicion reigned throughout the north of France.[i] But some of those whom the inquisitors had ventured to accuse appealed to the parliament of Paris, which in 1461 put a stop to the processes as groundless. It was not, however, until thirty years later, when Artois had reverted to the French crown, that the parliament of Paris gave its final decision, by which the processes were declared to be abusive and null,[k] and the heirs of the duke of Burgundy, and of the chief persons concerned in them, were condemned to make reparation to the representatives of the sufferers. The use of torture in such cases was forbidden, and in consequence of the indignation excited by the Arras trials, the inquisition disappeared in France.[l]

A.D. 1491.

In 1484 Innocent VIII. addressed a letter to the Germans, in which he set forth the rifeness of magical practices, and the manifold dangers with which society was threatened by them.[m] In

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to perpetual imprisonment for travelling through the air on a broomstick, adds "quod impietatis genus *Waldensium* esse dicitur." (Argentré, i. 252.)

[e] J. de Clercq, 70–3.

[f] Carlier is described by J. de Clercq, as "ung des notables clerqs quy fut en Chrétienneté." He has been already mentioned as a disputant at the council of Basel, p. 414.

[g] J. de Clercq, 66.

[h] Ib. 76.

[i] Ib.

[k] "Abusifs, nuls, faits faussement, et autrement qu'à point." (Sism. Hist. Fr. xiv. 623.)

[l] Ib.; Martin, vi. 518-9.

[m] Rayn. 1484. 74. See Schröckh, xxx. 474; Giesel. II. iv. 383. "Complures utriusque sexus personæ . . . mulierum partus, animalium fœtus, terræ fruges, vinearum uvas et arborum fructus, necnon homines, mulieres, pecora, pecudes, et alia diversorum generum animalia, vineas quoque, pomaria, prata, pascua, blada, frumenta et alia terræ legumina perire, suffocari et extingui facere et procurare, ipsosque homines . . . et animalia diris tam intrinsecus quam extrinsecus doloribus et

order to check these evils he appointed two Dominicans, James Sprenger and Henry Krämer (Institor), inquisitors for Germany, and invested them with powers which trenched on the province of the secular magistracy. These learned personages, by way of warning, published at Cologne, in 1489, a book, entitled 'The Hammer of Witches,' which is a strange compendium of the superstitions of the age.[n] From this time prosecutions for witchcraft became more frequent than before; and, after the pope's formal acknowledgment of the reality of the crime, any doubt as to its existence was regarded as impious.[o] The fifth Lateran council forbade all magical practices, whether by clergy or by laity, under severe penalties.[p]

V. During this time we often meet with notices which show that opinions, which had been the cause of serious commotions in earlier ages, continued to exist, although more obscurely than before. Thus, about the middle of the fifteenth century, we find mention of Manichæans or Cathari in Bosnia, where the king's father-in-law and many other persons of high station were among the followers of the heresy.[q] The eloquence of John of Capistrano is said to have converted multitudes from this form of error in Transylvania and the Danubian countries,—among them the chief of the sect, whom he baptized.[r] We read of Fraticelli "of the opinion," as they are sometimes styled, who lurked about Italy,[s] and even of attempts to spread the doctrines of the party in Ireland.[t] We find Turlupins put to death at Lille in 1465, and, while the charges against them are mostly of the usual kind, one article relates to a denial of the Holy Ghost.[u] The Waldenses in the valleys of Dauphiny and Northern Italy attract from time to time the notice of the ecclesiastical authorities;[x] and the same party appears in Bohemia

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tormentis afficere et excruciare, ac eosdem homines ne gignere, et mulieres ne concipere, valeant, impedire . . . instigante humani generis inimico committere et perpetrare non verentur."

[n] See Gieseler, II. iv. 388; Quet. and Echard, i. 896-7. It has been often reprinted, as at Lyons (with other books of the same kind), 4to. 1669. The gender of the second word in the title, "Malleus Maleficarum,' is accounted for by the circumstance that by far the greater number of persons given to magical arts were women. The reasons of this are discussed in Pt. I. c. vi. Perhaps one specimen may be enough, "Dicitur *Fœmina* a *Fe* et *minus*, quia semper minorem habet et servat fidem." (p. 43.)

[o] Schröckh, xxx. 477, 480-3; Giesel. II. iv. 385; Janus, 271.

[p] Hard. ix. 1757.

[q] Rayn. 1449. 9; 1460. 91; Æn. Sylv. Comment. 227.

[r] Rayn. 1455. 56.

[s] Rayn. 1418. 11; 1421. 5; 1426. 18; 1428. 6; 1433. ult.; 1438. 24; 1447. 23, &c.; Infessura, 1893.

[t] Wood, Hist. Oxf. i. 698 (A.D. 1482).

[u] J. de Clercq, in Monstrel. ed. Buchon, xv. 88.

[x] Martene, Coll. Ampl. iv. 1510; vii. 255, 326-7; Schröckh, xxxiv. 488-9.

as connected with the Hussites.[y] Prophecies continued to be circulated and to affect the minds of men. Strange preachers appeared,[z] with apocalyptic oracles and predictions of Antichrist, whom some of them declared to be already born; and not uncommonly such preachers, after a short career of success, ended their lives at the stake. Some taught that all things were common—that the married state was unlawful and inconsistent with salvation,[a] or other such fantastical and mischievous notions. And sometimes a great excitement was produced by the appearance of a brilliant and mysterious adventurer, whose variety of learning and accomplishments seemed inconsistent with his years, and suggested the suspicion that he might be no other than the very Antichrist himself.[b]

VI. In England, during the earlier part of the fifteenth century, charges of Lollardism frequently occur, and the persons accused of this offence are usually treated without mercy.[c] This severity may have arisen in part from the fact that the dangerous political elements of Lollardism became more and more conspicuous; that members of the party advocated community of goods, that they were busy in agitating against taxation, and vented doctrines hostile to all civil government.[d]

A general decay of discipline at this time pervaded the English church.[e] The bishops were commonly unpopular, and there was

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[y] Rayn. 1498. 25, seqq.

[z] *E. g.* Antonin. 493-4, 519; Infess. 2000; Annal. Placent. in Mur. xx. 878.

[a] Rayn. 1459. 30-1; Nauclerus, 1099; Argentré, i. 253.

[b] One such Crichton-Cagliostro is mentioned as having been at Paris in 1445. "Vraiment," says the 'Bourgeois de Paris,' "se ung homme povoit vivre cent ans sans boire, sans manger, et sans dormir, il ne auroit pas ces sciences qu'il scet touttes par cueur apprinses." (Monstrel. x. 537; cf. M. de Coussy, ib. 60–2.) Another was at Lyons in 1501. (Trithem. Chron. Sponh. 414.)

[c] See Wilkins, iii. 404, 434, 438, 488, 493, 498, 501, 515-7, &c.; Fox's 'Acts and Monuments;' English Chron. ed. Davies (Camd. Soc.), 56, 88, &c.; Pauli, v. 446. See Mr. Riley's introduction to J. de Amundesham. (Chron. and Mem.)

[d] Pauli, v. 297; Hook. v. 83. See *e. g.* the case of Ralph Mungyn, in Wilkins, iii. 501-2.

[e] Collier, iii. 390, from the contemporary Gascoigne, Chancellor of the University of Oxford. On the same authority Antony a' Wood mentions the appointment of a lad of 18—who had been "companion, or rather fool, when a child, to a very great person of the royal blood"—to the archdeaconry of Oxford (then in the diocese of Lincoln), with "two rich rectories and twelve prebendships, the profits of which a certain secular or esquire received, and allowed the archdeacon what he pleased." The archdeacon "was not only a natural, but also a sot. He would be also drunk every day. He could understand little or no Latin, no more than a parrot that is taught. He enjoyed the said preferments almost 20 years, in all which time he was not made priest, neither judged fit to be one, having a papal dispensation for non-residence." (Hist. Oxf. i. 602-3.) This was probably Fulke Bermingham, who was appointed in 1444, and resigned in 1467, according to Le Neve, ed. Hardy, ii. 66.

much outcry against them for their neglect of the duties of preaching and residence.[f] Against such complaints their cause was A.D. 1447. strenuously maintained by Reginald Pecock, bishop of St. Asaph, in a sermon at St. Paul's Cross,[g] and afterwards in a long and elaborate treatise, entitled 'The Repressor of over-much Wyting [Blaming] of the Clergy.'[h]

Pecock was probably a native of the diocese of St. David's, and is supposed to have been born about the end of the fourteenth century.[i] He studied at Oxford, where he became a fellow of Oriel College, and in 1444 he was promoted to the bishoprick of St. Asaph.[k] The merit of his honesty of intention was somewhat marred by vanity and self-confidence, and by a tendency to a style of argument rather subtle than solid;[l] and these defects appeared in his sermon at St. Paul's Cross and in the 'Repressor.' He maintained that bishops, as such, are not bound to preach,[m] and that for reasonable causes they may be non-resident.[n] He asserted that the pope, as successor of St. Peter, was head of the church.[o] He held that the pope was the universal pastor, and was entitled to the whole revenues of the church, so that the sums paid by bishops by way of first-fruits and the like, were merely a restoration in part of that which was his own—like the payments made by a steward to his lord.[p] He not only maintained the episcopal order and vindicated the right of church property against the attacks of the Wycliffites,[q] but defended images and relics (in behalf of which he alleged stories of miracles performed by them),[r] pilgrimages,[s]

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[f] Lewis, 8-9; Babington, Introd. to the 'Repressor,' xiv.; Pecock, Repr. 618.

[g] Gascoigne, in Hemingford, ed. Hearne, 516. Pecock professes to defend the clergy against popular blame in eleven "gouvernauncis." See his seven propositions in Lewis, 13-4.

[h] This had been admirably edited by Professor Churchhill Babington in the 'Chron. and Mem. of Great Britain.' The other chief authorities as to Pecock are the extracts from Gascoigne published by Hearne with Hemingford's Chronicle; Whethamstede, ibid. (and lately in Chron. and Mem.); the Life by Lewis (reprinted, Oxford, 1820), and Waterland's letters to Lewis (Works, vol. vi. ed. 1843).

[i] Lewis, 1-2. See Babington, x.-xi.

[k] There was an irregularity about his taking the doctor's degree. (Gasc. in Hearne, 516, 548; Babington. xii. xiii.; Wood, i. 605-6.)

[l] Waterland, vi. 253; Babington, xiv. xv. One of his peculiarities was a fondness for commending his own books, *e.g.* Repr. 47-8, 58, 128. For this his adversary Bury reproves him. (Ib. Append. 594, 605.)

[m] One of his chaplains, however, explained to Gascoigne that bishops *are* bound to preach, *i.e.* to teach publicly the truths of the Gospel, but are not bound to preach in the form then usual with text, divisions, &c. (Gasc. 520-1.)

[n] Append. 616-7.

[o] Repr. 436, seqq.

[p] Gasc. 528-9; Babingt. xvi.; Hook. v. 181.

[q] Repr. 275, 415-6.

[r] Ib. 136, 175, 183, 185, seqq., 222.

[s] Ib. 175, 255.

the monastic system,[t] the splendour of conventual buildings,[u] the adoration of the cross,[x] and many questionable ceremonies of the church.[y] The excitement produced by his sermon was very great;[z] instead of quelling the popular odium of bishops, it further exasperated it.[a] And in addition to this, he was charged by adversaries of a different kind with setting reason above Holy Scripture, with treating in English subjects too deep for the understanding of the multitude, and with disrespect to fathers, councils, and the authority of the church.[b]

Notwithstanding these circumstances, Pecock was translated, in 1450, to the see of Chichester, which had become vacant through the murder of the late bishop.[c] For this promotion he was indebted to the Duke of Suffolk and to Queen Margaret's confessor, the bishop of Norwich; but, when Suffolk had been overthrown, Pecock was left without powerful protectors. When in October, 1457, he appeared at the king's council, with many spiritual and temporal lords, there was an outburst of indignation against him, as having vented novel doctrines, and even as having incited the people to insurrection; and he was compelled to leave the assembly.[d] His books—of which he declared that he would be answerable for such only as he had set forth within the last three years—were, by order of the archbishop, Bourchier, committed for examination to twenty-four doctors.[e] Their report was that his writings contained many errors and heresies, and, after several

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[t] Among his characteristics is to be noted a fondness for illustrations drawn from common life. Thus, he meets the objection to the number and diversity of monastic orders by asking, "Why in a toun which is a thoroughfare toward London ben so many ostries for to lodge guestis, though in fewer of hem all guestis mighten be lodged?" The answer is that variety is attractive. "For why, what point in chambering, stabling, gardens, beds, services of the ostiler (and so in other things), pleaseth one guest, pleaseth not another; and what point in these thingis offendeth one, pleaseth well another; and therefore where that the more such diversity is to be had and found, the more stirring thereby is had to please many guestis; and thereby followingly the mo guestis wollen have will for to lodge them in thilk toun, more than if there were fewer diversities, which should needs be in fewer inns." (Repr. 521-2.)

[u] Ib. 476.

[x] Ib. 199, 267, seqq.

[y] Ib. 561, seqq.; Waterl. vi. 281, seqq.

[z] Append. to Repr. 61–5.

[a] Gasc. 511-2, 514; Babington, xvii. Collier, however, seems to have mistaken Gascoigne's meaning in tracing the murders of the bishops of Chichester and Salisbury to Pecock's treatment of the bishops. (iii. 392.) See Gasc. 512, 532–4, 536; Godwin, 350, 510; Lewis, 135–7.

[b] Gasc. 545, 547; Lewis, 157; Collier, iii. 390; Babingt. xviii. xix. xxxix. li. As to the books written against him, see Babingt. 567, seqq.; Lewis, 142.

[c] Adam Moleyns. His murder was attributed to the Yorkist party. (See Hook. v. 161; Babingt. xxxii.)

[d] Gasc. 542-3; Lewis, 132; Babingt. xxxvi.-ii. Lewis thinks (116) that Pecock had offended by the freedom with which he had spoken of the late French war, and by expressing a wish that the like pains were taken for the suppression of Lollardism. (Repr. 90.)

[e] Gasc. 545.

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examinations, the archbishop desired him to choose between retractation and delivery to the secular arm, "as the food of fire, and fuel for the burning." Utterly unmanned by terror, Pecock submitted to make an abjuration, which he publicly performed at St. Paul's Cross—the same place in which his obnoxious sermon had been preached—on the second Sunday in Advent, in the presence of the primate, three bishops, and 20,000 people; with his own hands he delivered his censured books to be thrown into the flames; and it was believed that if the multitude could have laid hands on him he would have shared the fate of his writings.[f] "He retracted errors which he had never uttered, and he retracted utterances which he knew to be truths."[g] By a representation of his case to the pope he obtained three bulls, ordering the archbishop to restore him; but Bourchier refused to receive the bulls, as being contrary to the statute of *provisors*.[h] Whether Pecock resigned his see, or was deprived of it, is uncertain;[i] his last days were spent in rigorous seclusion at Thorney Abbey, and the time of his death is unknown.[k]

Although Pecock was so far from agreeing with the Lollards that his main object was to confute them,[l] and that his ingenuity was exercised in defending points of the existing system which were the objects of their attacks, he was popularly confounded with them,[m] so that the contemporary statutes of King's College, Cambridge, require the members to swear that they will not favour the opinions of Wyclif or of Pecock.[n] The books of the two became together the objects of a search and of a burning at Oxford in 1476;[o] and many writers, both on the Roman and on the Protestant side, have repeated the mistake of supposing their doctrines akin.[p] In some respects Pecock

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[f] Gasc. 548-9; Whethamst. 493-502; Lewis, 160.

[g] Babingt. xxxvi.-l.; see Wilkins, iii. 576; Hook. v. 305-8; Wood, i. 610.

[h] Lewis, 174-5; Babingt. liii. iv.; Hook. v. 310. There is, however, a letter of Pius II. against Pecock, dated April, 1459, in Rayn. 1459. 29.

[i] See Lewis, 177; Babingt. liv.; Hook. v. 309-10.

[k] There was an allowance of 40*l.* yearly "for his finding." In respect of diet and fuel, he was treated with indulgence; but he was to be confined to "a secret closed chamber, where he might have sight to some altar, to hear mass; to have but one person that is sad and well-disposed to make his bed, and to make him fire, as he shall need; to have no books to look on, but only a portuous [breviary], a mass-book, a psalter, a legend, and a bible; to have nothing to write with; no stuff to write upon." (Babingt. lvii.)

[l] He speaks of Wyclif as "oon clerk, but verili to seie oon heritik." (Repr. 413.) Against the Hussites, see ib. 85.

[m] See Hook. v. 294, 297.

[n] Lewis, 173; Babingt. lx.

[o] Wood, i. 630.

[p] See Babingt. lx.; Hook. v. 178 293.

may be regarded as standing midway between the doctrines of Rome and those of the English Reformation.[q] He was an advocate of toleration in an age when intolerance was regarded as a duty to the truth.[r] In the endeavour to distinguish between the provinces of reason and of Scripture—in maintaining that the warrant of Scripture need not be sought where reason is sufficient—he has been characterized as a forerunner of Hooker.[s] Although ignorant of Greek,[t] and although he was deceived by forgeries such as the pseudo-Dionysian books,[u] he has the merit of having exposed the Donation of Constantine by a clear historical argument independent of his contemporary Valla's more famous treatise.[x] That he was led into error by an excess of confidence in his own judgment, is not to be denied; but of some of the opinions imputed to him he was wholly or partly guiltless. As to the fallibility of the church, he said nothing beyond what had before been said by Marsilius of Padua, by Nicolas of Clemanges, and others of the Paris academics; indeed it would seem that the opinions for which he was accused under this head were merely put forward by way of suppositions on which he was willing to argue.[y] The charge that he denied the Holy Ghost was false;[z] and his omission of the Descent into Hell from the creed[a] was probably not a denial of the article as it is now generally understood, but of the gross construction which was put on it by the popular mind in the middle ages.[b]

VII. The religious ferment in Bohemia gave rise to some extreme manifestations in addition to those already mentioned. John of Trittenheim tells us of a party who were styled Fossarii, from their custom of meeting by night in ditches and caves. He describes them as practising promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, as despising the church and its ministers,

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[q] Babingt. ii. vi. It may be noted that he distinguishes strongly between canonical and apocryphal scriptures. (Repr. 251.)

[r] Babingt. xxxii.

[s] Ib. lix. See Repressor, Pt. I., cc. 1–16, 20, 48; Waterl. vi. 259, 275, &c.

[t] Thus he connects Cephas with κεφαλή. (Repr. 438.)

[u] Ib. 170, 425, 446, &c.

[x] Ib. 358 66; Waterl. vi. 292; Babingt. 292. Dr. von Döllinger says that Pecock's exactness in the historical inquiry, according to the sources, contrasts remarkably with the undecided manner of Cusanus, who had also questioned the Donation (see above, p. 418), while Valla's treatise is rather an eloquent declamation than a calm historical inquiry. (Papstfabeln, 104.)

[y] Waterl. vi. 255, 258; Babingt. li.

[z] Babingt. l.

[a] Whethamst. 491; Gasc. 511, 512. Like Valla (see p. 475), he denied the apostolic authorship of the creed. (Gasc. 546.)

[b] Babingt. xliv. xlvii.

as mocking at the sacraments, and "full of errors without end." Their numbers had increased rapidly, so that in the year 1501 they were more than 10,000, and among those who had joined them were many men of rank and influence.[c] But perhaps we may question the accuracy of a statement which in its worst features so closely resembles the charges imputed to many denominations of heretics in one generation after another.

On the death of George Podibrad, the Bohemian estates chose for their king a Polish prince, Ladislaus, who, as the see of Prague was still vacant, was crowned by two Polish bishops.[d] Although the pope, Sixtus IV., refused to acknowledge any other king of Bohemia than Matthias Corvinus, of Hungary, Ladislaus, by the aid of his father, king Casimir, was able to make good his claims, and eventually he succeeded Matthias in the kingdom of Hungary also.[e] In 1478 the Roman party endeavoured to compel the Utraquists to relinquish their peculiar usages; but in the following year a peace was concluded, by which the Utraquists obtained a confirmation of the Compactata, and an acknowledgment that it was not heretical to receive the holy eucharist under both kinds.[f] Further troubles ensued; the Utraquists, not content with their late gains, spoke of requiring the king to attend their churches, and to receive in both kinds, and in other respects their violence was such that Ladislaus found it necessary to banish some of their leaders, and even to put some of them to death.[g] In 1485 a fresh treaty was concluded, by which each of the great parties was to enjoy perfect freedom of religion. It was provided that, on a vacancy in any parish, a new incumbent should be chosen from the same party to which his predecessor had belonged; and the king consented that the Utraquists should on their side elect an administrator for the archbishoprick of Prague. The peace thus established continued in force, although not without occasional disturbances,[h] throughout the reign of Ladislaus, who died in 1516.[i]

VIII. About the middle of the fifteenth century, some divines appeared in Germany who may be said, in their views of nature and grace, of justification and kindred subjects, to have antici-

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[c] Chron. Sponh., A.D. 1501.

[d] Rayn. 1471. 29, seqq.; Schröckh, xxxiv. 742.

[e] Rayn. 1490. 12; Schröckh, xxxiv. 742; Giesel. II. iv. 456.

[f] Schröckh, xxxiv. 742-3; Giesel l. 1.

[g] Schröckh, xxxiv. 743.

[h] See Rayn. 1504. 27, seqq.; 1508 15, seqq.

[i] Schröckh, xxxiv. 744

pated the Saxon reformation. Of these the most noted were John of Goch, John of Wesel, and John Wessel.[k]

John Pupper, who was commonly named after his birthplace, Goch, near Cleves, was born in the beginning of the century,[l] and is supposed to have been educated at the university of Paris; but nothing is known with certainty as to the history of his early life.[m] In 1451, when he was about fifty years old, he founded a convent for canonesses at Mechlin, and entered into holy orders.[n] The remainder of his days was spent in the office of prior of this institution, and he died in 1475.[o] During his lifetime he was never molested on account of his opinions, which seem to have been then known only to a narrow circle of persons who agreed with him;[p] nor can any distinct influence of them be traced in the reformers of the following century.[q]

The second of the teachers above named, John Richrath or Ruchrath, of Wesel, was born at Oberwesel, on the Rhine, at some time between the years 1400 and 1420.[r] He studied, and afterwards taught, at Erfurt; and the continuance of his influence in that university appears from Luther's speaking of himself as having prepared himself for the degree of Master of Arts by the study of John of Wesel's books.[s] While at Erfurt, John was roused to indignation by the preaching of indulgences in connexion with the Jubilee of 1450. He wrote not only against the grosser abuses of the system, but against the principle on which it was founded;[t] yet he was allowed to proceed to the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1456, and was appointed preacher at Worms in 1461-2. In this office he gained great popularity; but he excited enmity by attacking the faults of the clergy, and by inconsiderate language, as when he declared that if St. Peter instituted fasting, it was probably with a view to getting a better market for his fish;[u] so that his friend Wessel, while admiring his learning and ability, was compelled to lament his extravagance and indiscretion.[x]

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[k] For others, see Giesel. II. iv. 465, seqq.

[l] Ullmann, 'Reformers before the Reformation,' transl. in Clark's Foreign Library, i. 17.

[m] Ib. 19-20.

[n] Ib. 21-2.

[o] Ib. 27.

[p] Ib. 134.

[q] Goch's works are chiefly in Walch's 'Monumenta.'

[r] Ullm. i. 218.

[s] Werke, xxi. 284, ed. Leipz. 1733; Ullm. i. 229-30.

[t] Ullm. i. 258, 272.

[u] Giesel. II. iv. 187. At his trial, he was asked whether he had preached at Wiesbaden, that whoever sees the sacrament of the eucharist sees the devil; but to this his answer was "Non credit." (Trithem. Chron. Sponh., A.D. 1479.)

[x] Ullm. i. 340. "Exorbitantes illæ et populo scandalosæ absurditates." (Giesel. l. c., quoting Wessel's works, 920.)

In 1479 John was brought by the bishop of Worms before a court at Mentz on a charge of heresy. He was accused of intimacy with Jews and Hussites, and even of being secretly a Hussite bishop;[y] of denying the authority of the church as to the exposition of Scripture, of denying the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son; of denying original sin; of denying the powers of the Christian ministry, and the distinction of presbyters from bishops and popes; of opposing many rites of the church, the celibacy of the clergy, the use of ecclesiastical vestments, the practice of fasting, and the sacrament of extreme unction.[z] Archbishop Diether, who felt himself obliged to take the matter up lest he should again lose his see,[a] requested the assistance of doctors from Cologne and Heidelberg for the inquiry. The accused was old, was weak from illness, and was hard pressed by the members of the court. He declared that he had said nothing against the authority of the church, and disavowed some other things which were imputed to him; but he expressed a wish to retract all errors, and, on the sixth day of the examination, he submitted to make a general retractation.[b] His writings were burnt, and he was committed to the convent of Augustinian friars at Mentz, where he soon after died. The reporter of the case expresses an opinion that, except as to the procession of the Holy Spirit, John, if time had been allowed him, might have defended himself with success; that as a secular and a nominalist he suffered disadvantage from a tribunal of monastic and realistic judges; and he mentions some divines of note as having been disgusted by the unfairness of the process.[c]

John Wessel,[d] who was styled by his admirers "The Light of the world," while his opponents styled him "The Master of Contradictions,"[e] was born at Groningen about 1429,[f] and was educated for a time under the Brethren of the Common

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[y] Ullm. i. 332; Giesel. IV. iii. 479. The report of the trial is in the 'Fascic. Rer. Exp. et Fug.' i. 327, seqq.; cf. Trithem. Chron. Sponh. A.D. 1479. H. Schmidt, in Herzog, art. *Wesel, Joh. von.*

[z] Fascic. i. 325-6, 331; Argentré, i. 291; Trithem. l. c.

[a] See p. 502; Fascic. i. 327.

[b] Fascic. i. 327, seqq.; Trithem. 391; Ullm. i. 312, 343, 360.

[c] Fascic. i. 332.

[d] He is also called Gansfort, a name which has been supposed to have been taken from some place where his family had been settled. But no place so called can be found, so that the name is more probably = Goosefoot, and was given to him because he was lame ("altero pedis talo nonnihil distorto" says Hardenberg, in the notice prefixed to Wessel's works). Ullm. ii. 265-7, 269.

[e] This name was first given "a malevolis et invidis, quo nomine postea omnes academici eum vocabant." (Hardenb. [unpaged].)

[f] Ullm. ii. 265. Hardenberg places his birth twenty years earlier.

Life at Zwolle, where it has been supposed that he was known to Thomas of Kempen.[g] From Zwolle he went to the university of Cologne, where he studied theology, the oriental languages, and ancient philosophy. He complained that the ordinary course of reading was confined to the works of Thomas of Aquino and Albert the Great;[h] and he preferred Plato to Aristotle. For sixteen years he taught at Paris, where, from having been a realist, he became a nominalist;[i] and he afterwards visited Italy, where he renewed an acquaintance formed in France with Pope Sixtus IV. It is said that, on being desired by Sixtus to choose a gift, he made choice of a Bible in the original tongues, from the Vatican Library; and when the pope laughingly asked why he had not rather desired a bishoprick, he answered that he did not need such things.[k] In 1477, Wessel was invited by Philip, elector-palatine, to Heidelberg;[l] but the theological faculty of the university refused to admit him as a member, because he had not taken the degree of doctor, and declined to qualify himself for it by receiving the tonsure. He therefore taught as a philosophical lecturer, and was much engaged in disputes with the party whose opinions he had abandoned.[m] The prosecution of John of Wesel led him to expect a like attack on himself; but this fear was needless, and his last years, during which most of his extant works were written, were spent in quiet at his native town, where he was sheltered from the malice of enemies by the favour of the archbishop of Utrecht and the bishop of Münster.[n] Wessel died in 1489. Luther said of him, "If I had read his works earlier, my enemies might have thought that I derived everything from him, so much does the spirit of the two agree."[o] Yet as to the doctrine of the eucharist Wessel seems to have been a forerunner rather of the Zwinglian than of the Lutheran reformation.[p]

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[g] Ullm. ii. 269-70.

[h] Hardenb.; Ullm. ii. 278, 287.

[i] Hardenb.

[k] Hardenb.; Ullm. ii. 313, 321, 321. The truth of the story has been questioned.

[l] Ullm. ii. 331-2. Hardenberg misplaces this.

[m] Ullm. ii. 309, 310, 333.

[n] Schröckh, xxxiii. 280; Ullm. ii. 339-40.

[o] Luth. ap. Wessel, 851. See for his opinions, Giesel. II. iv. 493, seqq., and Ullmann; also H. Schmidt in Herzog. art. *Wessel*.

[p] Ullm. ii. 506-37.

CHAPTER VIII.

SUPPLEMENTARY.

I. *The Hierarchy.*

(1.) The councils of Constance and Basel, by asserting the supremacy of general councils, and by endeavouring to re-establish the independence of the episcopate, appeared to overthrow the power which the popes had gradually built up; and by the rules which they laid down for the regular meeting of general councils at short intervals, it seemed as if the right of control which they had asserted over the papacy were secured. But in the event, these apparent victories proved nugatory. The popes were always ready to act, and able to take advantage of all circumstances, while councils must in any case have been rare and unwieldy. The pope chosen at Constance, Martin V., from the very time of his election, asserted the claims of his office in a manner which reduced much of the council's acts to a nullity. The council of Basel, by its imprudent assumptions and its mismanagement, allowed its adversary Eugenius to triumph over it. The decrees for periodical councils were never carried into execution; the appeals which were frequently made to future general councils were fruitless; for the popes always found some pretext for eluding not only the decree of Constance, but the solemn promises which they themselves had made on this subject at their election. And against the councils of Constance and Basel they were able to set those of Florence and the Lateran, by the last of which the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, the only result of the council of Basel which had remained until then, was abolished. The fathers of Basel, indeed, in their attempts to reduce the papacy to its proper limits, felt themselves hampered by the system in which they had been trained, and were unable to rid themselves of its restraints, as a larger acquaintance with Christian antiquity would have enabled them to do.[a]

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[a] Planck, v. 752–7, 760–1.

The critical spirit of Valla and others had opened men's eyes to the spuriousness of such documents as the Donation of Constantine and the False Decretals.[b] Yet these exposures seem to have as yet had less effect than might have been expected, and to have been little urged to their consequences as affecting the authority of the church in whose interest the forgeries had been executed.[c]

At Basel the pope had been spoken of as the "ministerial head" of the church—[d] a term by which it was meant that he was not entitled to give laws to the church, but that these ought to proceed from councils. But in opposition to such doctrines, some writers in the papal interest now vented extravagances even greater than those which we have had occasion to notice in earlier ages.[e] It was maintained that the pope was infallible and absolute.[f] All power, temporal as well as spiritual, was ascribed to him; it was said that he might not only depose emperors and kings, but might extinguish empires and kingdoms, even without cause;[g] that, as being the source of all spiritual power, he was entitled to do, by his immediate authority, whatever the local bishop might do in any diocese;[h] that appeals ought to be carried, not from a pope to a council, but from a general council to the pope.[i] It was asserted that Constantine's supposed donation was not a gift, but a partial

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[b] See pp. 418, 475, 639. In Æneas Sylvius's 'Pentalogus,' Caspar Schlick is made to treat the Donation as a forgery, and another speaker seems to imply the same. (Pez, IV. iii. 679.)

[c] Giesel. II. iv. 217.

[d] "Etsi sit caput ministeriale ecclesiæ, non tamen est major tota ecclesia." (Labbe, xii. 682.) "Romanus pontifex est universalis ecclesiæ minister, non dominus" (ib. 721). See Giesel. II. iv. 214.

[e] See p. 81. For such things, John Sarrazin was condemned by the Paris faculty of theology to retract in 1429. (Argentré, i. 227.)

[f] See Joh. de Turrecremata and others, in Giesel. II. iv. 226–9.

[g] Ib. 220, 223; Matth. Cracov. de Squaloribus Rom. Curiæ, in Fascic. Rer. Exp. et Fug. i. 598, seqq. In 1483 (under Sixtus IV.) an envoy from the emperor Frederick, in urging before the college of cardinals that a German bishop should be made a cardinal, repeatedly spoke of the emperor as monarch of the world. The cardinal of Rouen (Estouteville) being unfavourable to the proposal, said "Male agis, Thoma, non tuus imperator, sed hic noster pontifex monarcha est orbis. Pati non possum Romanæ amplitudini detrahi." Tum ille, "Non omnium monarcham imperatorem dico; temporalium tantum intelligo." Et Rotomagensis, "Nec temporalium quoque illi est monarchia; jure divino et pontificio tota est Romani præsulis. Idem qui ex patribus jus didicere, uno judicio confirmarunt." (Jac. Volaterr. in Murat. xxiii. 94.)

[h] J. Turrecrem., &c., quoted by Giesel. II. iv. 224. See quotations from Gerson and others, for the independence of bishops (ib. 215). Gregory Heimburg writes, "Compagem ecclesiæ solus Papa solvit, qui membrorum officia præfocando impedit, et oppilando suffocat, ne quis episcoporum officium suum tute valeat explere, juncturas disjungit, confundens harmoniam, dum omnium officia solus sibi vindicat. Aufert corpori sanitatem, dum membra singula singulis officiis non sinit uti." (Apol. c. Episc. Feltrensem, in Goldast. ii. 1616.)

[i] Giesel. II. iv. 225.

restitution, inasmuch as the pope is rightfully lord of all;[k] and while in France such opinions were condemned by parliaments and universities, the sovereigns of other countries sometimes found their account in admitting them—as the Spaniards and Portuguese were glad to avail themselves of the papal sanction for their conquests in the countries which they had discovered.[l]

Popes now began to bestow complimentary titles on kings as tokens of their favour. Thus, after the repeal of the Pragmatic Sanction, Louis XI. of France was styled by Pius II. (or, according to some authorities, by Paul II.) "Most Christian." Alexander VI. was disposed to transfer this title to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, but at the request of his cardinals he bestowed on them instead of it the epithet of "Most Catholic."[m] Julius II. conferred on James IV. of Scotland, the title of "Protector of the Christian Faith;"[n] and, as is well known, Henry VIII. of England was rewarded for his book against Luther by being styled "Defender of the Faith."[o]

The temporal power of the popes entered during this time on a new stage of its development. This advance began, as we have seen, with Sixtus IV., and it was carried further by his successors. The dominion which Cæsar Borgia had gained for himself by the acquisition of the Romagna, and by the subjugation of the unruly barons, fell, on the collapse of his power, to the Roman church;[p] and Julius II. further extended the temporal sovereignty of the papacy. Thus, in addition to his spiritual pretensions, the pope became a great Italian prince; and, as Italy was now the chief subject of contention between the greatest sovereigns of the continent, his alliance was very important, and he acquired great political influence.[q]

(2.) While the papacy was thus for a time triumphing over all hindrances, the empire continued to sink.[r] Sigismund, indeed, had been enabled by circumstances to assert his office

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[k] Ib. 226–8. "Cum omnia sint de Christi dominio, cujus papa est vicarius in terris." (Antonin. in Fascic. Rer. Exp. et Fug. i. 159.)

[l] See p. 625; Giesel. II. iv. 232-3.

[m] Rayn. 1496. 25; Comines, in Petitot, xiii. 217. See above, p. 612. Schröckh, xxxii. 410.

[n] Collier, ii. 455.

[o] Lingard, iv. 467-8. Julius II. at the time of the council of Pisa, had promised to make him "Most Christian," instead of Louis XII. (ib.)

[p] Machiav. Il Principe, c. 11.

[q] Giesel. II. iv. 231.

[r] "Sed est omnium potestatum vicissitudo. Olim Cæsarea dignitas ingens fuit, nunc sedes apostolica major est. Cujus auctoritatem post traditas Petro claves regni cœlorum semper fuisse majorem putaverim, potestatem sæpe minorem" (Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frider. in Kollar, ii. 276). "Papatus nostris temporibus tantopere superat imperium" (Id. Pentalog. in Pež, III. iii. 648). See also quotations in Schard, Syntagma, 515–7. Yet elsewhere Piccolomini magnifies the empire, as a secular papacy. (De Ortu et Authoritate Imperii, in Goldast, ii. 1558.)

as advocate and protector of the church at Constance and Basel: but he was unable to maintain throughout the elevation which he had thus attained.[s] The long and inglorious reign of Frederick III. reduced the imperial dignity to the lowest point; and Maximilian's attempts to restore it were foiled by his want of means for carrying them out, and by his own rash and inconstant character. The emperors were without any adequate provision for the expenses of their position. The crown lands, the tolls of the Rhine, and other sources of revenue had been alienated by capitulations with the electoral princes, or by other improvident grants.[t] The taxes on Jews and on the cities of the empire had been redeemed. For the means of supporting his dignity, and for the expenses of war, the emperor was obliged to rely on the diet of the empire; and thus he found himself in an unseemly condition of dependence.[u] At the same time the other chief sovereigns of Europe—the kings of France, England, and Spain—by the union of territories, by the subjection of great feudatories and nobles, or otherwise, had become much stronger than before; so that the emperor, although bearing a far loftier title, although it was for him to bestow royal and ducal dignities, was really inferior in power to them, and even to his vassal Charles of Burgundy, or to the trading republic of Venice.[x] Yet while his real authority and importance were thus waning, the theory of his grandeur was elaborated more than ever by jurists, whose invention was stimulated by the doctrines of canonists as to the papacy.[y] The empire was "holy" and independent of the ecclesiastical power; the emperor was lord paramount and "monarch" of all the world, so that from him all secular dominion was supposed to be derived.[z]

(3.) The popes continued to interfere with ecclesiastical patronage of all sorts, and their interference was often resented.[a]

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[s] Schmidt. iv. 644.

[t] Schmidt, iv. 515; Bryce, 246-7.

[u] Coxe, i. 339; Schmidt, iv. 517-8; Bryce, 247.

[x] Bryce, 280, 335-6.

[y] Ranke, Hist. Ref. i. 53; Bryce, 288.

[z] See p. 645 n. g.; Giesel. II. iv. 209.

[a] How far they had got the disposal of English bishopricks into their hands, appears from bishop Bekynton's correspondence, edited by the Rev. George Williams in the 'Chron. and Mem. of G. B.;' and Theiner's 'Monumenta' show a vast amount of interference with Irish, and still more with Scotch, preferment. One of the letters published by Father Theiner gives us a strange idea of the state of the Irish church. In 1516, the "Episcopatus Cluanensis" [seemingly Clonfert], having become vacant by the translation of its bishop to Tuam, Quintin Ohygim was recommended by Henry VIII. to the pope, who thereupon ordered an inquiry as to the existence of the church, and as to the qualities

In England, by appointing resident legates *a latere*, and by inducing the archbishops of Canterbury to accept the office, they acquired a new power over the church, as the government of it appeared thenceforth to be exercised by delegation from the Roman see.[b] In Scotland there were some demonstrations of independence;[c] but the popes at their own will erected the sees of St. Andrew's and Glasgow into archbishopricks, and granted such exemptions from their authority as they thought fit.[d] James IV. is found expressing great thankfulness to Julius II. for having appointed his illegitimate son, Alexander Stuart, while yet a boy, to the primacy of Scotland, and requesting that a bishoprick may be bestowed on a Dominican who was employed in the administration of the province during the archbishop's minority.[e] There were continual endeavours on the part of sovereigns to prevent the occupation of benefices in their dominions by alien and non-resident incumbents,[f] whom the pope took it upon himself to nominate. But the same argument from practical results by which

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of the nominee. The result of the evidence was "In Hybernia insula orientem versus in provincia Tuamensi esse Cluanensem civitatem, sitam inter sylvas, casarum ex palea et viminibus fere duodecim, a cujus parte læva labitur fluvius, qui eorum lingua Sinin appellatur, et distat a mari per iter unius diei. A parte sinistra occidentem versus esse ecclesiam cathedralem dirutam, sine tecto, cum uno tantum altari parvo, stramine tecto, cum uno paramento vili, cruce ex ære, habens unum campanile cum duabus campanis, et parvam sacristiam; valoris 33 ducatorum, qui constant ex frumento et ordeo, ex quo conficiuntur cervosa. . . . . Raro celebratur missa. In ea est corpus unius Beati Hybernici, cujus nomen testis ignorat, et sub ejus invocatione est ecclesia" (p. 518.) A story is told by Andrew of Ratisbon as to the appointment of a bishop to that see in 1428. A canon, who had been elected by the chapter, found, on applying to Martin V. for confirmation, that a hostile party had represented him to the pope as one-eyed and lame. The pope "provided" for the bishoprick by appointing his own cross-bearer, and when the bishop-elect appeared at Rome, "proceræ staturæ et formæ speciosus," he found that the cross-bearer was already in possession, "hora jam transierat, quia tempus unicuique rei sub cœlo." (Eccard, i. 2156-7.)

[b] Hook. v. 89, 174, &c.

[c] See p. 379; Tytler, iv. 145–7.

[d] St. Andrew's was made archiepiscopal by Sixtus IV. in 1472, after an inquiry by Card. Borgia. (Theiner, 465; Grub, i. 376.) Sixtus afterwards appointed the dean of Soest (in Westphalia) to inquire into the conduct of archbishop Patrick Graham, who, having become disordered in mind, was sentenced to be deposed, and imprisoned for life in a monastery. (Theiner, 478; Grub, i. 385; Cunningham, i. 200.) The bishoprick of Aberdeen was, in 1473, exempted from the jurisdiction of St. Andrew's during the life of bishop Spence. (Theiner, 473.) Glasgow was exempted in 1578, and was afterwards made an archbishoprick. (Ib. 502, 505.) On the other hand, the pope says that, since the see has become archiepiscopal, it would be "absurd" to continue the exemption of certain monasteries from its authority.' (Ib. 370.) See Jos. Robertson, Introd. to Scottish Councils, 109-115, 119, 121.

[e] Gairdner, Rich. III. and Henry VII. ii. 189, 190. The young archbishop was a pupil of Erasmus (by whom he is highly praised, Ep. 1257), and fell by his father's side at Flodden.

[f] *E.g.* Preuves des Lib. de l'Egl. Gall. 412.

Frederick Barbarossa had endeavoured to show that the disposal of bishopricks was better lodged in the hands of sovereigns than of chapters,[g] was used by Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini in behalf of the papal patronage.[h] And when raised to the papacy he introduced the new abuse of charging preferments with the payment of pensions to cardinals, or to officials of the Roman court.[i]

(4.) As the crown became stronger in various countries, the sovereigns showed a disposition to limit the power of the church in various ways.[k] Thus they forbade appeals to Rome, and the introduction of Roman documents into their dominions, except with their previous knowledge and licence.[l] Old grievances are found continually recurring; as when the popes and the English clergy complain of the statutes of Præmunire, and the popes complain that their collectors are arrested and imprisoned.[m] The immunities claimed by the clergy, and the boundaries of secular and spiritual jurisdiction, are also frequent subjects of contest. Thus we find that spiritual courts are forbidden to meddle with the suits of laymen, that the secular affairs of the clergy are brought before secular tribunals, and that such courts exercise criminal jurisdiction over ecclesiastics.[n] The parliament of Paris took it on itself to commit bishops to prison.[o] The control exercised by the Venetian republic over its clergy has appeared in the course of our story.[p] Henry VII. of England enacted that clerks convicted of crimes should be burnt in the hand; and for this he was afterwards denounced by Perkin Warbeck as an invader of the rights of holy church.[q]

But where the popes were masters, the clerical immunities were jealously preserved. Thus, on Ascension-day, 1487, the gonfaloniere and another magistrate of Bologna did penance in

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[g] See Vol. III. p. 218.

[h] "Etsi unum Romanus pontifex minus dignum presbyterio donavit, supra mille invenias rudes, ignaros, hebetes et prorsus ineptos ab ordinariis esse promotos." (De Moribus Germanorum, Opera, 1048-9.)

[i] Planck, v. 494.

[k] For their gains in the matter of patronage, see Ranke, Hist. of Popes, i. 34-42.

[l] Preuves des Lib. 226, 275; Giesel. II. iv. 247.

[m] *E. g.* Wilk. iii. 523, 533, 540, 555, 578, 584; Collier, iii. 352.

[n] Giesel. II. ii. 244–6. See *e. g.* Rayn. 1427. 19; 1436. 28 (Portugal); ib. 29 (Scotland); 1484. 6 (Scotland); Tytler, iv. 310-1 (Scotland). Bull of Sixtus IV. in Hard. ix. 1494, &c. There is in Goldast, ii. 1648, a tract by Bernard de Laureto, a lawyer, on the rights of secular magistrates as to offending clergy.

[o] Preuves des Lib. 159, seqq.; Giesel. II. iv. 247.

[p] Pp. 537, 600.

[q] Bacon, 66. See the attempts to assert the clerical immunities in Wilk. iii. 610, 613; and Innocent VIII.'s letter to Henry. (ib. 617.)

St. Peter's, at Rome, for having exceeded their jurisdiction by hanging a Franciscan and a secular priest. The gonfaloniere was deprived of all office and dignity. He and his companion were flogged by the penitentiaries of the church while the psalm *Miserere* was chanted, and after this they were solemnly rebuked by the pope. The deposed chief magistrate was required to build and endow a chapel at Bologna, and on every Sunday and holyday to attend mass in it, kneeling from the beginning to the end of the service with a burning taper in his hand, and to pray for the souls of the ecclesiastics on whom he had presumed to execute justice.[r]

(5.) Complaints as to the defects of the clergy are as loud and as frequent as before. We read of the greed and corruption of the Roman court, of simony in all quarters,[s] of neglect of spiritual duties, of the ignorance and rudeness of the lower clergy,[t] of their seeking to eke out their income by farming, keeping shops or taverns, and other unsuitable occupations;[u] and the effects of enforced celibacy were scandalously evident. As the church would not relax its rules on this point,[x] notwithstanding the opinion of some of its most enlightened members,[y] the great mass of the clergy lived in a state of concubinage. It was in vain that the councils of Constance and of Basel[z] forbade this, and that their decrees were echoed by provincial councils.[a]

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[r] Burchard, 92-3, ed. Gennarelli.

[s] Martin V. "considerata malitia temporum præteritorum pro simoniacis in foro conscientiæ absolvendis specialem gratiam fecit." (Andr. Ratisb. in Pez, IV. iii. 633.)

[t] "Pudeat Italiæ sacerdotes, quos ne semel quidem novam legem constat legisse, apud Taboritas vix mulierculam invenimus quæ de Novo Testamento et Veteri respondere nesciat." (Æn. Sylv. Opera, 480.)

[u] *E. g.* Herm. Ryd. de Vita et Honestate Clericorum, in Fascic. Rer. Exp. et Fug. ii. 135, seqq. 142, seqq.; Opus Tripartitum, ib. 223, seqq.; Conc. Tolet. 1473, in Hard. ix.; Conc. Senon. 1485, c. 6; Rayn. 1473. 20; 1485. 27; Giesel. II. iv. 236-7, 253. The satires of the time are strongly against the clergy. (Ranke, Hist. Ref. i. 279.)

[x] The military orders, however, were, in consequence of scandals, exempted by Eugenius IV. and Alexander VI. (Rayn. 1496. 39, 40.)

[y] See p. 350. Pecock seems to be in favour of marriage. (Repressor, 375-7.) Pius II. is reported to have said, "sacerdotibus magna ratione sublatas nuptias, majori restituendas videri." (Platina, 331.) The emperor Sigismund said, "We must not blame the Greeks as to marriage, for they content themselves with one woman, whereas the Latins have ten or more." (Lenf. i. 325; see Giesel. II. iv. 263.)

[z] Hard. viii. 1195.

[a] See *e. g.* M. de Coussy, in Monstrel. ed. Buchon, xi. 254. A council at Cologne, in 1423, orders the clergy to put away their concubines within nine days, but explains that this applies only to *notorious* and *public* concubinage. (cc. 1, 9.) Gascoigne mentions a case of some Welsh clergy who begged their bishop that they might be separated from their concubines; but he refused, lest he should lose income. (Hemingford, ed. Hearne, 521-2.) The licensing of concubinage was absolutely forbidden by the concordat of Bologna. (Tit. 29; Hard. ix. 1878; see Giesel. II. iv. 258.) There is only too ample information on these matters in Theiner,

The example of the popes, in openly bringing forward their illegitimate children, in heaping church-preferment or lands on them, and in labouring to connect them by marriage with reigning families, could not but produce an effect. The contagion of evil spread to the lower clergy, and from the clergy to the laity,[b] so that a general demoralisation ensued. Yet after all the overwhelming evidence which experience had afforded as to the mischievous effects of compulsory celibacy, it is remarkable that, when the authorities of the Roman church were driven by the success of the Protestant movement to attempt an internal reformation, this point of discipline was one as to which no reform or modification was introduced.

II. *Monasticism.*

(1.) Of the orders which arose in the fifteenth century, the most remarkable was that of Eremites of St. Francis, or Minims, founded, as we have already seen, by St. Francis of Paola,[c] and approved by Sixtus IV. in 1474. It was a branch of the Franciscan community, and was distinguished by extraordinary strictness—as that the members were to observe the severity of Lenten diet throughout the whole year.[d] There were sisters and tertiaries attached to the order—the last under a milder rule in respect of food.[e] From the founder's native Italy, and from France, where his last years were spent, this order spread into Spain, and it is said to have numbered about 450 houses in the beginning of the eighteenth century.[f]

(2.) The Mendicant orders continued to enjoy much popularity, and endeavoured, as before, to supplant the secular clergy utterly in the respect and affection of the laity.[g] They

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ii. 675, seqq.; Giesel. II. iv. 255, seqq., and Lea.

[b] See Giesel. II. iv. 260-1. "Alexander consuetudinem jam cœptam per Innocentium de maritanda prole feminina prosecutus est et ampliavit. Incumbit igitur clerus omnis, et quidem cum diligentia, circa sobolem procreandam. Itaque a majori usque ad minimum concubinas in figura matrimonii, et quidem publice, attinent. Quod nisi a Deo provideatur, transibit hæc corruptio usque ad monachos et religiosos, quamvis monasteria urbis quasi omnia jam facta sunt. lupanaria, nemine contradicente." (Infess. 2011.) "Una volta te vergonavi de' tuoi peccati, ma ora non più. Una volta i sacerdoti chiamavano nipoti i loro figliuoli; ora non più nipoti, ma figliuoli, figliuoli per tutto." (Savon. in Villari, ii. 4.)

[c] See p. 510; Holsten. iii. 84, seqq.

[d] "Vita quadragesimalis" See especially c. 6 of the Rule, in Holstenius.

[e] Ib. pp. 77-81, 85.

[f] Giannone, iv. 530; Schröckh, xxxiii. 181-4. After the founder's death absurd stories of miracles, imitated from those of St. Francis of Assisi, were told with a view to obtaining his canonization. (Giesel. II. iv. 318.)

[g] See Fuller, ii. 475; Giesel. II. iv. 288, 295; and below, p. 675. In Italy, however, there was much contempt for friars, the Benedictines being in better reputation. (Burckhardt, 367-8, 371.)

were thoroughly devoted to the papacy, except, indeed, when it failed to favour them; and this it seldom ventured on with such resolute and valuable allies. Alexander VI. is reported to have said that it was safer to offend any powerful king than a Franciscan or a Dominican.[h] The Mendicants did not scruple to use pretended visions, miracles, and other such tricks for the furtherance of their purposes. For a time the Franciscans were ordered to refrain from setting forth their founder's stigmata, and the Dominicans were forbidden to represent St. Catharine of Siena with the stigmata.[i] But the flights of the Franciscans in honour of their great saint became, if possible, more extravagant than before;[k] and, if more active than other orders, they directed most of their labours to the advancement of popular superstitions and of papal assumptions, or to the exclusive glorification of their own brotherhood.[l] It was believed that Paul II. was about to publish letters, drawn up by Calixtus III., depriving the Mendicants of all their special privileges;[m] but nothing came of this, and Sixtus, by bulls of 1474 and 1479, granted the Dominicans and the Franciscans a confirmation of all former favours.[n]

The Carmelites even outdid the Franciscans in their pretensions, asserting that the Blessed Virgin every Saturday released from purgatory all those who had died in the scapulary of the order during the preceding week.[o] For this they professed to have the authority of bulls of John XXII. and of Alexander V.; and, although both these bulls were forgeries, the persistent audacity of the Carmelites extorted confirmations of the privilege from later popes.[p]

The chief check to the pretensions of the Mendicants was opposed by the university of Paris, which condemned their invasion of the rights of the secular clergy,[q] compelled them to con-

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[h] Erasmus, Exseq. Seraph., Opera, t. i. 872.

[i] Mart. Coll. Ampl. ii. 1326. Trithemius tells of a female tertiary of St. Dominic, at Ferrara, who had the stigmata, which emitted blood, and were especially painful on Wednesdays and Fridays. (Chron. Sponh. 412.)

[k] See *e.g.* a list of absurdities which were condemned by the Sorbonne, in 1486. (Argentré, ii. 318; Giesel. II. iv. 300.)

[l] Giesel. II. iv. 291, 296–9.

[m] Vita Sixti IV. in Murat. III. ii. 955.

[n] Giesel. II. iv. 291. See as to the consequent contests, Rayn. 1515. 1; 1516. 1, 9, 11, 28, &c.; Martene, Coll. Ampl. 1262–7.

[o] See Vol. III. 592.

[p] Clement VII. in 1530, and Paul V. in 1613. (Giesel. II. iv. 301.) See Launoy's dissection of the case in his treatise 'De Simonis Stochii viso,' &c.

[q] A.D. 1482. Argentré, i. 301. In France the pretensions of the friars provoked some writers to maintain that curates derived their commission not from bishops, but like them, from the Saviour's institution. (Giesel. II. iv. 250–2.)

form to its terms, and would not allow any of them to teach until he had gone through a course of study prescribed by its own authority. And when the friars got a bull of Eugenius IV. in their favour, they were required to swear that they would make no use of it.[r]

(3.) Complaints of a decay in monastic discipline, and attempts at a reformation, are found throughout the period.[s] The council of Constance projected a large scheme of reform; but it remained without effect.[t] The council of Basel was more successful in this respect.

In North Germany a reformation was begun by the regular canons of Windesheim, and was so satisfactory that these were employed, under a commission from the legate Nicolas of Cusa, to carry out a similar work elsewhere.[u] But in this they met with much difficulty. Monks were not more seriously in need of reform[x] than determined to resist any attempt to reform them. In some places they had recourse to violence. One monk threatened to stab the visitor, Busch, with a knife; another, to cut his throat with a pair of scissors; and it was sometimes necessary to put down opposition by the help of the secular power.[y] Some communities appealed to Rome against the visitors, but met with no success.[z] The nuns (as to whose morals

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[r] Giesel. II. iv. 292-4.

[s] Ib. 271-2; *e. g.* Conc. Paris, 1124, in Hard. viii. 1043; Conc. Senon. A.D. 1485, Art. iii. cc. 1-2. As to the Camaldolites, see Ambros. Camald. Epp. v. 2, 12-4, &c. (Martene, Coll. Ampl. iii.)

[t] V. d. Hardt, i. 703; Giesel. II. iv. 272, seqq.

[u] See Joh. Busch de Reformatione Monasteriorum quorundam in Saxonia, in Leibnitz, ii. 504, 486, 956. We find here something opposite to the faults which were more common, viz., that two monks had become insane through excessive abstinence. Consequently it was resolved that all should have it in their power to feed well, and that candidates for admission should be questioned whether they ate well, slept well, and were willing to obey, these being the three main points of monastic life, and every one of them being necessary for perseverance. (Busch. Chron. Windesh., ed. Rosweyd, quoted by Giesel. II. iv. 273.) So in Leibn. ii. 813, Busch praises an abbot for making his monks comfortable, "Novit enim quod fratres sui homines sint, non angeli, Saxones, non Teutonici," &c.

[x] There are very curious details as to the decay of monastic discipline. Thus, at Ludinkerk, in Friesland, the monastery was occupied by *conversi*, who professed to know nothing of a rule, "Sed unusquisque nostrum aut monialem aut conversam aut aliam mulierem sibi assumpsit, cum qua sine copulatione matrimonii dormiret." The bishop of Utrecht decided that these were not *religiosi*, but were at liberty to leave the monastery, and to marry as laymen (480). (Cf. Trithem. Chron. Sponh. 383.)

[y] Leibn. ii. 498, 842, 847, 852, 876, &c. In Book III. are some stories on other subjects, which can hardly be otherwise than fabulous; *e. g.* of a monastery ("in partibus illis," but without any more distinct description) where an abbot who had been chosen for his dissoluteness, although he made no improvement in his own habits, was so provoked by finding that his monks would not be reformed, that he burnt the house with all of them in it (929).

[z] Ib. 832, 818, 852, &c.

and discipline the report is usually very unfavourable)[a] were yet more intractable than the men. In one place, although the visitors were supported by the authority of the duke of Brunswick, the nuns repeatedly declared that they had sworn not to reform, and that they would not become perjured. They threw themselves down on the pavement of the choir, with their limbs stretched out in the form of a cross, and shrieked out the anthem "In the midst of life we are in death!"[b] They arranged the images of the saints in order, and placed lights between them, as if by way of defence against the supposed profanation.[c] At another convent the sisters not only sang the same ominous strain, but hurled their burning tapers at the commissioners and pelted them with earth and stones.[d] Even miracles were alleged in opposition to reform, while on the other side there are stories of judgments which befell the refractory.[e]

The English Benedictines underwent a reform under Henry V. about the year 1521.[f] A reform of those of Germany was begun at the monastery of Bursfeld, and was carried out elsewhere in imitation of the model which had been there established.[g] But these reforms were only partial, and sometimes, when monasteries which had accepted a reform found that their order in general held out against it, they formed themselves into separate congregations.[h]

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[a] So Trithemius says of a nunnery at Bingen, "In quo omnes moniales illius temporis quibus per ætatem licebat, Veneri studiose famulantes, matres se esse, non virgines, gaudebant." (Chron. Sponh., A.D. 1494.)

[b] "Altissimis vocibus exclamantium." (See Vol. II. p. 552, ed. 3), "Unde dux territus totam suam terram metuebat interire," and he needed to be reassured by Busch. He afterwards asked the nuns, "Cur non timetis antiphonam *media vita* super me cantare?" (859-60). This anthem is elsewhere described as a proclamation "contra malefactores ecclesiæ," and as therefore sung by the chapter of Cambray against their bishop. (Argentré, i. 345.)

[c] Ib. 860. One of these nuns, on Busch's calling her *sister*, answered indignantly "Vos non estis frater meus, quare me sororem vocatis? Frater meus ferro est vestitus, et vos linea veste." (Ib.)

[d] P. 863. For another troublesome nunnery, see pp. 897-8.

[e] Ib. 843, 845, 861, 917-8. One nun declared that, when the reformers came, she would stand in the garret window, and shout out, "*jodnyt, jodnyt*, id est *wapen* ("arms!") quod verbum est diffidationis," so as to raise all the dependants of the convent for defence. But on attempting to carry out this, she found that she could neither utter a word nor close her mouth, until she gave up her intention (886).

[f] Wilk. iii. 413–27, 462; Walsingh. ii. 337-8.

[g] Trithem. Chron. Sponh. 350; Busch, 812; Giesel. II. iv. 274. Of the Benedictines Busch says, "Qui strictissimam habent regulam, et fratres multos, multum vagos, dissolutos, lubricos et incontinentes, proprietarios et inobedientes, perversos et rebelles" (844).

[h] Giesel. II. iv. 273; Leibn. ii. 977. Busch gives instances, and also mentions an order "fratrum voluntarie pauperum," which began at Hildesheim. They were simple laymen, and devoted much time to meditation of our Lord's life and passion, on their knees, in a

Reforms were sometimes forced on reluctant communities by princes or bishops, and sometimes by distress consequent on the extravagance of some gay young abbot, who had wasted the revenues of his church, and thus indirectly became the means of bringing his brethren to a better mind.[i]

Among the greatest obstacles to reform was the practice of dividing the monastic income—a practice utterly contrary to the principle of monachism, but recommended by the independence and freedom from discipline which it encouraged. At the council of Constance a Cistercian failed in an endeavour to get this system acknowledged as lawful;[k] but it was too firmly rooted to be easily extirpated.[l]

III. *Rites and Usages.*

(1.) The increase of festivals and ceremonies, of pilgrimages, relics, and fabulous legends, was not to be checked by the protests of those who had succeeded to the opinions of Gerson and his associates.[m] The alleged miracles of bleeding hosts, in particular, became more frequent, because they now served not only to prove the doctrine of transubstantiation in its coarsest form, but to justify the withdrawal of the eucharistic cup from the laity.[n] In some cases, however, these miracles seem to have been produced merely for the sake of gain; and hence cardinal Nicolas of Cusa, when legate in Germany, forbade the display of such hosts, and ordered that they should rather be consumed by the priest at mass. But this superstition was not to be so readily put down.[o] Occasion was not uncommonly taken from stories of outrages done by Jews to the consecrated host to set on foot a persecution against that people.[p]

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(2.) Indulgences became more frequent than before, although the council of Constance had endeavoured to mitigate the abuse of them.[q] They were now offered for a great variety of objects: for the crusade against the Turks, which the popes continually dangled before the eyes of Western Christendom, although without ever carrying it out; for any other expeditions, whether

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way which he thinks impossible for clerks and learned men, whose minds are occupied by various matters, and cannot be so concentrated. (857-8.)

[i] Giesel. II. 282, 284-5; see Trithem., Chron. Sponh. 374, 378.

[k] V. d. Hardt, i. 705, seqq.; iii. 120, seqq.

[l] Burch. 849; Giesel. II. iv. 275.

[m] Schröckh, xxxiii. 420, seqq.; Giesel. II. iv. 327-8.

[n] Ib. 329-30.

[o] Ib. 333-4.

[p] *E. g.* Argentré, i. 321; Andr. Ratisb. in Pez, iv. 632; Trithem. Chron. Sponh. 1510, p. 433.

[q] Giesel. II. iv. 351-2.

against heathens or against Christians, to which the popes might give the character of a crusade; for the jubilee, for visiting certain places, for performing certain devotions, for celebrating festivals,[r] and for the rebuilding of churches, especially for that of St. Peter's at Rome, which was undertaken by Julius II. in 1506. The indignation which these indulgences naturally provoked in the more discerning, was swelled by the impudent pretensions of the preachers who set them forth;[s] and this, on the occasion of the indulgence for St. Peter's, when renewed by Leo X., became the immediate occasion of Luther's defiance of Rome.[t]

That indulgences were applicable to souls departed, had been maintained by some of the schoolmen, as Alexander of Hales, and Aquinas.[u] The doctrine received a practical application from Sixtus IV. in 1477, and from Innocent VIII. in 1490.[x] But the most remarkable exemplification of it was in the bull issued by Alexander VI. for the jubilee of 1500, when the faithful were invited to pay money towards the repair of St. Peter's, in order that indulgences might be bestowed on the souls of their friends in purgatory, "by the way of suffrage."[y] And this was imitated by Julius II. in his bull of 1510, for the rebuilding of the great church.[z]

(3.) The reverence for the Blessed Virgin, which had already been excessive, was in this time carried yet further.[a] It was now that the fable of the "holy house" took form, and attracted multitudes of pilgrims to Loreto.[b] The festival of the "Compassion of the Blessed Virgin," in remembrance of her sufferings at the cross, was instituted on account of the outrages of the Hussites.[c] The festival of her Visitation was sanctioned by the council of Basel,[d] which also decreed in favour of the Immaculate

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[r] As the Immaculate Conception (Rayn. 1479. 34. Giesel. II. iv. 353.) The monastery of Betzingerode having been rebuilt, at the dedication an indulgence of forty days was promised by the bishop of Hildesheim to those who should call it by its new name, Marienwerder. (Leibn., ii. 452.) On the Roman traffic in pardons for all sorts of offences, see Bayle, artt. *Banck* and *Pinel*.

[s] Giesel. II. iv. 366–70. The questuaries, whose audacity had often caused disgust, were abolished by the council of Trent, Sess. 5 de Reformat. c. 2, sect. ult.; sess. xxi.

[t] In some cases the papal offers of indulgence were exaggerated by forged documents. (Giesel. II. iv. 365.)

[u] Alex. Alens. P. IV. 9, xxiii. art. 2. membr. 5 (p. 639, ed. Colon. 1622); Thom. Aquin. Summa, suppl. Partis III. qu. 71. art. 10 (t. iv. 1216, ed. Migne). Giesel. II. ii. 515-9.

[x] Giesel. II. iv. 355, 357.

[y] Rayn. 1499. 26.

[z] Giesel. II. iv. 357.

[a] As specimens of the language addressed to her, see the extracts from the "Mariale" of Bernardine de Bustis, a Franciscan (1494) in Schröckh, xxxiii. 372; Giesel. II. iv. 334.

[b] See Vol. III. p. 617.

[c] Conc. Colon. 1423. c. 11.

[d] Sess. 43, Hard. viii. 1292.

Conception.[e] But this decree, as it was passed after the breach between the council and the pope, was not regarded as authoritative. Sixtus IV., after having in earlier life written in defence of the immaculate conception, sent forth as pope two bulls in favour of the doctrine. Yet, the Franciscan pope was so far influenced by a regard for the power of the Dominicans that he did not venture to proscribe their contrary doctrine, but contented himself with forbidding the partisans of either opinion to denounce their opponents as guilty of heresy or of mortal sin, forasmuch as the matter had not yet been determined by the Roman church and by the apostolic see.[f]

Some universities, however, took a more decided line as to this matter. At Paris, a doctor named John le Ver (or Véry), in consequence of having preached at Dieppe against the immaculate conception, was required to retract;[g] and it was resolved that in future no theological student should be admitted, and no degree should be given, except on condition of swearing to maintain the immaculate conception.[h] This example of Paris was followed by similar decrees of the universities of Cologne and Mentz.[i]

A.D. 1494-7.

The Dominicans, while they opposed the doctrine of the immaculate conception,[k] were yet unwilling to lose the credit of devotion to the Blessed Virgin. They therefore instituted the brotherhood of the Rosary, the members of which were bound to perform certain devotions in her honour while telling their beads.[l] But towards the end of the period the Dominicans attempted to support their doctrine by the help of an audacious imposture. The occasion grew out of a quarrel which took place at Frankfort between a member of the order, named Wigand Wirth, and the chief secular priest of the town;[n] but for some reason the Dominicans resolved that Berne, rather than Frankfort, should be the scene of their intended operations.

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[e] Sess. 36, Sept. 17, 1439. See p. 431.

[f] Extrav. Commun. l. iii. De Reliquiis et Veneratione Sanctorum, ci. 1-2.

[g] Molinet, v. 81-3, ed. Buchon; Trithem. Chron. Sponh. 409; Rayn. 1497. 30; Bul. v. 815; Argentré, i 336. See d'Argentré, i. 252, as to an earlier affair at Paris.

[h] Argentré, i. 333; Giesel. II iv. 339-40.

[i] Trithem. Chron. Sponh. 410-13.

[k] John of Trittenheim speaks of it as held by all men except a few Dominicans (Chron. Sponh. 409), and relates that a Dominican, while preaching against it, was struck with apoplexy, which carried him off. (Chron Hirsaug. A.D. 1478.)

[l] Giesel. II. iv. 296-8, 336-7. See vol. iii. p. 609.

[n] Wirth had already been engaged in a controversy on the subject with John of Trittenheim. (See Chron. Sponh. 305-6.)

A young man of weak and credulous character, who had lately forsaken the trade of a tailor to enter into the order, was deluded by pretended visions, in which figures personating the Blessed Virgin and other saints appeared to him, and entrusted him with revelations. Among other things, the representative of St. Mary charged him to inform pope Julius that she had been conceived in sin; and by way of a token, she impressed the stigma on one of his hands with a nail. At length the dupe's eyes were opened; and on his threatening to publish the deceits which had been practised on him, the Dominicans attempted to poison him. The bishop of Lausanne and the magistrates of Berne interfered in the matter. A commission, composed of two bishops and the provincial of the Dominicans, was sent by the pope to investigate it; and the prior and three other monks of the convent at Berne, who had been most active in the imposture, were convicted, degraded, made over to the secular arm, and burnt.[o] The detection of this abominable trick gave a triumph to the opposite party, and redounded to the advantage of the doctrine against which the Dominicans had employed such discreditable means.[p]

May 31, 1508

IV. *Arts and Learning.*

(1) Although the highest perfection of pointed architecture had passed away before the time with which we are now concerned, a development of the style continued to prevail in the countries north of the Alps, and was displayed in many splendid and celebrated works,—among them a great part of the church of St. Ouen, at Rouen, and the chapel of King's College, Cambridge.[q] To this time are due many of the loftiest and most majestic towers —such as the spires of Chartres and Antwerp,[r] and, in the very end of the period, the central tower of Canterbury. In our own country the fifteenth century produced a multitude of buildings of all classes, from the abbey or cathedral (although in these the work of this age was mostly limited to alterations and additions) down to humble parochial churches and chapels. Where

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[o] Trithem. Chron. Sponh. 1509, p. 432; Argentré, i. 348; Schröckh, xxxiii. 385–9. Erasmus says that money would probably have bought them off with the pope, but that the cardinal of Sion insisted on their punishment. (Exequiae Seraph., Opera, t. i. 870.)

[p] See the Epp. Obscurorum Virorum, 105.

[q] This was not seriously taken in hand until 1479, and was continued at intervals until 1530. (Fergusson, Modern Architecture, 14; Hist. of Archit. i. 510.)

[r] Ib. i. 490, 541.

architects were at liberty to indulge their fancy, they became more and more disposed to overload their work with ornament, as in Henry VII.'s chapel at Westminster, and in the church built at Brou in Bresse by Margaret of Austria, in memory of her husband, Philibert of Savoy. A comparison of these typical examples is said to show that the faults of the late Gothic style were exaggerated far more in France than in England.[s]

But south of the Alps an entire change came over the prevailing taste in architecture. In the cathedral of Milan, indeed, an attempt was made to borrow gothic art from Germany; but the result, however wonderful in itself, is something greatly vitiated from the purity of the pointed manner.[t] The revolution which took place in literature had its parallel in art.[u] Brunelleschi, a Florentine, is regarded as the great connecting link between the earlier and the later architecture. In company with his countryman Donatello, who holds a similar place in the history of sculpture,[x] he lived among the ruins of Rome, both supporting themselves by working as goldsmiths, while each, with a view to his own art, was deeply studying the remains of classical antiquity.[y] Brunelleschi applied mathematical science to architecture in a degree unknown to his predecessors;[z] and, discarding the use of buttresses, which had been necessary and characteristic features in the buildings of the middle ages, he completed the work of Arnulf[a] by raising into the air the vast cupola of the cathedral at Florence.[b] In this there is still much of the gothic element; but from the date of it Italian architecture bears the character of the "renaissance"—an eclectic style, in which the details are taken from Greek and Roman models, while the general design is not closely imitative,

A.D. 1420–45.

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[s] Martin, vi. 368; Fergusson, i. 511-2.

[t] Fergusson, ii. 211; Milm. vi. 406; Martin, vi. 467.

[u] Fleury says amusingly of the schoolmen, "Souvenons-nous que ces théologiens vivoient dans un temps dont tous les autres monuments ne nous paroissent point estimables . . . . du temps de ces bâtiments gothiques si chargés de petits ornements, et si peu agréables en effet, qu'aucun architecte ne voudroit les imiter." (Disc. at end of B. xxiii. sect. 14.)

[x] See Vasari, iii. 219, 261, 269; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ii. 277. Donatello was born in 1386, and died in 1466. See as to him, Perkins, Tuscan Sculpture, 137, seqq.

[y] Vasari, iii. 201-2, ed. Lemonnier, Florence.

[z] The story of setting an egg upright by breaking the end, which is usually connected with Columbus, is told of Brunelleschi by Vasari, iii. 209.

[a] See Vol. III. p. 620.

[b] Fergusson, Mod. Archit. 40-1. The story of Brunelleschi's difficulties as to this work is to be read in Vasari (iii.).

but, disregarding the bondage of ancient rules, is accommodated to the actual purpose of the building.[c]

At Rome, where the pointed architecture had never taken root,[d] the victory of the new manner was easy. All the popes, from Martin V. to Leo X., were more or less engaged in building and restoration, while many cardinals and others followed their example by erecting churches and palaces. Baccio Pontelli, of Florence, the architect employed by Sixtus IV., was the chief agent in the transition between the medieval style of Rome and the fully-developed modern architecture of which Bramante was the most famous master.[e] Although a rebuilding of the venerable basilica of St. Peter had been projected, and even begun, by Nicolas V.,[f] the greatness of the enterprise seems to have deterred his successors from prosecuting it; and the decaying walls underwent a continual process of repair, until at length Julius II., partly with a view to provide a fitting shrine for the monument which he had commissioned Michael Angelo to prepare for him,[g] began the erection of the new St. Peter's under the superintendence of Bramante.[h]

(2.) While the architecture of the middle ages had a perfection and completeness of its own, the art of painting was still in a far less mature stage; but in this time it reached the greatest excellence which it has ever attained. The study of the antique was introduced, and was encouraged by the discovery of such masterpieces of ancient art as the Apollo, the Torso of the Belvedere, and the Laocoon.[i] The study of the anatomical structure of the body, and various technical discoveries, contributed to the advancement of art; and the object proposed was to employ these elements of improved culture on Christian themes.

The first impulse to a new manner was given by Masaccio, of Florence, who was born in 1402 and died in 1443.[k] Florence

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[c] Reumont, III. ii. 372, 378.

[d] See Vol. III. p. 620.

[e] Reumont, III. i. 374-6, 406, 417.

[f] See pp. 476-7.

[g] Harford, Life of M. Angelo, i. 213.

[h] The foundation was laid on the 18th of April, 1506, and the fact was reported to Henry VII. of England by the pope. (Rayn. 1506. 45; Reumont, III. ii. 377.) For a description of the old church, see Reumont III. i. 445. The cardinals and others opposed the pope's scheme, not that they did not wish for a new church, but because they reverenced the old one. (Panvin. quoted by Ranke, Hist. of Popes, i. 69.) Vasari complains that in destroying the old buildings Bramante was too careless of preserving antiquities, portraits, monuments, &c. (i. 136-7). (See Gregorov. viii. 124).

[i] Burckhardt, 147; Gregorov. viii. 129, seqq.

[k] Vasari, iii. 159, 162; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, i. 519, seqq.

was, in art as in literature, the head-quarters of the movement;[l] but schools of art grew up in all parts of Italy.[m] Rome itself did not produce any great master in any branch of art, but sought to draw to itself the most eminent talents from other quarters—from Lombardy, Tuscany, Umbria, or wherever genius and skill might be found.[n] Sixtus IV., having resolved to decorate his chapel in the Vatican with paintings, employed the Tuscans Signorelli, Botticelli, and Ghirlandajo, with the Umbrians Perugino and Pinturicchio, and others;[o] but their works were afterwards eclipsed by those of Michael Angelo Buonarroti. Fresh from the religious lessons of Savonarola,[p] the great Florentine appeared at Rome in 1496, at the age of twenty-one, and four years later he executed the group of the Virgin-Mother with the dead Saviour, which now adorns one of the chapels in St. Peter's.[q] Julius, struck with his ability, invited him to return to Rome about 1505, and entrusted him with the preparation of a monument for himself, which was designed on a vast and magnificent plan,[r] but, after having for many years been the cause of infinite vexation to the great sculptor,[s] was so dwarfed and marred in the execution (which is chiefly by other hands) that it may be said to have resulted in little beyond the awful figure of Moses.[t]

At the age of thirty-three Michael Angelo began his labours

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[l] See as to the admiration expressed by Frederick III. when passing through Florence on his coronation expedition, Æn. Sylv. Hist. Frid. in Kollar, ii. 240.

[m] *E.g.*, Frederick, duke of Urbino, was a famous patron of art as well as of letters. Not being able to find in Italy painters acquainted with the mysteries of oil, he brought from Flanders "un maestro solenne," who, among many other "pitture solennissime," painted the philosophers, the poets, and the doctors of the church, both Greek and Latin. (Vespas. in Mai, i. 122.) This painter was Justus of Ghent (Dennistoun, Lives of Dukes of Urbino, ii. 256); and the passage of Vespasian, which was unknown to Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, proves that they were right in conjecturally ascribing to Justus a set of pictures which found their way from Urbino into the Campana collection, and are now at Paris—including "Plato, St. Thomas. Bessarion, Virgil, Solon, Pietro Apponio, Dante, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, Aristotle, Ptolemy, and Seneca." (ii. 563-4.)

[n] Reumont, III. i. 370, 375; ii. 373.

[o] Vasari, i. 40; Reumont, III. i. 428-430; Gregorov. vii. 676.

[p] See p. 585.

[q] Vasari, xii. 170; Reumont, III. i. 424. There is an engraving of this "Pietà" in vol. ii. of Mr. Perkins's 'Tuscan Sculpture.'

[r] Vasari, xii. 180; Reumont, III. ii. 383-4; Gregorov. viii. 110.

[s] Vasari, xii. 217-9; Comment. ib. 312, seqq.

[t] The monument, as need hardly be said, eventually found its place, not in the great church of the Vatican, where Julius is buried, but in St. Peter's *ad Vincula*, of which he had been cardinal. Of the Moses, Vasari says, "Ha certo aria di vero santo e terribilissimo principe . . . e seguitono gli Ebrei di andare, come fanno ogni sabato, a schieri, e maschi e femine, come gli storni, à visitarlo ed adorarlo, che non cosa umana ma divina adoreranno." (xii. 183.) See Perkins, Tuscan Sculpture, ii. 47.

on the roof of the Sistine Chapel. It is said by Vasari that he undertook the task unwillingly, as one alien from his true profession of sculptor, and even that it was imposed on him by the pope through the unfriendly influence of Bramante, who expected the result to be a failure.[u] The same writer tells us that, although he had to overcome the difficulties of fresco-painting, which was new to him,[x] and dismissed all assistants on finding that they were unequal to his requirements,[y] this gigantic work was executed by him between the 10th of May, 1508, and the 1st of November in the following year.[z] But the story is incredible, and the truth appears to be that, although on All Saints'-day, 1509, the painter allowed the scaffolding to be removed so that his impatient patron might see the amount of his progress, the labour which gave being to "the most majestic forms that painting has yet embodied,"[a] continued to occupy him during the following three years.[b]

A.D. 1508. In the mean time Raphael Sanzio, of Urbino, eight years younger than Michael Angelo, was introduced by his kinsman Bramante to the papal court, and at twenty-five began his series of pictures in the chambers of the Vatican,[c] where, while the doctrine of the church is represented by the "Miracle of Bolsena" and the "Dispute on the Sacrament," the revived classicism of the age appears in the "School of Athens" and the "Parnassus."[d] At the time of Julius's death Raphael was engaged on his Heliodorus, a work intended to symbolize the expulsion of the "barbarians" from the sacred soil of Italy, and under Leo he continued to paint subjects which have a like reference to the history of his new patron. Thus the Attila again signified the repulse of the barbarian invaders; the Fire of the Borgo, the defeat of the Saracens at Ostia, the coronation of Charlemagne, were all commemorative of older popes who had borne the same name with their reigning successor.[e]

Admirable as were the advances of this time in art, they were too commonly accompanied by a decay of that religious feeling which had animated the older Christian painters, and which the statutes of the artistic guilds in some places had en-

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[u] Vasari, xii. 188.

[x] Harford, i. 257, 259, 264.

[y] Vasari, iii. 190.

[z] See Vasari, iii. 191; xiii. 349–351.

[a] Eastlake, Literature of the Fine Arts, 232.

[b] Gregorov. viii. 148, seqq., quoting H. Grimm's Life of M. Angelo. See, too, Harford, i. 264. The Last Judgment in the Sixtine chapel is of later date, and was uncovered on Christmas-day, 1541. (Gregorov. 149.)

[c] Vasari, vii. 138; Reumont, III. ii. 386, 388.

[d] Gregorov. viii. 149, 156.

[e] Reumont, III. ii. 400, 418, &c.

joined their members to cultivate.[f] Of Angelico of Fiesole, who, although he lived in the days of the classical revival, remained unaffected by it,[g] it is said that he never took up his brush without prayer;[h] but in many of those who came after him the influence of the paganizing opinions and of the corrupted society which surrounded them, is only too evident. The spiritual qualities which are expressed in their works came from the power of the artist's mind and hand, rather than from any kindred elements in himself.[i]

In German and Flemish art the influence of the classical revival was as yet hardly felt. Albert Dürer, although his works excited the admiration of Raphael, remained to the last intensely German, and his Christianity has little in common with the new spirit which had transformed the art of Italy.[k]

(3.) The invention of printing coincided, in a manner which cannot fail to suggest a variety of reflections and speculations to every mind, with that revival of ancient literature to which the new art lent itself as a powerful agent.[l] The first complete book produced by the press is supposed to be the Bible printed by Gutenberg and Schöffer at Mentz, in 1455—a vast effort for an art which was as yet only in its birth.[m] From Mentz the great discovery was carried, chiefly by Germans, into other countries, and within a few years it was widely diffused.[n] The

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[f] See Lord Lindsay, iii. 190, seqq.; Dennistoun, Dukes of Urbino, ii. 153–5.

[g] Crowe-Cavalcaselle, i. 550, 582.

[h] Vasari, iv. 39; cf. iii. 249, 264, 269.

[i] Gregorov. vii. 681. Thus Perugino, whose pictures are often marked by a mystical and ecstatic beauty, is described as a disbeliever in the immortality of the soul, without religion, and caring for nothing but money. (Vasari, vi. 50.) Filippo Lippi, a Carmelite friar, who "executed devotional pictures in greater number than all the other Florentine painters together" (Rio, De l'Art Chrétien, i. 358-9), was, according to Vasari, a man of the most brutally violent passions. (iv. 118.) Being engaged by a convent of nuns to paint the Saviour's mother, he produced a work of exquisite tenderness and purity, but seduced the novice who sat to him as a model. Eugenius IV. offered to release him from his vows, in order that he might marry her, but he preferred to remain a friar, that his amorous tastes might not be restrained. (ib. 122, 129.) Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle question this story, but seemingly on grounds of charity only. (ii. 324, 333.) Lionardo da Vinci, the painter of the famous Last Supper, at Milan, and the most universal genius of an age when the greatest artists were at once painters, sculptors, and architects, and some of them were also poets, musicians, and engineers—is spoken of by M. Henri Martin as a pagan. (vii. 238-9.) But Vasari says only that he was negligent of his religious duties until on his deathbed, and that he was then very penitent and believing. (vii. 36.)

[k] See Lord Lindsay, iii. 375-6. Dürer was born in 1471, and died in 1528. (Kugler, ed. Waagen, 1860, pp. 143, seqq.)

[l] See Trithem. 'Nepiachus,' in Eccard, ii. 1827-8.

[m] Hallam, Hist. Lit. 1. 208, 211.

[n] See as to Rome, above, p. 515, and as to Italy generally, Tirab. VI. i. 140.

Jews took advantage of it to produce a complete edition of the Old Testament at Soncino (in Lombardy), in 1488, some portions of their Scriptures having already appeared in a detached form;[o] but it was not until nearly thirty years later that the New Testament was published in the original language. Cardinal Ximenes, whose zeal for the promotion of religion and learning contrasts brightly with the intolerance which led him to persecute the Jews and the Moors of Spain, conceived the idea of publishing, as an antidote to heresy, a Bible which should contain the original Scriptures with the chief ancient versions.[p] With a view to this he collected manuscripts, including some which were supplied from the papal library;[q] he employed a band of scholars in editing the book, and imported type-cutters and founders from Germany; and, after fifteen years of labour, he had the satisfaction of witnessing the completion of the great work, on which he had expended enormous sums, and which he had watched in its progress with unremitting interest and care.[r] The printing was executed at Alcalá de Henares, where the cardinal's munificence had founded an university;[s] and from the Latin name of the city, Complutum, the book is known as the Complutensian Polyglott. Its six volumes, dedicated to Pope Leo, contain the Old Testament in Hebrew, with the Chaldee paraphrase of the Pentateuch; the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, the New Testament in Greek, and the Latin Vulgate translation of the whole, with a Hebrew Dictionary, and other supplementary matter.[t]

A.D. 1502-17.

The Complutensian New Testament was finished in 1514; but as the copies of the Polyglott were not sent forth until 1522, (Ximenes having died in November, 1517), the Greek New Testament of Erasmus, published at Basel in 1516, was the first edition in which the original text of the Christian Scriptures was given to the world.[u]

(4.) The press was largely employed in producing vernacular translations of the Scriptures. It is remarkable that in England the labours of Wyclif, instead of promoting such works, de-

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[o] Hallam, H. L. i. 263.

[p] Gomecius, Vita Ximen. 966; Rayn. 1502. 25.

[q] Gom. 966; see Herzog, xviii. 330.

[r] Gomec. 966; Schröckh, xxxiv. 81; Prescott, iii. 301-6.

[s] As to this see Gomez, 965, 1006, seqq.; Prescott, iii. 298, seqq. When visited by Francis I. Alcalá had 7000 members. (Ib. 302.)

[t] Horne, Introd. to the Scriptures, iv. 711, ed. 1856; Herzog, xii. 23-4. For Ximenes's other patronage of literature, see Gomez, 967-8. Among the books published under his care was a life of St. Thomas of Canterbury. (Ib.)

[u] Schröckh, xxx. 176; xxxiv. 85.

terred men from undertaking them on account of the obloquy which was attached to his name, so that no printed English Bible existed until the time of the Reformation.[x] But in Germany there were many complete editions in various dialects before the end of the fifteenth century, besides separate publications of particular books.[y] There was also a complete Italian translation; and portions of the Scriptures had been printed in French, Bohemian, and other languages. All these were rendered from the Latin Vulgate.[z]

It is supposed that such translations found their circulation in great part among persons of a mystical tendency, or of suspected orthodoxy.[a] The ecclesiastical authorities, in alarm at the operations of the press, endeavoured to control them by establishing a censorship. The first attempt of this sort was made in 1486, by Berthold of Henneberg, archbishop of Mentz, who forbade the printing and sale of books without a licence, and complained of the translation of books on "Divine offices and the high points[b] of our religion" in German,—a language which he considered inadequate to express the higher religious matters, and likely to expose them to disgrace.[c] In 1501, Alexander VI. sent forth a bull with special reference to the provinces of Cologne, Mentz, Treves, and Magdeburg, denouncing the printing of books "containing various errors and pernicious doctrines, even hostile to the Catholic faith," and ordering that for the future nothing should be printed except with archiepiscopal licence, and that the obnoxious books already in existence should be destroyed.[d] In 1502, a censorship was established in Spain, at first under royal authority, from which it was afterwards transferred to the inquisition;[e] and the Lateran council, at its tenth session, approved a bull by which a censorship was instituted for the prevention of publications dangerous to faith or morals.[f]

(5.) In addition to Alcalá, several universities were founded during this time, — among them, Wittenberg, in Saxony, which was soon to become famous in connexion with the Reformation;[g]

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[x] Hallam, Hist. Lit. i. 238.

[y] Fritzsche, in Herzog, iii. 337, enumerates fourteen complete editions in High German before 1518, and four in Low German before 1522. (Cf. Giesel. II. iv. 350, 181.)

[z] Hallam, H. L. i. 238.

[a] Giesel. II. iv. 348.

[b] "Apicibus."

[c] Giesel. II. iv. 350; see p. 637, above, as to Pecock. Berthold is greatly praised as a statesman, and in his general character by Ranke. (Hist. of Reform. i. 131.)

[d] Rayn. 1501. 36.

[e] Prescott, ii. 190.

[f] Hard. ix. 1779-81.

[g] Founded in 1502. Hallam, Hist. Lit. i. 402.

Buda, Copenhagen[h] and St. Andrew's,[i] Glasgow[k] and Aberdeen.[l] By thus bringing home the opportunities of academical education to various countries, the great mass of students were spared the cost, the labour, and perhaps something of the moral temptations[m] connected with a resort to Paris, Bologna, or Oxford; but on the other hand there was a disadvantage in the decrease of intercommunication between the nations of Europe.[n]

The university of Rome, after having been dormant during the great schism, was refounded in 1431 by Eugenius IV.[o] Alexander VI. erected new buildings for it, and was a benefactor to it in other ways;[p] and it was more fully organised under the patronage and by the bounty of Leo X.[q]

In England, this period was marked by many foundations for the purpose of education. Among them were the royal school of Eton, the colleges founded at Cambridge by Henry VI. and his queen, and by the mother of Henry VII., with those of archbishop Chichele, and bishops Fleming, Waynefleet, Smith, and Fox at Oxford. Yet, learning, at least during the earlier part of the time, made little progress. Poggio, who visited this country about 1420, finds fault with the barbarous and obsolete nature of our university studies.[r] There are great complaints as to the decay of Oxford, which was such that at one time Paris suspended correspondence with the English university.[s] This decay was in part traced to the uncertainty of ecclesiastical promotion, in consequence of which the universities are found petitioning archbishop Chichele and others, that in the disposal of patronage a regard may be had to the claims of graduates in such matters.[t] Erasmus, in 1513, speaks of a great revival and extension of studies as having taken place at Cambridge within the last thirty years, so that the university might then "compete with the first schools of the age;"[u] and

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[h] Münter, ii. 1003; Hallam, Hist. Lit. i. 224.

[i] "So early as 1410, the first professors of St. Andrew's had begun their labours." (Cuningham, i. 185.). The pope's bull of confirmation was received from Benedict XIII. in 1416. (Grub, i. 367.) One of later date is given by Theiner. (Monum. 383–6.)

[k] Ib. 382; Cuningham, i. 191–6.

[l] Fasti Aberdonenses, ed. C. Innes (Spalding Club), 1851.

[m] Æneas Sylvius gives no good account of the habits of Vienna students. He says also that few of them have Aristotle's books, but that they generally use commentaries. (Hist. Frid. ii. 12.)

[n] Schmidt, iv. 494.

[o] Tirab. VI. i. 85; Reumont, III. i. 311.

[p] Gregorov. vii. 515.

[q] P. Jovius, Vita Leonis, 58; Roscoe, i. 339; Gregorov. viii. 291.

[r] Pauli, v. 671–3.

[s] Wood, Hist. Oxf. i. 618. But perhaps national enmity had something to do with this.

[t] Wilk. iii. 381, 401, 528, 539, 541; Hook, v. 110.

[u] Ep. 148.

there can be no doubt that Oxford had shared in the improvement.

At Paris the university was for a time distracted by a continuation of the old feuds between mendicants and seculars, between nominalists and realists; but these were now superseded by a change which furnished new subjects and causes of dispute.[x]

(6.) From Italy, where the revival of Greek learning began, it spread into the countries north of the Alps. The first German who distinguished himself in the new study was Rudolf Haussmann (or Agricola), who, under the patronage of a bishop of Worms, lectured there and at Heidelberg.[y] In France the cultivation of Greek was encouraged by Louis XI., who was favourable to all progress which did not conflict with his despotism;[z] and in the beginning of the sixteenth century, Budæus taught with great fame at Paris. In England, where the Greek language was introduced by Selling, prior of Christchurch, Canterbury, after a visit to Italy in 1480,[a] there soon grew up a band of zealous scholars, among whom Grocyn, Linacre, William Latimer, Colet, and Thomas More were conspicuous.[b]

In Italy, the merits of Aristotle and Plato were discussed by their respective partisans, both Greek refugees and Italians, with the same eagerness which had marked the contests between the nominalists and the realists.[c] Platonism—or rather the later Alexandrian philosophy which was mistaken for it—was taught at Florence by Marsiglio Ficino, who, although a canon of the cathedral and an admired preacher, is said to have been so devoted to the Greek sage that the only image admitted into his study was one of Plato, before which a lamp was continually burning.[d] This eclectic system associated Orpheus with Moses, Plato with the Saviour, classicism with Christian faith, while it contained much admixture of superstition and mysticism; and by such philosophy it was that Ficino proposed to overcome the repugnance which the philosophers and men of letters of his day too commonly felt for Christianity.[e] The Florentine

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[x] Argentré, i. 302, &c.; Giesel. II. iv. 321; Martin, vii. 157.

[y] Schröckh, xxx. 209, seqq.; Ranke, Hist. Ref. l. 284.

[z] Martin, vii. 155.

[a] Hasted, Hist. of Kent, iv. 555-6; folio ed.; Hallam, H. L. i. 322.

[b] Hallam, H. L. i. 322-3.

[c] Tirab. VI. i. 303.

[d] Burlamacchi in Baluz. Miscell. i. 517; Tirab. VI. i. 319; Pressel, in Herzog, xii. 402.

[e] Villari, i. 52-6; Giesel. II. iv. 505; Hallam, H. L., i. 206, 246; Pressel, l. c. 403; Martin, vii. 231-3; Burckhardt, 401; Seebohm, 'The Oxford Reformers of 1498,' 11-3, 158, ed. 2.

Academy, founded by Cosmo de' Medici, and patronised by Lorenzo, celebrated the festival of Plato's birth and death on the 29th of November;[f] and we have already met with the similar association at Rome, over which Pomponio Leti presided, and which, perhaps, deserved the suspicions of pope Paul II. in a greater degree than Platina would allow.[g] Leti and others of the Italians, provoked by the exclusiveness of the votaries of Greek literature, and regarding themselves as representatives of the ancient conquerors of the world, betook themselves in opposition to asserting the claims of Latin;[h] and some of them, discarding the free and convenient, although inelegant, Latinity of the middle ages, made it their study to imitate the purity and graces of Cicero. The absurdities which resulted from this pedantic affectation were exposed at a somewhat later date by the keen satire of Erasmus, who defined the true Ciceronianism to be that the moderns should speak as Cicero would have spoken in their circumstances.[i] Erasmus does not spare the Pagan tendencies which found a shelter under the profession of Ciceronianism,[k] and which showed themselves in many places in a strange mixture of heathen with Christian ideas.[l] The classical revival had, indeed, produced much unbelief,[m] and much of the worst corruptions of heathen morality.[n] Even in the papal court, a light and sceptical tone prevailed;[o] nay, as we have seen, even some popes were not above the suspicion of disbelieving the very elements of Christian faith.[p]

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[f] Hallam, H. L., i. 246; Villari, i. 64; Harford, 'Life of M. Angelo,' i. 61-2.

[g] P. 514. See Tirab. VI. i. 93.

[h] See p. 514.

[i] Opera, i. 997. The 'Ciceronianus' appeared in 1528. See as to the absurdity of attempting to express in Ciceronian language ideas peculiar to Christianity, coll. 995, 1021. There is an analysis of this dialogue by Gibbon in his Miscellaneous Works (448, seqq.). Bembo is said to have carried his Ciceronianism "to so ridiculous an extreme, as professedly to avoid the perusal of his Bible and Breviary, for fear of spoiling his Latinity" (Greswell, 'Lives of Politian,' &c., 136). He represents the Venetian senate as exhorting the pope "uti fidat Diis immortalibus, quorum vicem gerit in terris" (Bayle, art. *Bembus*, n. B.); and Rinaldi thinks it necessary to reduce to the usual pontifical style documents in which the Ciceronianizing secretary had introduced pagan Latinity (1513. 100). There were degrees in Ciceronianism, so that the style of its first professors was not pure enough for the later adepts. Thus, Paul Manutius would not use the words of Cicero's correspondents, but only those which had the sanction of the great classic himself. (Hallam, H. L., i. 447; Burckhardt, 198.)

[k] 'Ciceronianus,' 998-9, 1025.

[l] Burckhardt, 117, 203. Paul Cortesius, a papal secretary, attempted, with bad success, to put the doctrines of the church into the classical Latin (Giesel. II. iv. 511). Sanazzaro's poem, "De Partu Virginis," is famous for its mixture of heathen mythology. (Greswell, 102.)

[m] Gibbon, vi. 256.

[n] Gregorov. viii. 280.

[o] Ranke, Hist. of Popes, i. 74; Gregorov. viii. 268.

[p] P. 616. Mr. Gregorovius observes that if the stories as to Leo X are untrue, they are yet characteristic of the atmosphere which prevailed in the Vatican. (viii. 272.)

(7.) In Germany the "humanist" movement took a different course; for, as the cultivation of the new learning had begun in such institutions as the schools of the Brethren of the Common Life,[q] it was brought into the service of religion, and issued, not in a contempt for the Christian faith, but in a desire of reform.[r] In Germany, however, as elsewhere, the old academics, far from originating or welcoming the classical movement, looked down with the contempt of superior knowledge on those whom they styled grammarians or poets, while these in turn regarded the doctors of the earlier school as antiquated and barbarous.[s]

The most eminent humanists of Germany were Reuchlin and Erasmus. Reuchlin, who was born in 1465, at Pforzheim in Bavaria, had been enabled by the patronage of Eberhard, count of Würtemberg, to study at the university of Paris, and to travel in Italy, where, according to the custom of the age, he adopted the name of Capnio.[t] He became an advocate, was employed by count Eberhard in political missions, and was much in favour with the emperor Frederick.[u] By him the study of classical literature was greatly promoted in Germany; but he is more especially noted as the first of his countrymen who cultivated Hebrew learning. Unfortunately he took up from his Jewish teachers much of the mysticism which was prevalent among them; he dabbled in astrology, and endeavoured to reconcile Judaism and Christianity by means of the Cabala.[x] Reuchlin, although he had been appointed advocate of the Dominican order,[y] had already offended the monastic party by a satirical comedy,[z] when he was involved in a quarrel with John Pfefferkorn, a Jew of Cologne, who, at the age of fifty, had professed Christianity. Pfefferkorn, finding himself unable to convert his brethren by means of persuasion, had petitioned the emperor Maximilian that all Jewish books except the Bible might be destroyed, in order to deprive the Jews of support for their unbelief. The petition was favourably received; but Maximilian desired the archbishop of Mentz to procure the opinions

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[q] See p. 351. There were 45 of these schools in 1430, and more than thrice that number in 1460. (Hallam, H. L., i. 148.)

[r] Giesel. II. iv. 511-3.

[s] Schmidt, iv. 494; Sir W. Hamilton in Edinb. Rev., March, 1831, 185-6. When Greek was introduced at Oxford under Henry VII., the opposite party styled themselves Trojans. (Hallam, M. A., ii. 527.)

[t] From καπνός = Germ. *Rauch* = *smoke*. See as to him Trithem. Catal. 171; de Script. Illustr. 389.

[u] Schröckh, xxx. 226-8.

[x] Hallam, Hist. Lit. i. 290; Ranke, Hist. Ref. i. 299; Strauss, Ulrich v. Hutten, i. 191.

[y] Schröckh, xxx. 230

[z] Hallam, i. 408.

of Reuchlin and other competent authorities on the subject; and Reuchlin replied by an argumentative treatise.[a] He distinguished the books of the Jews into seven classes; among the lighter sort, he said, might be a few in mockery of the Christian religion, but these were condemned by the Jewish doctors themselves as false and calumnious.[b] The rest ought not to be destroyed, but might be studied by Christians, as Moses, Solomon, and Daniel had studied the wisdom of the heathen. He insisted on the utility of Hebrew for Christian theologians, and recommended that during the next ten years it should be taught in universities, as a means of furnishing them with better weapons against the Jews than those which Pfefferkorn wished to employ.[c]

Pfefferkorn furiously assailed Reuchlin in a book to which he gave the name of 'Handspiegel' ('Hand-glass'); to which Reuchlin rejoined with vehemence in one entitled 'Augenspiegel' ('Eye-glass'), professing to convict his adversary of thirty-four untruths.[d] The matter was taken up by the Dominicans of Cologne, who frightened Reuchlin into an apology; but when they went on to require that he should retract, he refused, and stood on his defence. The inquisitor of the province of Cologne, James Hoogstraten (or Hochstraten), went to Mentz, and there, although beyond his jurisdiction, set up a court, by which Reuchlin, notwithstanding his protestations on the ground of irregularity, was condemned for the publication of the 'Eye-glass.' But the proceedings were stayed by the archbishop of Mentz, and Reuchlin appealed to the pope.[e] Oct. 1513. The matter was referred by Leo to the bishop of Spires, who appointed a commission of doctors to investigate it; and these condemned Hoogstraten to pay Reuchlin damages for the irregularity and injustice of his proceedings towards him.[f] Meanwhile, the Dominicans at Cologne had publicly burnt the 'Eye-glass,' and had obtained opinions in their favour from Paris and other universities.[g] Again the case was carried before Leo, and Reuchlin's cause was supported by the recommendations of a multitude of princes and prelates.[h] Leo, at once un-

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[a] This and other documents of the affair are in Von der Hardt's Hist. Literaria Reformationis, Pt. II.

[b] V. d. Hardt, 20-1.

[c] Ib. 34.

[d] Strauss, i. 200. This is reprinted by Von der Hardt, pp. 16, seqq.

[e] Schröckh, xxx. 244-9; Strauss, i. 210.

[f] Schröckh, xxx. 249-50. See Reuchlin to Erasmus, Erasm. Epp. Append. 5.

[g] Bulæus, vi. 47, seqq., 52, 61, seqq.; Strauss, i. 212.

[h] Schröckh, xxx. 250; Strauss, i. 211.

willing to condemn the humanists and to provoke the Dominicans, committed the investigation to cardinal Grimani;[j] and, although the Dominicans were greatly annoyed, Reuchlin was but imperfectly satisfied by the issue of a mandate which, instead of pronouncing for either party, *superseded* the suit.[k]

In 1519, however, the quarrel was decided after the manner of the age and country. Francis von Sickingen, a gallant but somewhat lawless noble,[l] threatened that, unless the judgment of Spires were carried out within a month, he would lay waste the territory of Cologne. In consequence of this threat, Hoogstraten and his party paid the damages, and although they made underhand attempts to excite the Roman court against Reuchlin, and even procured a fresh condemnation of his book, it appears that he suffered no actual molestation until his death in June, 1521.[m]

In this controversy Reuchlin was supported by the friends of intellectual progress throughout Europe, who, indeed, learnt from it to acknowledge a common interest, so that some of them even spoke of themselves as Reuchlinists.[n] There were writings on both sides, both serious and satirical; and of these by far the most effective was the collection of letters entitled 'Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum,' of which the first part appeared in 1515, and the second in 1517.[o] The chief authors of these letters are supposed to have been John Jäger, a professor of Erfurt, who styled himself Crotus Rubianus,[p] and Ulric von Hutten, a young literary adventurer of noble family and brilliant talents, of loose morality and strong reforming zeal.[q]

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[j] Erasmus in a letter to Grimani, whom he had known at Rome (Ep. 167), expresses great indignation at the conduct of Reuchlin's adversaries. In Ep. 168, he recommends him to the favour of Card. Raphael Riario.

[k] Ranke, Hist. Ref. i. 304; Giesel. II. iv. 833; Hallam, i. 410.

[l] See Strauss, ii. 73, seqq. He was drawn into Reuchlin's interest, as afterwards into that of Luther, by Hutten.

[m] The further proceedings at Rome are commonly overlooked, as by Schröckh (xxx. 251). See Strauss, ii. 19–23.

[n] Rayn. 1516. 84–6; Schröckh, xxx. 247–50; Hallam, i. 408; Strauss, i. 213.

[o] There is, in some of the editions since 1689, a third part, of different authorship, and far inferior. It is reprinted in Münch's edition. See Strauss, i. 232.

[p] *Crotus*, derived from *κροτέω*, was supposed to mean *Jäger*, the English *Hunter*. *Rubianus*, from *rubus*, referred to his birthplace, *Dorn*heim. (Strauss, i. 26). Crotus afterwards became a friend of Luther, but eventually fell back to the Roman church. (Schröckh, xxx. 267-8.)

[q] Hutten was born in 1488, and died in 1523. Mr. Hallam says that his "early death seems more likely to have spared the reformers some degree of shame, than to have deprived them of a useful supporter" (Hist. Lit. i. 409). His works, and those which have been attributed to him, have been edited by E. Münch, Berlin, 1821–7; but the edition is not considered satisfactory. Among the writings in which he is supposed to have shared, is the 'Triumphus Capnionis' (reprinted by Münch, ii.

The title of this famous satire was suggested by the 'Letters of Illustrious Men' to Reuchlin, which some of his friends had published in 1514, with the intention of supporting him in his contest with the Dominicans.[r] To these is opposed a set of 'Letters of Obscure Men,' addressed to Ortuinus Gratius (Ortwin von Graes), of Cologne, who was supposed to have helped Pfefferkorn in his Latin,[s] and was obnoxious to the Reuchlinists from having taken the side opposite to that on which, as a pupil of the school of Deventer and as a professor of "humane" literature, he might have been expected to range himself. The 'Obscure Men' display, with an air of entire unconsciousness, the characteristics of the vulgar monkish party—their stupidity, ignorance, hatred of improvement and enlightenment, their intolerance, their dull self-satisfaction, their absurd pedantry, their coarse and shameless sensuality. They dispute in scholastic form about nonsensical questions; they look down with the contempt of professed theologians on Reuchlin, as a lawyer who had irregularly intruded into their province;[t] they would prohibit Greek and the "new Latinity;"[u] and their barbarous Latin has an air of verisimilitude which is irresistibly comical. The audacity of the book is astounding, and the liberties taken with Ortwin,[x] with Pfefferkorn and his wife, with Hoogstraten and others, must appear to a modern reader outrageous.[y] Among the letters of imaginary persons, whose vulgar German names are rendered more ridiculous by Latin terminations, are some which are impudently ascribed to Ortwin, to Arnold of Tongres,

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359, seqq.). As to this piece, and its authorship, see Strauss i. 216. The various theories as to the authorship of the 'Epistolæ' are stated by Sir W. Hamilton ('Discussions,' 221–3), whose own conclusion is, that Crotus, Hutten, and Busch were the writers (223). Dr. Strauss supposes Crotus the originator, and attributes to Hutten those letters in which an acquaintance with Italy appears, as Hutten was in that country when the first portion was published, and the letters of this kind are all in Part II. (i. 263). Cf. Neudecker in Herzog, iv. 112.

[r] Strauss, i. 233.

[s] Epp. Obscurorum Virorum, p. 184, ed. Lond. 1710; Strauss, i. 206.

[t] P. 211; cf. Strauss, i. 203.

[u] Pp. 211, 213, 232, 235.

[x] Ortwin is represented as the son of a priest, and as himself a man of loose morals, and too intimate with Mrs. Pfefferkorn. He is said to have a maternal uncle who is a hangman, and this personage (who styles himself "Zizaniæ extirpator, hoc est, furum suspensor, proditorum quadruplicator, falsariorum et calumniatorum virgator, hæreticorum combustor"), is introduced as one of the letter-writers, rallying Ortwin on his unlucky amours, and drawing a parallel between his own position and that of his kinsman (269, 271). Ortwin (if he was the compiler of the 'Fasciculus') was foolish enough to notice these attacks many years afterwards in the Epilogue, where "ob obscuros nebulones et fœdas eorum epistolas, a sede apostolica jampridem condemnatas," he declares himself to be the son of a secular man, Frederick von Graes, and descended from an ancient family in the diocese of Münster. (Fascic. i. 479, ed. Brown.)

[y] Erasmus expresses strong disapprobation of the personalities contained in the letters. (Append. Ep. 160.)

who had been concerned in the affair of Reuchlin, and to the formidable Hoogstraten himself, whose adventures in pursuing the suit against Reuchlin at Rome are represented as having ended in the exhaustion of his purse, so that he had to make his way homewards on foot, exposed to all the inclemency of the seasons.[z]

The effect of these letters was immense, and was not to be counteracted by any publications on the other side. It is indeed said with apparent seriousness (although we may find it difficult to believe the statement) that the imitation of the monkish style was so successful as to deceive some of the satirized party, who lauded and circulated the book as a precious contribution to the cause of orthodoxy.[a] But those against whom it was more immediately directed applied at Rome for a condemnation of it; and in March, 1517, Leo issued a prohibition,[b] which, however, had no other result than to increase the celebrity and the effect of the work.

The fame of Erasmus was more popular and more widely extended than that of Reuchlin. He was born at Rotterdam in 1465,[c] the offspring of a connexion which had become unlawful because his paternal grandfather had determined that one of his many sons should become a monk.[d] The father, who had gone to Italy, was persuaded to enter into the priesthood by information sent by his parents that the mother of his son was dead; and when the irrevocable step had been taken, he discovered that the report was false.[e] Erasmus received the greater part of his early education under the Brethren of the Common Life at Deventer. At the age of thirteen he lost both his parents, and was left to the care of guardians, who made away with his property and endeavoured to cover their dishonesty by persuading him to enter a cloister.[f] The influence of his teachers at Deventer was used for the same purpose;[g] but he withstood all solicitations until at length he was overcome by the importunity of a pretended friend, who represented in delusive colours the advantages of the monastic life, and whose treachery and worth-

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[z] Pp. 72, 107, &c.

[a] Erasm. Ep. 979, col. 1110; T. Morus, in Erasm. t. iii. 1575. Sir W. Hamilton points out that Maittaire, in dedicating the London edition of 1710 "Isaaco Bickerstaff, armigero," and Steele, in acknowledging the compliment (Tatler, No. 197), supposed the Letters to be really the work of the pretended writers

[b] Printed in Münch's Introduction, 21.

[c] See Hallam, i. 402. The date more commonly given is 1467.

[d] Vita (prefixed to his works); Jortin, Life of Erasmus, ed. 1, vol. i. 1-2.

[e] Vita.

[f] Ib.; Jortin, i. 2-3.

[g] Vita; Ep. 8 (append.); Milman, Essays, 83-4.

lessness he afterwards discovered.[h] At the age of seventeen or eighteen he became a novice; after a year of probation he made his profession among the Augustinian canons of Stein, and in 1492 he was ordained a priest.[i] The circumstances of his history were not likely to impress him with a favourable opinion of the monastic system, and his experiences of the conventual life were repulsive. We cannot wonder that his tainted birth, his solitary position, the frauds of which he had been the victim, the hardships and uncertainty of a scholar's profession, the pretensions of patrons and the slackness of their performance,[k] with his nervous temperament and the delicate health which was partly an effect of the monastic diet,[l] tended to produce in him a spirit of distrust and caution, which even resulted in something of selfishness.

After having been drawn from his monastery by the bishop of Cambray, he pursued his studies at Paris, where he met with a pupil, Lord Mountjoy, by whom he was invited to England.[m] His first visit to this country, in 1498, was followed by others in 1505, 1511-14, and 1515, during which, although he disdained to learn the language, and on that account resigned a benefice bestowed on him by archbishop Warham,[n] he became acquainted with many eminent men—among them Warham, Wolsey, Fisher bishop of Rochester, Tonstal, afterwards bishop of London and of Durham, Linacre, and the young king Henry VIII.,[o] of whose early promise he speaks in extravagant terms.[p] But his chosen associates were John Colet, dean of St. Paul's and founder of St. Paul's School, by whom his opinions were not a little affected,[q] and Thomas More. With these two he lived on terms of familiar intimacy and in a close sympathy of thought. He resided at both the universities, and during his third and longest visit was professor of Greek at Cambridge.

In 1508 he was able to fulfil a long-cherished desire[r] to see Italy, where he was received by scholars and by high ecclesiastical personages with flattering respect.[s] His 'Adagia,' first

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[h] Vita; Jortin, i. 3-4; Milm. 86.

[i] Jortin, i. 4.

[k] Vita; Ep. 167, &c.

[l] As to the wretched fare, and other miseries which he endured in the College of Montaigu, at Paris, see the 'Ichthyophagia,' Opera, i. 806; and the Life prefixed to his works.

[m] Seebohm, 'The Oxford Reformers,' 91.

[n] Ep. 144; Jortin, i. 56. As to Warham, see Epp. 135-6, 167, &c.

[o] Epp. 14, 41, 167; Bayle, art. *Erasme*, n. F.

[p] "Defuncto regi successerat plane divinæ cujusdam indolis juvenis, nec ineleganter bonis litteris initiatus" (Ep. 167). He had first seen Henry as a child of nine years old. (Seebohm, 134.)

[q] Seebohm, 107, 110.

[r] Ep. 59.

[s] Ep. 8, Append.; Vita; Jortin, i 28

published in 1500, and afterwards much enlarged, had laid the foundation of a great reputation for ability and learning. His 'Praise of Folly,' meditated during his return from Italy to England, and completed in the house of Sir Thomas More, acquired a vast popularity, twenty-seven editions, at least, having been published during his lifetime.[t] In this, after a long exordium, in which pedantry is perhaps more conspicuous than wit, he keenly attacks the prevailing follies of all classes, but especially the faults of the clergy and the superstitions which they fostered.[u] His 'Colloquies,' of later date (1527), were so eagerly received that in one year 24,000 copies were sold;[x] and in these again he assailed with especial force the mistaken devotions which the monks inculcated, with the intrusiveness and rapacity of the mendicants in connexion with deathbeds, wills, and funerals.[y]

A.D. 1511.

In addition to his original writings, Erasmus, who about the year 1515 established himself at Basel, where his works were printed by Froben, was diligently employed on labours of other kinds—editions of classical works, of St. Jerome,[z] and other fathers; and in 1516 he produced his Greek New Testament, with a corrected Latin version—the earliest edition, as we have seen, in which the original of the Christian Scriptures was offered to the world.[a]

His old associates at Stein had chosen one of his friends as abbot, and were induced by the renown which Erasmus had acquired to attempt to regain him for their society; but he had been released by the pope from his monastic obligations,[b] and expressed in his answer an inflexible resolution to be no more ensnared in a way of life which his reason, his feelings, and his experience condemned.[c]

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[t] Strauss, Ulr. v. Hutten, ii. 246.

[u] *E. g.* Indulgences, Opera, iii. 444; the use of psalms as charms, 445; devotion to particular saints, and expectation of cures from them, 445, 450; pilgrimages, 456; frivolous scholastic disputes, 464; inconsistent formalism, 471; varieties of religious orders, 473; absurdities of preachers, 474; the faults of bishops and popes, Julius's love of war, &c., 482, seqq.; secular lordship of German prelates, 455; absurd misinterpretation of Scripture, 495, &c. (See Hallam, i. 404; Milm. 109; Ranke, Hist. Ref. i. 289.)

[x] This seems, however, to have been partly the effect of a report that the book was forbidden. See Bayle, art. *Erasme*, n. Q. The ordinary number of copies then printed in an edition was 300. (Hallam, i. 341.) Of one of Savonarola's works, 1500 were published. (P. Delfini, in Mart. Coll. Ampl. iii. 1154.) Erasmus, notwithstanding the great sale of his works, made but little by them. (Jortin, i. 67.)

[y] As to this last, see the Dialogue 'Exsequiæ Seraphicæ.'

[z] As to the greatness of this undertaking, see t. iii. 146; also the letter to the pope (Ep. 174), and Leo's acknowledgment (Ep. 178).

[a] P. 664.

[b] Append. Ep. 8, col. 1529.

[c] Append. Ep. 5, A.D. 1514; Jortin, i. 60; Milm. 107.

A career so brilliant and so contrary to the common ecclesiastical manner of thinking could not be without opposition. His New Testament was attacked; why should the language of the schismatic Greeks interfere with the sacred and traditional Latin? How could any improvement be made on the Vulgate translation? There was a college at Cambridge, especially proud of its theological character, which would not admit a copy within its gates;[d] and from many other quarters there was an outcry against the dangerous novelty.[e] But the editor was able to shelter himself under the name of pope Leo, who had accepted the dedication of the volume.[f]

At the time which we have reached Erasmus stood at the head of scholars and men of letters. He had been patronized, invited, pensioned, tempted with offers of promotion, by all the chief princes of Europe, and by prelates innumerable.[g] And thus far he was regarded by the opponents of innovation as a dangerous reformer. A different state of things was at hand, when, finding himself unable to advance with the movement of popular opinion—unable, from his critical and somewhat indecisive temper, to take part thoroughly either with the reformers or with their adversaries, because he saw, as he believed, the errors of both parties—reproached by those who had left him behind, and distrusted by those whom he had once opposed, but to whose interest he had fallen back,—he spent his last years in disquiet and in the turmoil of bitter controversy, a mark for obloquy from both sides, and at last left as his epitaph the melancholy words, "The Lutheran tragedy loaded him with intolerable ill-will; he was torn in pieces by both parties, while he endeavoured to consult the good of both."[h]

Powerful as scholarship had been in preparing the way for a reformation, the great change which was actually at hand—a change which not only rent from the papacy a large portion of its dominion, but compelled it to undertake new and vigorous measures of internal reform—was not to be accomplished by the efforts of scholars or men of elegant letters, but by ruder and perhaps more earnest labourers.

[d] "Ne quis id volumen equis aut navibus, aut plaustris aut bajulis intra ejus collegii pomœria inveheret." Ep. 148 (misdated).

[e] Epp. Obsc. Vir. 292; Jortin, i. 49; Giesel. II. iv. 530.

[f] Schröckh, xxxiv. 146.

[g] Append. Ep. 8, &c.

[h] Vita.

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